George a. Wallace

A.W. Elson & Co. Boston.

R. P. Flower

THE DIVINE ORIGIN

OF

CHRISTIANITY

INDICATED BY ITS HISTORICAL EFFECTS

BY

RICHARD S. STORRS, D.D., LL.D

BOSTON
The Pilgrim Press
CHICAGO

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ANSON D. F. RANDOLPH & COMPANY,

F. H. GILSON COMPANY
PRINTERS AND BOOKBINDERS
BOSTON, U. S. A.

TEN LECTURES

DELIVERED BEFORE

THE UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, NEW YORK,

AND

THE LOWELL INSTITUTE, BOSTON.

WITH NOTES AND AN INDEX.

TO THE MEMORY

OF

WILLIAM ADAMS, D.D., LL.D.

HONORED AND BELOVED,

FOR HIS ADMIRABLE POWERS, FOR HIS MANY ACCOMPLISHMENTS, FOR HIS LARGE USEFULNESS, FOR THE WISDOM OF HIS COUNSELS, THE GRACE OF HIS ENGAGING COURTESY, THE UNFAILING FIDELITY OF HIS FRIENDSHIP:

MOST OF ALL

FOR THE BEAUTY AND STRENGTH OF HIS CHRISTIAN FAITH

THESE LECTURES,

PREPARED AT HIS URGENT INVITATION, AND AFTERWARD REWARDED BY HIS APPROVAL,

ARE AFFECTIONATELY INSCRIBED.

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AUTHOR'S NOTE.

The following Lectures were prepared to be delivered before the students of the Union Theological Seminary in New York, on what is there known as "The Ely Foundation," * and also before the Lowell Institute in Boston. They were subsequently, by request, delivered in Brooklyn.

The publication of them has been delayed, partly by the necessity of using occasional and infrequent intervals of time for collating and transcribing the passages from various authors whose respective statements of fact or opinion will be found in the Appendix, and partly by the wish to get sufficient leisure for revising the Lectures, for considering critically the argument which they present, after the mind should have ceased to be affected by any lingering influence from the impulse of rapid writing, for limiting whatever might appear on such review excessive in statement, and for reinforcing whatever a maturer thought might regard as imperfect in conception or inadequate in expression. Circumstances have hardly permitted the writer, to the full measure of his desire, to accomplish this purpose. Sentences have occasionally been changed in form. A number of paragraphs are retained on the printed page, which had been ex-

* Established by Mr. Z. Stiles Ely, of New York, A.D. 1865; the title of the Lectureship being "The Elias P. Ely Lectures, on the Evidences of Christianity."

cluded in speaking by lack of time. In a few instances, the argument, where it seemed needful, has been slightly expanded, or differently illustrated. But in all important respects the Lectures appear in the volume as they were when delivered.

A good many notes and references have here been added to them, as will be observed: in the hope that these may illustrate, sustain, or if needful correct, related statements in the text. In arranging these Notes the compiler of them has had no thought of seeking to instruct studious scholars, to whom, on the other hand, he gladly acknowledges his constant indebtedness, and to whom he is quite aware that many of the Notes will seem wholly superfluous. But knowing that some of those whom it is hoped that the Lectures will interest may not have ready access to some of the books important to be consulted in connection with the subject, he has thought it well to quote, instead of merely referring to, such passages from ancient or modern authors, lying within his reach, as have seemed to have the most direct bearing upon his principal trains of thought. The many to whom these passages are familiar, or who might easily turn to them in their libraries, will understand, he doubts not, the motive which has prompted to the printing of them here, for the convenience of those less amply equipped.

Other passages, equally pertinent, have been excluded, by an unwillingness to increase unduly the size of the volume. In making selection of those to be printed, while laying others aside, the lecturer has had, of course, to use his own judgment as to what would probably be most interesting or helpful to those reading his pages. He has no doubt made mistakes, perhaps many, in applying this rule; and he regrets the absence of passages which he had taken pains to collect, because possessing to his mind important significance. But he hopes that, in the main, affirmative statements made in the Lectures will be found to have

sufficient verification in the Notes; and that the roots of the tree, even as here presented, will not be deemed altogether unequal to the trunk and branches which they ought to sustain.

When the passages cited have been taken from classical or foreign authors, they are always presented in an English translation, to render them serviceable to those unacquainted with other languages. Where this translation has been made by the writer, he has sought to secure accuracy in it, rather than elegance. But he has freely used translations by others, where these have become accredited among scholars, and where no reason for changing them has appeared. Thus the quotations from Plato are made in Jowett's version; those from Plutarch, in Goodwin's, or Clough's; and those from the early Christian Fathers, almost uniformly, in the translations of the Ante-Nicene Library. Especially where the meaning of single words has been a matter of special importance, as is not infrequently the case, one naturally prefers to have his own judgment thus corrected or justified by the conclusions of others.

In not a few instances, as will be noticed, extracts are taken from modern authors with whose general lines of thought the writer of the Lectures can by no means agree, and from whose prevailing spirit he must earnestly dissent, but who seem to him, upon the points specifically touched, to have borne a witness to the truth which as coming from them has perhaps peculiar value. In all cases, it is to be distinctly understood that the general sentiments quoted, from whatever author, may not be precisely or fully expressive of the opinions of the lecturer. They are sometimes purposely taken from those with whom he differs, as showing how other minds have regarded the same matters, and as repeating the thoughts concerning those matters which they have put into energetic or attractive expression.

To enable any one wishing to do so to verify the references, or

to read the cited passages in their original context, the editions which have been used are carefully mentioned; and they have been the most recent which it has been convenient to consult. Where foreign editions and American reprints have been equally accessible, the latter have been used in making the citations, the correctness of these being first ascertained, in order to afford all possible facilities to any wishing to examine them further. It is hoped that each Note will be found connected, with sufficient clearness, with the page on which stands the corresponding passage in the text of the Lectures; but this connection is only indicated at the beginning of the Note itself. In order to avoid the frequent and troublesome arrest of the eye in traversing the pages, it has seemed best, to both publisher and author, that all numbers or signs directing attention to the Appendix, should be omitted from the body of the volume. The comparatively few foot-notes which are retained have been employed to mark the location of passages fully quoted in the text, or of such as it has seemed less important than in other cases to print at large in the Appendix.

One who has suffered many times from the necessity of reviewing large parts of volumes which had been left wholly unindexed, in order to find a passage containing an important statement of fact or opinion, the authorship of which was known, but the precise place of which could not be recalled, may perhaps be pardoned if he has sometimes regretted that the ancient vigorous forms of anathema against sins of omission are not now in customary use. But he would certainly lose all claim to forgiveness on the part of his own readers if he had failed to supply to them what he has desired and missed in others. A very minute and elaborate Index was prepared for this volume, with the utmost kindness and care, by Dr. S. Austin Allibone, of the Lenox Library. The necessary limitation of the size of the volume pre

cluded, however, so large an addition, and a briefer Index has been substituted. It is believed that this will still afford, to those wishing to refer to any passage in the book, or to any author quoted or referred to, the needful assistance. In reading the Lectures and the Notes, for the purpose of preparing an Index, Dr. Allibone by no means charged himself with any responsibility for suggesting typographical corrections. But his accurate and trained eye detected occasional errors, which had before passed unnoticed; and to his judgment and critical taste, in such matters as in others, the author has been frequently indebted.

That branch of the External Evidences of the Divine origin of Christianity which is considered in these Lectures is often incidentally referred to, but it hardly seems to have had among us the comprehensive and particular treatment to which it is entitled. Professor George P. Fisher has treated a part of it, in his Lectures on "The Beginnings of Christianity," and he has done it with the abundant learning, the precision and elegance of statement, and the admirable candor, which he brings to the discussion of every subject. But large parts of it did not come within the range of his replete and instructive Lectures; and of these parts it is equally important to gain a distinct and just impression.

No one can become more profoundly aware, after reading the present Lectures, than the author of them already is, of the incompleteness of his own discussion of so great a subject—under the sharp limitations of time restricting the Lectures in their oral delivery, under the more imperious limitations imposed by manifold independent occupations. He found, however, long ago, in the trains of thought here suggested, instruction and satisfaction for his own mind, an argument for faith, an incitement to Christian obedience and service. In preparing the Lectures, therefore, he was not seeking to construct an argument for a foregone conclusion, but simply to recall and present to others an argument

the propriety of which, and its legitimate force, had appeared to him evident when he began to inquire for himself, without reference to the opinions of others, into the claims of Christianity upon him. He cannot but regret his inability to do the work, committed to him by the partiality of friends, with that rare and spacious range of knowledge, and that power to coördinate all particulars of knowledge in complete exhibition, which would better have matched the imperial theme. But he has been glad to do what he could, for the elucidation of a subject so vast in both its compass and its importance; and it would be to him a great joy and reward if the processes of thought in connection with which he reached years since distinct conclusions, which remain influential for his own mind, might bring to others a similar assurance, with an animating impulse more deep and fruitful.

He gratefully remembers the testimonies which came to him of such impressions received by some when the Lectures were delivered. He would fain hope that others who may hereafter consider them, on the pages to which they are now committed, will find their confidence awakened or renewed in the Divine origin and the superlative authority of that Religion to which Christendom seems to the writer, beyond doubt, to owe whatever is chiefest in its inheritance of moral wisdom and spiritual life, and from which the conscious human soul, in the future as in the past, must derive, as he conceives, whatever is sure and uplifting in its knowledge of the Unseen, whatever is holiest in its experience, whatever is sweetest and most transporting in aspiration and in hope.

Of course, upon any one denying at the outset the essential possibility of a supernatural revelation of truth to man, neither the argument here presented, nor any other of a similar nature, can exert particular influence: as no argument can convince us

that philosophical speculations may be communicated to dogs, or that parrots can be taught spiritually to interpret the tender and majestic secrets of the symphonies of Beethoven. To one admitting a revelation to be possible, who yet has in his mind a preconceived model to which, in method, instruments, and proof, such a revelation *must* be conformed, but with which Christianity does not correspond, the argument of these Lectures, or any other on the same subject, will be for the most part ineffective: as it would be in vain to try to show the ample blessing of summer-showers to one predetermined to find no quickening virtue for vegetation except in ice-storms or in cyclones. But to one who admits it possible, at least, for God to reveal His truth and will to the man whom He has made, and who is content to have Him do this, if at all, in the way which to Him appears best adapted to His benign purpose—the argument which is outlined in these Lectures seems to the writer one of important persuasive force. The Lectures were certainly not suggested by the emphatic words of Dr. James Martineau, but these might fitly enough stand as their motto:—"The thorough interweaving of all the roots of Christianity with the history of the world on which it has sprung, is at once a source of its power, and an assurance of its divineness." *

It is probably hardly necessary to add that these Lectures had been fully written and delivered before the author of them had any knowledge of the volume since published by Mr. Charles Loring Brace, entitled "Gesta Christi; or a History of Humane Progress under Christianity." A part of the subject discussed in these Lectures—particularly in the fifth and the sixth Lectures—is presented in that volume with such exemplary clearness and carefulness, and such ample command of the necessary learning,

* Miscellanies; Boston ed., 1852: pp. 208–9.

that the present writer would hardly have ventured upon an independent treatment of these particular themes if he had known beforehand of the existence of the volume, and of its expected publication. He cannot, however, refrain from expressing the gratification which he has felt in finding that the conclusions which he had reached, in his previous occasional studies of the subject, are in close accord with those presented, and confirmed by a wider range of references, in that excellent treatise: which has brought fresh honor to American scholarship, as well as to the mind and the spirit of its accomplished and diligent author.

R. S. STORRS.

BROOKLYN, N. Y., *October* 25, 1884.

LECTURE I.

EXTERNAL EVIDENCE FOR CHRISTIANITY AS DIVINE THE VALUE AND LIMITATIONS OF ITS PROBATIVE FORCE.

LECTURE I.

A particular and commanding scheme of religion, commonly known by the name Christianity, has for many centuries been in the world. The name is not one given to it in its own early books, but one which, by the common consent of its advocates and its opponents, has come to describe it. It is primarily presented in a collection of writings, about the date of the authorship of which, or of some of which, there has been prolonged discussion among scholars, but which all now admit to have come from the earlier part of that era of time in which we live: from a period not later, at the latest, than the age of Hadrian, or of the first Antoninus.

In these writings, familiarly known in the homes of all of us, are declarations purporting to set forth facts and truths concerning God, on the one hand, and Man, on the other, with the reciprocal relations between them. They include, also, distinctive rules for conduct and for character, which are intimately connected with these alleged declarations of fact. They present impressive warnings, with astonishing correlative promises, as offering incentives for obedience to these rules; both warnings and promises having reference in part to the present experience of man on earth, but in another and larger part to that which is affirmed to be waiting in reserve in realms of being beyond the grave. They all culminate, these Christian writings, in the assertion of the presence in the world at a certain great epoch, synchronizing closely with the historical age of Augustus and Tiberius, of an extraordinary Person: remarkable in power, yet more remarkable in wisdom and character; who lived in obscure circumstances, who attracted no wide immediate attention, who died before his middle manhood by a painful and shameful anticipated death, but who called himself "the Light of the World," who claimed a preëminent relationship with

God, and to whom his followers rendered an homage, with a voluntary service, as singular and transcendent as was his surpassing self-assertion.

The career of this Person, from his birth-place to his sepulchre, and even afterward, to the time of his alleged final disappearance from the eyes of his followers, is traced in these writings, with such extraordinary grace, vividness, and felicity of narration, as seem to many to make the records quite unequalled in human literature; while, with this principal public career, and the portrait of character conspicuous in it, are connected also biographical allusions which bring many others incidentally before us, with an account, brief but animated, of the stir which was made in Jewish, Greek, or Roman communities, even among semi-barbarous peoples, by the teachings of him whom the narratives present, as those teachings were eagerly distributed by the men who had taken from him their lessons and law.

I am not now concerned to put any interpretation upon these ancient and memorable writings, or to declare what in my opinion is the system of religion which they include. I am not concerned, even, to ask to what precise date they should be ascribed, or by whose pens they were probably written. The only point to which I have occasion to call attention is the fact that they exist, and have long existed; and that there is a something in them, the exact extent and nature of which it is not now my province to indicate, which constitutes the religion known as Christianity. Before the time when these writings were traced upon the first papyrus or parchment, that religion had been declared to individual minds. The writings only seek clearly and permanently to present it to mankind. It is to be found to-day in them, in its original meaning and scope, and not in any subsequent writings displacing them, or adding to them discordant elements. Whatever changes have since occurred in human opinion, whatever varieties of controlling interpretation have been sought to be imposed on the New Testament Scriptures, it is undeniable, certainly among Protestant disciples, that they hold Christianity, as nothing else does; and that in them, first and supremely, must be sought the religion whose impression upon history has been positive and enduring.

It is with Christianity, in this respect at least, as it is with the sunshine. That may be hidden behind thick clouds. It may seem grotesquely or hideously tinted, by steaming vapors rising to intercept it from forges and factories, from chemical laboratories, or from the noisome reek of slums. But these pass away, and the sunshine continues: the same to-day, when we untwist its strand into the crimson, gold, and blue, as when it fell on the earliest bowers and blooms of the earth; of a unity too perfect to be impaired by assault, of a purity too essential to contract defilement from what in nature is most foul. So Christianity, which has certainly been variously tinted and refracted in the representations which men have made of it, continues, nevertheless, in its spiritual substance, in whatever it has of an irradiating beauty or of vitalizing force, in these primitive writings; and it still will shine from them, in all that it possesses of grace or glory, till man's labor on earth is ended. As it was at the beginning, and will be to the end, the religion remains manifested to the world by Gospels and Epistles. They did not create, but they certainly represent it. Each student is to search them, with candid attention, to find it for himself, with a practical certainty than which the scientific should not be more sure; and as long as these writings continue to be read, the Christianity which preceded them, which gave them form, which has been the chief element of their power, and which still becomes articulate through them, will not cease to be discernible by man.

The system of religion thus anciently introduced to the knowledge of men, and thus preserved and presented to us in its original meaning and spirit in these remarkable writings, has been affirmed from the outset, is now believed by multitudes of persons, to be of Divine origin and authority: to be so in a sense so paramount and unique that no other system known among men can claim similar origin or an equal authority. It is not affirmed, certainly, that everything in other religions has been untrue: that they may not have had in some respects an eminent value, as coming from minds greatly gifted, and from hearts pervaded by devout and discerning religious feeling. But it is affirmed that this system alone is so fully representative of the Divine Mind, revealing itself to and through the human spirit,

that it, and it only, has a complete and peremptory claim to be believed and to be obeyed, whatever difficulties its disciples may encounter, whatever dangers, shames, or deaths, they may have on its behalf to face.

This is not an impression among the ignorant or the credulous alone, or among those practically indifferent to the subject, whose traditional impressions hardly rise to the dignity of definite convictions. It is the matured and assured belief of many of the most thoughtful, cultured, free-spirited of men, whose attainment and aspiration are exceptionally high, by whom the question thus determined is recognized as one of superlative significance, and in whom this affirmative persuasion has oftentimes been slowly produced, sometimes against great inward reluctance, and only after a searching scrutiny of arguments and proofs. At the close of all, as the crowning result, they have this conviction: that the Christianity implicitly contained in all the Bible, but specially declared in the New Testament, it, and it only, comes to man as the religion designed for him by God: that it issued from the sovereign wisdom and the unshadowed goodness of the Infinite Mind, and has upon it the authority of that; that it is, therefore, to be the universal religion of the world; while he who now trusts it, trusts the same intelligence and holy will which set stars in their courses, and hung upon them the pendulous planets. In the judgment of such minds, Christianity is an authentic instruction given to mankind by the Author of the Universe, as to what in the highest departments of moral life it is needful for men to believe and to do. It is the one system of religion on earth for which the eternal creative Spirit from whom the spirit of man is derived is directly responsible, and to which His veracity is pledged.

This is certainly a stupendous claim: which it is well-nigh blasphemous to make, unless it is sustained by sufficient evidence, of whose validity and force we are sure; which it is in a high degree perilous to admit, if our minds and moral natures are not satisfied of its justness; but which, on the other hand, it involves a large responsibility to deny, unless we do this upon good grounds, and are confident that the claim should not be allowed. No other question can be to us of superior importance, as

matched against the question whether the religion of that New Testament which is our inheritance has come to us from God, or is the product of human logic, conjecture, or legend. The compound question of the existence and character of God is the only one which concerns more deeply, if even that does so, our moral life.

It is a claim, as we know, which is not peculiar to this religion, but which has been made, and is still made, by others, though not perhaps in a tone as imperative, or as contemplating relations equally universal. Other schemes of religion, for the most part at least, claim rather to be Divine each for its locality and people; to have been a gift from the unseen Powers to those who possess them, rather than to all the families of mankind; and the missionary instinct—though in the instance of Buddhism it has been singularly active—is thus not common under the teachings of the ethnic religions. At the same time, however, these claim to have a supreme authority over the peoples to whom they severally pertain; to have come to them, not from man's wit or device, but from the inexhaustible sources of wisdom in the heavens above. Gautama, Confucius, or Lao-tse, may neither of them have claimed for themselves celestial inspirations; but their followers have, with a growing enthusiasm, ascribed such to them, and no other religions, outside of Christendom, have had wider power, have held their adherents with firmer grasp, or have been more emphatically honored as Divine, than these, which started on a basis of natural ethics and of human philosophy.

Christianity, therefore, is but one among many religions, in claiming Divine authorship for itself, with a correlative Divine authority over the hearts and minds which it reaches.

It is a claim, I need not remind you, which many wholly and vehemently reject, who are not partisans of any other religion, but who confidently affirm that all religious faiths and forms, Christianity included, have had common origin in the native religious sentiment of man; that no one of them, therefore, has any peculiar Divine authority; that all are of necessity imperfect, if not as yet wholly rudimental; and that others surpassing them are doubtless to appear, as other forms of science, philoso-

phy, of social manners, of government, of invention, are constantly appearing, till the Absolute Religion, the Religion of Humanity, shall at last be attained. They do not admit that God has given any religion—according to their conception of things it would be essentially out of accord with His administration to give a religion—in an early time, to a special people, as the ultimate system for the world, in all ages.

Such antagonists of the paramount claims of Christianity are many and able. They have often been nourished in knowledge and power by the religion whose place of solitary preëminence in the world they dispute or deny. Its authority they repel, but its vital impulse is in their blood. They become more numerous, rather than less so, as civilization advances. They are not to be confounded with the ribald and furious assailants of Christianity, whose vulgar roughness of attack, whose malice, and sometimes their mendacity of spirit, have done so much to heap moral discredit on the name "unbeliever"; or with those who, in reckless eagerness for applause, 'to win a clap, would not scruple to sink a continent.' These men, who simply put Christianity, in its origin and authority, on the level of other religions, regarding all as equally destitute of any supreme Divine claim upon human regard, are frequently as delicate as they are diligent and dexterous in their war with the sentiment in which they were nurtured. In the dignity and charm of their social spirit, of their moral habitudes, as in the vigor and variety of their mental action, or the abundance of their mental resources, they are often deserving of cordial esteem.

While then, on the one hand, the Christianity which is brought to us in the New Testament asserts for itself this supreme and enduring authority, as being, in a sense transcendent and exclusive, revealed from God; while other religions claim much the same thing, at least as related to the peoples which receive them, and gather around their ancient origins the shining mists of alleged Divine converse with men; and while speculative philosophers, in indifference to all, with a controlling Pyrrhonic tendency, rule all alike out of the category of Divine institutes, and attribute all to the more or less cultured spirit of man: it becomes to us a duty, than which hardly any can be more urgent,

to examine this stupendous claim of Christianity, and to see if there appear reason to accept it, or if, on the other hand, there be such an absence of reasons for this that the claim may by us be properly dismissed, as either exaggerated or wholly untrue. There has never been a time, in the last eighteen centuries, when it was not appropriate and important to do this. I might almost say that there never has been a time when precisely this office was not being accomplished, by the inquisitive minds of men, by their reflective and searching hearts. And there will not come a time when the pertinence and significance of such a discussion will not be obvious, so long as there are those still living on the earth, in the same communities, with minds interacting upon each other, who on the one hand with confidence affirm, and on the other hand with eagerness deny, this impressive and surpassing proposition.

But at no time in the Past has the question more distinctly demanded discussion, at no time may it in the Future, than it does at this moment: when the world, by the superb advances of its general civilization, seems in the judgment of many to be growing superior to the need of religion, as it certainly is becoming less sensitive to its influence; when it seeks, as by a general impulse, in cultivated lands, to shake itself free from what it fears as a fetter on its thought; and when science, philosophy, history, are invoked, to show alleged faults or crude apprehensions in this religion, or to overturn its essential declarations. Not any more ingenious objections than had before been urged, not any larger array of learning on the side of unbelief, not any more attractive and elaborate eloquence conveying the materials for assault upon the Faith—not any of these, so much as the general drift of mind, in Christendom at large, toward secular aims and secular success, and toward a corresponding indifference or aversion to the sovereign claim of Christianity upon it—this makes it needful to consider that claim, and to decide for ourselves whether it be as sound and imperative as many have believed it in the Past, as many still gladly believe it. We cannot surely be indifferent to the question; and it is a wise maxim which Carlyle repeats, in closing his second essay on Richter, 'what is extraordinary, try to look at with your own

eyes.' I know of nothing to which the maxim applies more directly, with greater force, than to the claim of Christianity upon us.

And certainly for no others is such an inquiry more pertinent or important than for those who expect to teach this religion, that others may be led to accept and obey it. Clearness and thoroughness of conviction, on the subject of the Divine origin of Christianity, are to such men indispensable; unless they would build the whole structure of their work not so much on the sand as on the surface of shifting tides. They must have canvassed and felt the proofs that God has given superlative authority to the message which they carry, or their words will be as deficient in power to move mankind as is the mimic agony of the opera, as wanting in heat as is pictured flame.

This, therefore, is the subject which we confront, and concerning which I would bring such suggestions as I may in this series of Lectures. The line of argument which I hope to exhibit is not suddenly conceived, though it has, of necessity, to be rapidly and very imperfectly presented. I found in it long ago, and have found in it since, a delicate yet strong persuasion for myself of the truth of the claim which Christianity makes. I would fain hope that it may in a measure impart this to you. At least, I trust that He whom all but the atheists accept as in Himself the perfect Truth will keep me from saying anything untrue, or anything misleading in its impression; and that He will so guide and control us in considering the theme that all our words, and all our thoughts, in their final effect, shall conspire to His glory!

Two embarrassments detain one at the start, in advancing to the subject. One arises from the fact, obvious to all, that opinions widely differing have prevailed, and still prevail, as to what Christianity actually is, in its substance and scope, in the intimate and organizing elements which compose it. They prevail not merely among those who stand altogether outside the range of its discipleship, but in the societies which accept it; among those who equally feel and affirm that they are adherents of the religion. So it may be naturally asked, "What *is* this Christianity, the claim of which to a Divine origin, and a related Divine authority, we are to investigate?"

Is it the doctrine that Jesus was a man, singularly gifted, nobly consecrated, of a really surpassing genius for religion, with extraordinary power for morally impressing and inspiring others, who spoke words of such sovereign significance that the world has not been able to forget them, who gave a rule of action and of spirit exceptionally pure, while his life corresponded, in its harmonious beauty and majesty, with the precepts which he uttered; who has thus been able to affect generations subsequent to his time, in parts of the world which he had not traversed; but who stood after all on a level of nature with ourselves, and only surpassed us in the fineness and reach of his moral intuitions, and in his power of imparting to others of the fullness of his rare and kingly spirit? Is this what you mean—the precepts, rules, and thoughts of truth, announced by this man—when you speak of Christianity?

Or is it the doctrine, widely accepted, that He, being essentially Divine, but taking upon Him our nature in the wonder of the Incarnation, founded an organic visible Church, to abide on the earth, with ritual and hierarchy, into which one is brought by regenerating baptism, in which he is nourished in goodness and truth by effectual sacraments, and through whose authorized officiating priests he obtains absolution and remission of sins; a Church in which the Lord is evermore personally although mystically present; which is, therefore, empowered to teach perpetually, without doubt or error, in His name; through whose sacraments, as orderly administered, His personal energy is continually exerted; and by which, in its continuance on earth, His Incarnation becomes perpetual, and is made universal throughout the Church? Is *this* the Christianity, whose claim to be considered Divine in origin and authority you would wish us to consider?

Or is it, again, that system of doctrine which sometimes is called "the evangelical," which is also accepted in large parts of the world where this religion, coming from Palestine, has got itself established: which teaches that man is by nature depraved, in the governing temper and tendency of his heart; that this depravity reveals itself with certainty in the natural and continuing action of his life; that Christ came to the world as a

Redeemer, uniting in Himself the human nature with the Divine; that He died on the cross to make atonement for human transgression; that having then ascended into heaven He sent forth thence the Holy Spirit, to enlighten, convert, and purify men; that the Church on earth is simply the great invisible communion of those who believe, love, and obey, with reverent affection, this Son of God; and that beyond our present palpable sphere of being are realms of recompense, for evil and for good, into which each shall pass at death, and in which character, with the destiny involved, remains indelible? Is this, or any similar system not essentially divergent from this, the Christianity, concerning whose origin, and whose rightful authority, you would have us inquire?

I admit, of course, the propriety of the question, after one has come to a definite impression, or, better still, to a serious conclusion, that there is a system, whatever in the end that may show itself to be, which is presented in these ancient writings, and which has fair claim to be considered as having originated in a mind above man's, and in the will everlasting and Divine. But it is precisely that preceding question which I am to consider: while, after an answer to that has been given, affirmative and decisive, it will be in order for each to consider, with the most sincere and intent application of his supreme faculty for the work, what *is* that system which composes "Christianity." The question before us does not forestall that. It simply leads toward it, and prepares the way for it. I may see that the earth has been builded by a Power invisible and supernal, though I do not yet know the interior secrets of its material or chemical constitution: what gulfs of fire are under its crust, or how it is balanced on other stars. One may lead another to the front of a palace, and make him aware that it was surely erected by a king, though he has not as yet seen the treasures within, of jewels, mosaics, pictures, marbles, and costly marquetry. So it is plainly and surely possible to have a conviction that that religion which lies in the writings that by common consent contain Christianity has come from God, and not from the genius or will of man, though we have not as yet developed for ourselves, and set in their relations, its constituting doctrines. It is

this primary inquiry, not any which comes later, in regard to which at present I would offer suggestions.

But here the second embarrassment confronts us, which involves plainly a graver difficulty than does the preceding. It arises from the fact that the religion itself makes a personal spiritual experience of its power the only final evidence for it. "Taste and see that the Lord is good"; "if any man be minded to do the will of my Father in heaven, he shall know of the teaching, whether it be of God, or whether I speak of myself": these are consenting representative declarations from the older writings and the later of what is called among us The Bible, which harmonize with many others in setting forth the fact that only by spiritual experiment of the Gospel can man be assured of its Divine origin, as ultimately proved by its Divine energy. All other impressions of this must be, in the nature of the case, preparatory, rudimental. Only by trying it do men find with what subtle and exquisite adaptation the air is fitted to the lungs, so that by inhaling it their life is reinforced. Only by joyful experience of it is such a certainty produced in the mind of the inestimable beauty of sunshine, as could have been formed, as can be shaken, by no argument conceivable. Imagine the attempt to make that beauty as certain as it is to us, to one who had passed his entire life in the unlighted cavern! So it is only by trying Christianity, in its fitness to our deepest personal needs, of alliance with God, of moral renovation, of tranquillity, and of hope, that men can become utterly certain that it is from above; not a fabric, any more than the earth is, of human fancy, or a construction of human logic, or even a brilliant and lofty surmise of human aspiration; but a Divine system, as is the atmosphere, as is radiant light, presented by God to the world of mankind for their permanent sovereign life and peace.

Every religion must have it for its office to bring men to God. Mental philosophy, ethics, art, have other purposes. A religion, by its nature, must have this for its object, sublime and special If one has found this accomplished in himself by Christianity, it may reasonably be said, he will need no further argument to prove that that which thus lifts him into intimate and conscious alliance with his Maker has come from Him. No stilts, con

structed in human workshops, can enable man to walk on the level of stars. No legend or logic can lift one to new and essential fellowship with Him whose wisdom governs the universe which His holiness illumines. If one has not this experience of the system, in its efficacious and beautiful virtue, all external argument, in the absence of this, must be an ineffective marshalling of words: a breath of air, set in motion for a moment, and speedily absorbed in the great world-currents that play and pulsate around the globe.

I do not in the least overlook the importance of the difficulty thus stated. As against the final demonstrative value of any external argument for Christianity, it is insurmountable. It must be impossible, in the nature of the case, to give one a vivid and governing conviction of the Divine source and the heavenly mission of a religion, by intellectual suggestions. He can gain that, as I fully believe, only by experience: as one learns in practice the virtue of a medicine, the tonic value of a strengthening cordial, or the strange power to conquer pain which lurks in the odorous anæsthetic. The kind of faith, if such it may be called, which is based simply upon extrinsic proofs, is never one to quicken joy, to inspire to service, or to win from others sympathetic response. It fails in the grand emergencies of life. It cannot have the settled security, the vital energy, it cannot inspire the overmastering enthusiasm, which belong to the faith that is born of experience. To take the just distinction of Maurice, a man may come to hold a religion, in consequence of its external proofs; but that religion will not hold him, in its constant, subtle, and stimulating grasp, except through his experience of it.

But again, my inquiry is so primary in its nature that this objection does not really challenge it. I go back to meet a prior stage of mental and spiritual search for the truth, and the question which waits for our answer is this: Is there, or is there not, such a fair, obvious, antecedent probability that Christianity is from God, that each conscientious and intelligent man should study it for himself, should master it in its statements, requirements, offers, should set himself in intimate personal harmony with its law and life —thus making a sufficient experiment of it

by accepting and applying it to his own soul? I would only, as before, lead the unconvinced mind up to the system, as it stands declared in the New Testament, and show him such reasons for believing it Divine, in the transcendent sense, as may persuade him, as may forcibly prompt him, to investigate its contents, and to see if on spiritual trial of its energy he finds in it a really celestial power and glory. So, only, can the indestructible certainty be wrought in the soul.

But the steps preliminary may yet be needful; as needful as is the hand of him who leads us up to the master-piece of the rich gallery, that the delicate and ethereal charm of its splendor may stream upon us; as needful as was the ancient errand of the woman of Samaria, who called the men to see that Lord of whom afterward they said: "We have heard him ourselves, and know that this is indeed the Christ." If one hold himself carefully to this definite purpose, he may hope, I think, to do service to his hearers; and he need not regard the sharp sneer of Dr. Newman, that 'if we rely much on argumentative proof as the basis of personal Christianity, we ought in consistency to take chemists for our cooks, and mineralogists for our masons.'

One other embarrassment, though certainly involving far less of difficulty than those which I have mentioned—but which especially confronts one who would gather the testimonies offered to Christianity by its recorded career in the world—arises from the fact that some of the worst wickedness on the earth has been wrought ostensibly on behalf of this religion, by those who have been held its disciples and advocates. The fires, kindled professedly in its service, have lighted with their glare long passages of history. The cruelties, lusts, ambitions of those who have stood as princes in the society called by its name—the treacheries, conflagrations, wholesale murders, accomplished by those who have borne with crimsoned hands its consecrated banners—these are, assuredly, frightful to contemplate. Men may seem at first fairly justified in saying, as oftentimes they have said: "If we are to judge the tree by its fruits, which even the New Testament requires us to do, then the system must be intrinsically evil, born of man's nature, and of the worst part of it, not of God, from which have proceeded effects like these. If we are

not at liberty absolutely to predicate untruth of the whole of it, we may say that it cannot, in any exclusive and preëminent sense, be from His mind who is infinitely pure, since it has been associated with, has seemed to tolerate, or even to inspire, the fiercest and foulest vices of man."

I do not overlook the difficulty, here, as I have shown by stating it in strong terms. But it is rather apparent than real, and does not, I am sure, interpose any grave or governing obstacle, to a reflective and candid mind, in the way of the acceptance of Christianity as Divine. The physicist has to recognize a difference between the theoretical effect of a force acting without friction, in ideal freedom, and the observed effect of that force, as incessantly though silently hindered or deflected by resistances of matter. How vast the difference between the harmonies in the soul of the composer, or even as inscribed on the musical score, and the same as harshly or ignorantly rendered on jangled strings! An original energy is not to be condemned because of imperfection in the instruments or the media through which it is revealed; as the sunshine is not less purely lucid when it pierces the crystal of violet or of ruby; as the expansive force of steam is not less a beneficent instrument because it explodes the imperfect steam-chamber, or drives the ship, carelessly piloted, crashing upon reefs. However Divine Christianity may be, and in whatever superlative sense, if human nature be what it postulates, so darkly obscured, so vitally disordered, as to need a Divine intervention to amend it, it is not unnatural, it was rather to be expected, that according to the impact of this religion on any spirit remaining unpurified must be the mischiefs wrought in its name. Hypocrisy everywhere counterfeits virtue; and it deepens, as shadows do, when the light grows intenser. Fanaticism and enthusiasm are near of kin. It is only a moral difference which divides them. And the fierce fanaticism of the sanguinary bigot, though in utter contrast with the vivid enthusiasm of the devout and humble disciple, may simply show the tremendous impression made by the religion upon a temper which it does not essentially overcome and renew.

The Religion, in other words, is not disproved by the fact that the alien and hostile human will has mistaken or misapplied

it. Rather, as poisonous weeds grow most fruitfully on soils made prolific by culture, and under a glowing baptism of sunshine, so crimes and shames, if the germs of them continue in human nature, may only come to more frightful exhibition beneath the force of a religion from above. The impression which they make on the quickened public moral sensibility will certainly be sharper than in the absence of such a religion. It is not improbable that their intrinsic evil energy may be augmented.

I do not assume anything, then, as to the essential interior constitution of that religion declared in the New Testament. I do not fail to recognize the fact that only by inner experience of its power can we fully know if this religion has come to us from God. I do not overlook the disastrous fact that it has by no means done as yet its fairly authenticating work in the world; that it has even incurred, often, a heavy opprobrium from the gross and fierce wickedness of its adherents. But admitting all this, and looking at Christianity not now analytically, but simply as a historical Faith, confessedly discovered to the world at the outset of our era, and represented to-day, to whomsoever would clearly find it, in these ancient writings, I ask myself if there is any obvious, forcible, presumptive evidence that that Religion, so declared, has come to us from God as its author? Is there such evidence, so far potential, as to properly impel men to study Christianity with a profound and faithful attention: to make themselves masters, by such attention, of whatever of doctrine, law, promise, or of alleged spiritual fact, it presents: and then to make personal experiment of its efficacy, when what it affirms, and what it requires, has to them become evident?

I think that there is such important directive and preliminary evidence: that it is of a nature, and of an extent, which properly demand that it be fairly pondered by all: and that the impression received from it will become always stronger as it is more carefully and largely considered. And along a particular line of this evidence I would, in the Lectures which are to follow, conduct your thoughts.

Even here, however, a distinct limitation must be recognized by all. Anything approaching demonstrative proof, absolutely

coercive of intellectual assent, cannot be demanded, as it cannot in the nature of the case be supplied, in an argument of this kind. The evidence must be moral in its nature, and such as will require, for the fair impression of its probative force, not only intelligence, and a certain amount of mental discipline, but moral candor: a willingness to be convinced: even a cordial though a judicial disposition to accept the conclusion, if such acceptance shall appear warranted by the arguments presented.

All moral truth requires as a condition of its acceptance a moral state in a measure at least sympathetic with itself. Therefore, only, does it test character, as well as mould it. Therefore is it, as no other is, a judge between men. You can compel the assent of every one, who has intelligence enough to follow the necessary processes of thought, to any one of Euclid's propositions. You can by experiment compel the recognition of the presence and the activity of the crystallizing force in the turbid mixture of the chemist. But you cannot so show the beauty of charity to the habitual and passionate miser, or the beauty of patriotism to the embittered and preëngaged traitor, as to compel either to see the charm of the summoning virtue. To argue the moral preëminence for man of dangerous and high philanthropical enterprise over selfish indulgence, to one who lives only to follow inclination or to gratify lust—it is leading the deaf to hear oratorios, or showing to the blind the charm of expansive summer landscapes.

Of course, these are special exceptional instances; taken purposely as such, that the law which they suggest may be emphasized before us. But the law holds, always: that where moral truth is the subject-matter presented to the mind, the mind must not withstand it, with predetermined hostility, if it would feel its fair impression. It must at least be willing to hear, to seriously reflect, to consider candidly what arguments may be brought; and it must not be committed against a conclusion, it must be in fact quite ready to receive that, if the arguments for it turn out to be sufficient. In this way we discuss, intelligently and fruitfully, the character of men; in this way, the propriety of customs or legislations; in this way, even, the qualities and the career of historical persons, or of public institutions. In this

way only can we with fairness discuss the question whether Christianity comes to us, in any transcendent and superlative sense, from the Mind unseen, which has built the suns, and from which our conscious life has sprung. The proposition is a vast one. It is addressed to the spirit, not to the sense; to the conscience and heart, not alone to the critical understanding. It pertains to the sphere of spiritual truth. The argument for it can only, therefore, be moral in its nature. It must appeal to a temper in men wholly welcoming and receptive, or it might as well be addressed to fishes, or to those unacquainted with the accents of the tongue in which it is expressed. There is profound truth in the saying of a Hindu, quoted by Sir William Jones: "Whoever obstinately adheres to a set of opinions may at last bring himself to believe that the freshest sandal-wood is a flame of fire." *

If there *were* any argument for Christianity of another sort, coercive not persuasive, demonstrative and scientific not moral and probable, it would certainly have been discovered long since, in the centuries which this energetic religion has instructed, commanded, and filled with debate. But in proportion as such an argument were urged and distributed it would, in effect, rob the religion of its supreme office as a witness for itself; it would exclude opportunity for spiritual faith, as involving in it any personal voluntary element; it would cause what it proved to be the message of God to cease to be, according to its nature, 'a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart.'

Of the arguments which, within these inevitable limits, are adapted to convince men that Christianity is, in a supreme sense, of a Divine origin, and of world-wide authority—so far to convince them as to lead them to study it thoroughly for themselves, and to make a personal experiment of it, according to its law—of these there are several, associated naturally under the title of "External Evidences." The study of theologians, the attention of masters of speculative thought, in fact the reflective faculty of the world, have been profoundly occupied with them; and the range of the research invited and thus incited by them is,

* Works of Sir W. Jones, London ed., 1807, Vol. III., p. 323.

almost literally, without a horizon. I am to follow one path, only, in the broad expanse thus opened before us; and that path, perhaps, not the one most attractive, or promising to lead to most important and satisfying results.

The early disciples found a sufficient argument for themselves in the Miracles which were wrought, or which appeared to them to be wrought, in connection with this religion. They recognized in these the signs and proofs that he who was speaking, whether directly or through his messengers, was speaking with a warrant from God Himself. The fact that such an impression was made, in early times, on many minds, and that it was full of inspiring power, cannot be questioned: and it has plainly great significance. Gibbon sets this belief in miracles prominently, you remember, among the causes by which he accounts for the spread of Christianity, at a time which did not favor it, against many resistances. The influence of it was vividly illustrated, in multitudes of instances, in dungeon, amphitheatre, at the stake, on the cross. And the argument for Christianity, as alone Divine, which is derived from the astonishing supernatural manifestations declared to have attended its early proclamation, is still pressed, with obvious candor, as well as with enthusiasm and a signal ability, by many of its apologists.

I need not perhaps say that I feel, for myself, the energetic and the continuing force of the argument so presented; and that I have no word of objection, only words of sympathetic approval, for those by whom it is urged to-day with as eager an eloquence as flowed from either lip or pen of the most eminent Christian Fathers. But I do not undertake to present this myself, in this series of Lectures. For the time, at least, I will not contest an inch of the ground on which so strenuous a warfare has been waged. I will not even controvert the position, if men choose to take it, that the miracle, after so many centuries of apparently uninterrupted regularity in the operations of cosmical force, is not easy of proof except in connection with the doctrine supported and signalized by it, and with the conceded supreme personality of him by whose will it is alleged to have been wrought; that the religion, in other words, sustains the miracle, as truly as does the miracle the religion; and that, considered in inde-

pendence of what it authenticates, the most stupendous physical effect will prove power, primarily, rather than truth—will be a demonstration of incalculable energy, not necessarily an evidence of supreme spiritual loveliness and lordship.

It must certainly be conceded that Jesus himself, according to the authoritative records, did not make the miracles early ascribed to him the means of persuading men at large to accept and obey him, so much as the means of confirming or rewarding a previous faith. He appealed to these indeed, before his enemies, and made their responsibility for antagonism to him only clearer and more perfect because of these works. But he wrought them, for the most part, either in private, or in the least demonstrative manner: as if they had simply broken from him, in the abounding spontaneity of his love, when appropriate occasions attracted the flashes of the inner effulgence, rather than as if they had been his preärranged instruments for converting the world, Jewish and Pagan.

I undoubtingly believe, for myself, the reality of the miracles thus attributed to him. The lucid and lofty simplicity of the story in which they are told is of itself to me their demonstration. They seem to furnish the only explanation, through their effect on the minds of the disciples, of the early triumphs of the despised Gospel on the very spot where its Lord had been crucified, and of the victorious energy of apostles in proclaiming that Gospel, in spite of resistance, and in defiance of flood or flame. I feel the profound truth of the remark of Pascal, that "as nature is an image of grace, so the visible miracles are but the images of those invisible which God wills to accomplish."* The whole New Testament would become to me inharmonious in its proportions, timid in its challenge to the faith of the world, emptied of the ultimate majesty and lustre of Omnipotent Love, if there ever should be expelled from its tender and dauntless pages these sovereign demonstrations of the Divine Will, immanent in the person and illustrious in the action of him who as Christ claims unique authority in the world. But I will not now dispute the position if any one accounts such

* "Pensées"; Paris ed., 1878; Sec. Par; Art. VIII. 2.

miracles the inner light shining for the worshipper in the Holy of Holies, rather than the advanced and interpreting torches with which he is lighted on his way to the sanctuary. One may reverently accept them for himself, and see the Divine glory in them, without using them as instruments for the persuasion of others: as the jeweled sceptre in the hand of the king may not be the weapon most apt for use in subduing an armed and fierce opposition, or turning the refluent tides of battle.

An argument was also urged at the beginning, and has often been repeated, for the Divine origin of Christianity, based upon the fact, widely affirmed, that Prophecies written centuries before were fulfilled in events which subsequently occurred, in the coming and the life, and especially in the death, of Jesus of Nazareth; and that this necessarily involves the conclusion that Omniscience was engaged in the previous utterance, and presented a certifying assurance of the fact in the later fulfilment. The inference is inevitable to those admitting the premise. Only imperfectly, and with infinite difficulty, can man trace backward a completed course of historical sequences, and ascertain the small germ out of which was developed, in the progress of centuries, the final result; the tiny rills, by whose unnoticed silent confluence was formed at last the irresistible current. To reverse this process, and forecast the end from the beginning, is surely the special prerogative of God. And if He has thus seen and declared it, before it came, and when to observant human eyes there seemed no promise of its coming, there is an end of debate on the question of His immediate connection with any religion so authenticated by Him. Justin Martyr is therefore but one among many who by the study of Hebrew prophecies, as illumined and answered by the subsequent occurrence of stupendous events, have been led to that assurance concerning Christianity which to him was more satisfying than all which he had learned from Platonist or Stoic: who have by such study been enabled to enter those 'gates of light' which his illustrious Athenian master had but seen in far fore-gleam.

But there are many—they are those to whom the pertinent arguments on this great theme especially need to be presented—who do not admit that such predictions were really

made, by Isaiah, for example, by Daniel, by the Psalmists, or by Moses. They affirm the predictions attributed to these to have been either of later origin, or so essentially indeterminate in their nature that human sagacity might have suggested their veiled outlines, upon the chance of future events responding to them. They shelter themselves behind the fact that even the Messianic predictions, to a spirit so profound, perspicacious, and devout, though also so free, as that of Schleiermacher, seemed to have their chief value in the evidence which they offered of the striving upward of human nature toward Christianity, and of a general Divine design in the Mosaic institutes: and that he, in fact, accepted the prophecies on the authority of the New Testament, instead of basing in any measure his sense of that authority upon the predictions. Without following in his steps, it must certainly be conceded that only an argument for which few are competent, a linguistic as well as a historical argument, at once minute and comprehensive, can so set predictions in their indisputable historical place, and show them in their indubitable meanings, that the subsequent facts, in their plain and precise correspondence with these, shall demonstrate them Divine

A general course of Prophecy fulfilled—it seems no more to require a mind peculiarly devout to find this in the Bible than it needs such a mind to see the blending stellar brightness of Milky Way constellations: as even the cautious and critical De Wette not only held the Old Testament a great prophecy, a great type, of Him who was to come, but attributed to individuals distinct presentiments, by Divine inspiration, of events in the future. But I have often observed that upon a reluctant or doubting mind the argument from specific predictions either makes slight impression, or needs to be preceded by another, more extended than itself, to show the substantial nature of its grounds.

Still further: an argument for the special Divine authorship of the religion of the New Testament may be properly derived from the evident characteristics of the book itself: the vast extent, and sharp distinctness, of its affirmative propositions; the pureness and reach of its ethical system; especially from the effortless and sovereign perfection of the portrait which it presents of him whom it glorifies as the proper Leader and King of the world.

As compared with the final demonstration of experience, the argument thus suggested may also be classed among preliminary and external evidences; yet I confess that to me, with my apprehension of the scheme and the scope of the New Testament, it appears of a positively commanding force, almost making unnecessary any other form of preparatory testimony.

If one seriously considers the philosophical, theological, ethical structure of this remarkable book,—if he sets it clearly amid its times, and then matches against it the Vedic hymns, the several parts of the Buddhistic canon, or the Sacred Books of China, now made familiar by Dr. Legge,—if he matches against it any system, philosophic or theosophic, which genius has conceived, and which human patience and fervor have moulded,—it seems to me that he hardly can escape a serious, intimate, and enduring conviction that something beyond a peculiar talent, in a young and eager mechanic of Nazareth, was needed to frame it; that the Divine Spirit must be recognized as speaking, through whatever may be attributed to Jesus of intuition and prudence, in this illustrious system.

Preëminently, as I said, does the whole exhibition of the Christ in these Scriptures seem to set them apart, in diversity of nature, from all other writings, unillumined by them, of which human minds have shown themselves capable. Such a matchless combination of power with gentleness, of lowliness without abjectness, and supremacy without pride, of a holiness of spirit so native and complete that no penitence is possible, with a sympathy for the sinner so tender and profound that no depth of degradation suffices to repel it: such a unique and incalculable career, of One asserting inherent prerogatives beside which the loftiest imperial claims were as vanishing sparks beneath the unfading splendor of suns, yet accepting a poverty than which the peasant's was less complete; of One able to control all powers of nature by the breath of his lips, yet walking for years in patience and in pain, amid sneering derisions, and fierce oppositions, and the weakness or the covetous treachery of adherents, toward victory by death, and the conquest of the world by what seemed an ignominious subjection to its force:—the truth of this strange, surpassing, and vital picture, seems placed almost

beyond dispute by its very existence! Nor does it seem credible that men like the evangelists should have conceived it, and flashed it on immortal pages, without having not only seen it but felt in their own spirits a Divine and transforming influx from it, of wisdom and grace. The splendor which this picture has cast upon history almost certifies us at once of its superterrestrial pureness and height.

Yet, no doubt, to fully set forth the argument thus suggested, in its capital force, must involve a patient preceding process of analysis and of synthesis, to show what *is* the astonishing system of doctrine and precept in the New Testament; and to set it in comparison with other philosophical and ethical schemes. It must imply a searching examination of the ancient documents, in which the lineaments of the Christ are portrayed; the proof of their integrity; the diligent and sufficient exposition of their contents. Without these, men will not be induced to accept the asserted supremacy of the system considered, as one of truth and moral order. They will find what appear to them parallels to it, in other schemes. They will, very likely, attribute to its Founder a genius for religion so special and surpassing that he was able, without sovereign and immanent inspirations from God, to write his name above the stars. They may possibly suspect, indeed, that the advancing culture of the world has imperceptibly transported into Christianity elements of a later grace and renown; has clothed it upon with spiritual meanings, and set it in vast cosmical relations, which were not contemplated by evangelist or apostle, or by him from whom they both had learned. They may even conjecture that the Lord himself has taken a glory from the impassioned Christian imagination of subsequent centuries, instead of imparting, as his disciples have reverently held, all its essential glory to that.

It appears to me certain that such doubts will disappear, from the more candid and spiritual minds, as they follow the inquiries which I have indicated; and that they in the end will find the New Testament standing essentially apart from and above all other books, in the doctrines announced, in the maxims of duty, and in the majestic and untroubled sweep of that illumination which it at least professes to cast over Time and Eternity. It speaks with

an authority more native and complete than that of any ordinance of Senates. There is no detail too minute for its scrutiny There is no expanse too wide for its survey. It comes largely from unlettered men: yet on all superlative spiritual themes, most important to man, it speaks in a voice as free and frank, while as lofty in tone, as any voice of angels in the air. In its outreach and majesty, in the intimate and unstudied concinnity of each part, the majestic ultimate coördination of all into a whole which educates the world—in these, as well as in the still unapproximated conjunction of benignity and of lordliness in the character of Him whom it presents for our homage and love—seems radiant evidence that it was not born in the wrenching throes of a human intelligence; that it descended out of heaven, from God.

But to furnish the premises for this great argument would be work for a life-time. So this, also, we will pass for the present, with only such general reference to it.

I ask myself again then: Is there any form of proof, besides those which I have indicated, besides others which might be cited, but only to be encountered by similar objections—any form of proof whose probative force will be easily and naturally evident to all who are thoughtful, candid, and morally sensitive, and which will at least make it probable to such that Christianity is, in a supreme sense, a religion sent from God to the world? will make it so probable that a reflective and serious person will feel himself under immediate obligation to consider, ponder, study the system, and to make that personal experiment of it which it always appropriately demands? The question is one of controlling importance; and I seem to find an answer to it, an affirmative answer, in considering the indisputable Historical Effects which have followed the introduction of this religion into the world; which follow it to-day, wherever the system, having before been unknown, gets itself established in human acceptance, and assumes control over persons and societies.

Of course, as I have fully admitted, much evil, and that of gross kinds, has been connected with its propagation. But this cannot be held, even by its opponents, essential to it, or a necessary fruit of its normal operation. To infer its character from

the abuses which men have attached to it would be to repeat the error of those who, according to the fine image of Deutsch, in criticising the Talmud have 'mistaken the gargoyles, the grinning stone caricatures mounting their guard over cathedrals, for the gleaming statues of Saints within.'* Liberty sometimes runs to license, not because it is bad in itself, but because human passion perverts its principle. Philanthropy sometimes makes men crazy, in spirit and action, if not in mind; not because the law of charity is in itself evil, but because the unconquered heart of man makes it an excuse for selfishness or ferocity. If Christianity comes, as in its own contemplation it does, to enlighten and rectify the nature of mankind, its proper effects must be wholly separable, in thought and in fact, from the manifestations of that alien and insolent human temper which it claims at least to have it for its function to restrain and subdue. If we can then so far untwist the tangled threads interlacing with each other in the tissue of history as to extricate what is peculiar to Christianity from what is common to human wickedness or human infirmity, and to show by themselves its special effects, then these, its characteristic products, as realized in the public life of the world, may give us light, on its nature not only, but on its origin and authority over men.

"History," it has been justly said, "is no Sphinx. She tells us what kind of teaching has been fruitful in blessing to humanity, and why, and what has been a mere boastful promise or powerless formula."† Systems of religion springing out of the limited thought of man, and of his individual purpose and plan, are likely to be local rather than general in the range of their influence; to be transient, not secular, in their power over communities; to be even substantially egotistic and sterile, leaving the peoples on which their limited forces are exerted without rich and large progress inspired by them, without consequent wealth and resplendence in their history. It may properly be expected of a religion coming from God that it will be cosmical in its aims, permanent in its power, and that it will put alto-

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* "Literary Remains," New York ed., 1874, p. 4.

† "Hours with the Mystics," London ed., 1860, Vol. I., p. 13.

gether new elements into human society, and into the history which portrays that. It may stir great commotions, as the strong breeze does when it strikes down upon stagnant lakes, and flings the offensive sediment to the surface. But it must be that in the end it will purify and refresh what it turbulently stirs, and that a sweeter and nobler life will be in communities because of its coming. In the absence of such effects, reported miracles, it seems to me, however extraordinary, could hardly hold to any religion the faith of the thoughtful. In the presence of such effects, the likelihood is great, to state the fact in most temperate phrase, that the religion by which they are wrought has come to the world, not from man, but from God.

On this line of thought, then, I ask you rapidly but attentively to go with me, in the Lectures which are to follow. Of course it is not enough for me to show that the world, as it is, is better than it was, a dozen or twenty centuries ago; or even that it has advanced in moral, social, and personal excellence, most surely and rapidly within the limits of what we call Christendom. All this might be true, and still the progress be due to causes outside this religion, or due to it in a measure without proving a special divinity to belong to it. I have not the slightest wish to strain the argument, by improperly including among its premises what does not belong there: or by pressing its conclusions a hair-breadth further than they ought to be carried. It would seem to me infidelity to the Master to attempt this. I remember the wise maxim of Coleridge, and should decline to enter on such an effort as promptly and sharply as any of my hearers. But it is a striking, and, within obvious limitations, a perfectly just remark of Ewald, made certainly with no polemical aim, that religion affects peoples even more potentially than it does individuals: that is, that the public consciousness of religious obligation is frequently more pronounced and effective, as well as more enduring, than is the individual conviction of it; that religion works most freely and fruitfully through the social organism; and that the public development may reveal its presence and inspiration where they are hardly as clearly discernible in the private life of separate souls.

In the case of a historical religion like Christianity, having

rules, institutes, ministries, and working itself into the general life of peoples, this may be expected to be the case; and if it be true, as I think it to be true, that nations have been widely and beneficently affected by it, that the world itself is practically another world in moral life since Jesus of Nazareth taught in it, that it is as diverse from that which preceded him, whose arts, industries, philosophies, social systems, prevailed in his time, as the planet would be if another earth had replaced the old one, or if the sun had first shined in his time with quickening splendor on meadow and hill—if it be true, as surely it seems to me to be true, that this change dates from his exact epoch, and had its vital beginnings in him—then it appears impossible to believe that a human mind, no matter how gifted, has wrought the change; that any genius, or any will, in which the unsearchable Divine energy was not resident and enthroned, has produced a transformation so immense beyond parallel. The world of human life and force is too vast for any man to master and mould it. Society is too continuous and organic for any human spirit to work in it so enormous a change. A system that suddenly swept into history with a rush of beneficence which eighteen centuries have not exhausted, can hardly have been a mere day-dream of Galilee. I find no adequate account of it possible which does not ascribe it to God Himself.

In partially indicating some of the principal facts in history which appear to me to illustrate the Divine beneficence and power of the system of Christianity, and to put it wholly beyond comparison with any fine or forcible institutes of human device, I am keenly sensible of the many imperfections which must mark my treatment of such a theme: but I shall certainly try to treat it in a discerning and dispassionate temper, exaggerating nothing, coloring nothing, concealing nothing, but simply and fairly setting forth, for myself as for you, what has been accomplished by the special force of this religion in its action on mankind. Certainly one who exhibits this can hardly be reckoned among those of whom it has been sneeringly said that they argue 'from their own hearth-rug upward.' It is a realistic form of evidence: and one which meets the desire of men for something recent, not remote, which they can measure and test for themselves. It

is one, too, to which the most sceptical historical writers may not reluctantly contribute: as the distinguished historian of Rationalism in Europe, to take a single illustration, has clearly recognized and eloquently set forth many facts important to it, while himself putting miracles, almost with a sneer, upon the same basis with fairy tales. It is a method of proof which asks no preliminary question as to when, or by whom, the New Testament writings were prepared or collected, if only they be conceded to contain Christianity. The value and influence of the Homeric poems would not be obscured if the theory of Wolfe and Heyne, elaborated since, as well as controverted, by many others, should be generally accepted, that they were originally separate songs, put together by an editor, perhaps as late as the time of Peisistratus. The reign of Charlemagne would not cease to be a fact of cardinal importance in the mediæval Europe though all the historical records of his career should appear upon scrutiny to be variously imperfect. And if Christianity has left of itself large witness in history, we need not begin our inquiry about it with investigating the documents in which it was early proclaimed to the world. A discussion of these may properly follow: but without primary reference to them it may appear, from the nature, the permanence, and the beautiful fruitfulness of the effects of the religion which they present, that it must have had its lofty origin in the mind which is Divine. Then we may expect the argument to grow stronger, all the time, as society advances—as the argument derived from ancient miracles hardly can: while miracles and prophecies, attending the religion at its first introduction to the knowledge of the world, will seem scarcely more than natural aids and fit illustrations given it by its Author, and any surpassing and majestic sublimities in its own constitution will commend themselves to us as germane to God's Mind.

The personality of that Mind I do not of course undertake to prove, since I am speaking not to or for atheists, but to those who already believe in God; not as 'a generalized expression for natural causes,' but as the Creator and Governor of the Universe, who is in Himself eternal Wisdom, Goodness, Truth. That such a Being can give a system of religion, by revelation, to

mankind, no one of us certainly will deny. Whether He has in fact done so, is our question. I accept fully the imperative hypothesis that if He has done it, the system so promulgated must be marked by His character, and must be adapted to produce such effects, spiritual and social, political, ethical, juridical even, as may with fairness be attributed to Him. I have a right, on the other hand, to contend that if the effects which follow the particular scheme of Christianity are such as had not before been produced by any religious or ethical system, are other in nature, higher in character, more extensive, and more enduring, and with higher prophecy of what still is to come—then, in proportion to the rareness and difficulty of these special effects, will rise the probability that that which has produced them has proceeded from God: as we undoubtingly ascribe to Him the sunshine which blesses the earth with its beauty, or the sweet and orderly succession of the seasons, marking the moments on the horologe of the centuries. I cannot be mistaken in conceiving the argument worthy of attention, whether or not I have misconceived its proper force.

As I said, I would neither exaggerate nor conceal. I admit, at the outset, that many things in which we delight, as belonging distinctively to our civilization, have come through those not consciously affected by Christian faith, and sometimes through those who strenuously resisted this religion. I would not rob any one of them all—inventor, writer, captain of troops, bold discoverer, sagacious statesman—of the honor which is due him. I would recognize every noble, toiling, victorious man, whether or not he has accepted the Master of the new ages. It is not individual action for which I am to look, to condone or condemn, or, otherwise, to applaud; but it is the broad general effects which seem to me to have followed Christianity, springing out of it, for the first time by means of it getting themselves realized and established in society, in spite of all contrary tendencies in mankind, in spite of the resistance of all the institutions, habits, laws, which had before them to be dislodged. If we find such, on a large scale, going everywhere with Christianity, continuing through the centuries, and giving promise of nobler eras yet to come, I think you will agree that it is not rash to ascribe such

effects, with the system which brings them, to a mind above man's, and to a will working for our welfare, in comparison with which our strongest wills are of wavering weakness. To this inquiry I therefore invite you, in the following Lectures: and may He who is surely the Author of the soul, whether of the outward religion or not, give us grace to discern clearly the truth, whatever it is, and to be its prompt and glad disciples!

LECTURE II.

THE NEW CONCEPTION OF GOD, INTRODUCED BY CHRISTIANITY.

LECTURE II.

That a new and nobler conception of God has been common among men since Jesus of Nazareth proclaimed his religion, it seems quite impossible to doubt; and that such change and elevation of thought on this supreme theme have been radically due to his sovereign instruction, and his efficacious and undecaying influence, appears equally evident. But certainly, if this be admitted as true, it cannot be dismissed as of trivial importance. It must be conceded to be of a really royal significance.

No greater intellectual or spiritual gain can be conceived for a man than that which is implied in a more vivid, just, and inspiring conception of Him from whom his nature came, and with whom he stands, by reason of that nature, in essential relations. No object can be conceived more worthy the aim of a Divine revelation than to give men precisely this uplift and advancement in the knowledge of their Creator. It has to do with their mental progress, in power and in culture. It is intimately connected with the training of conscience, and of the sweetest and noblest affections. It concerns the regulation, and the fine inspiration, of the voluntary force. There is in fact no element in our energetic and complex nature which should not take beauty and blessing upon it from a clearer and larger apprehension of God. As the tides are lifted beneath the unseen pull of the moon, so human aspiration must be exalted when the vision of the infinite Author of the Universe rises above it in majestic distinctness. As flowers and trees respond with blooms brilliant and fragrant to the kiss of the sunshine when spring replaces the icy winter, so whatever is noblest in man, and whatever is most delicate, must answer the appeal of a radiant discovery of that presiding Personal Glory, from which order and life, power and love, incessantly proceed

Undoubtedly, also, whatever noxious forces there are in one's moral nature, of rebellious desire, or of a defiant and passionate will, these may be quickened to ranker development, or stirred to a more impetuous swing, by such a revelation; as the poison is ripened, no less than the rose, by the play of the sunlight; as the storm is pushed to a fury more destructive by the force radiated from satellite and sun. But the normal effect of the more ample discovery of God, on the finite intelligence, must be to exalt, clarify, and ennoble it. And so men have always sought for this, precisely as they have been sensitive and reflective. They who have missed it have sadly deplored the absence of it. They who have had it have felt in the depth of their responsive and stimulated being that no other privilege was so august, no other knowledge so life-giving. The supreme energy, in the sphere of moral life, in Christendom or outside it, must always be this which descends from the heights of the creative and kingly Authority which resides in the heavens.

That a richer impression of God has been prevalent and illustrious in the world, since Jesus taught in it, appears, as I have said, beyond dispute; and the more closely we examine, in its particulars, this essentially new conception of God, the more palpable will the contrast of it appear with whatever preceded it; the more, it seems to me, shall we inwardly feel that not by human means alone—long tried before without success—but by a transcendent Divine revelation, was such a change, so intimate and immense, accomplished for man.

No thoughtful person will speak without tenderness of any ancient religious scheme which, in the absence of ampler light, has drawn to itself the trust and hope of human souls, and has been their means, however imperfect, for ascending to nearer intercourse with God. More majestic in proportions, more significant often in particulars of detail, than any renowned architecture of temples, are some of these religions; more pathetic are they than any tragedy, when we really touch the solemn consciousness and the timid aspiration which lie beneath them; musical sometimes, with sad deprecation or with diffident praise, beyond the melody of secular poems; picturesque, even, with a vivid and varied beauty surpassing that of spectacular pageants

As simple historical monuments they appeal to a profounder study than obelisks, palaces, or civil legislations. As systems illustrating human feeling, they touch our hearts. We may never forget that souls like our own have sung their hymns, have builded upon them their tremulous hopes, have left them baptized with their irrepressible passionate tears. But it is necessary carefully to trace the influence of such religions, pursuing them to their effects as these had certainly been realized in society when Jesus came, to understand the work accomplished by him, the prodigious revolution which, through the Christianity that claims him for its Head, has in this direction been wrought in the earth.

That man has an innate sense of God,—implied in his constant consciousness of dependence, and also of obligation, both pointing to a Power above him, and in his vague but real intuition of an Infinite beyond his measurement or sight,—this seems demonstrably certain; almost, in fact, an axiom in religion. The old etymology of the Greek word 'Anthropos,' which made it represent "the one who looks upward," may or may not have been the correct one; but the characteristic mark which it gives of the human person is justly descriptive: and nothing is more apparent in history than the search which man has made after God, in all places and times, if haply he might find Him. The great teachers, the Orphic brotherhoods, more vaguely, yet really, the common multitudes, have alike been eager in this quest for the Power which they had to assume as the ultimate source of order and of life.

The fact becomes startling, then, that so many of the thoughtful, in the days which remain memorable to men for the mission of Jesus, had become wholly and frankly atheistic, or had come to recognize no other God than the universe itself, which to them was the impersonal source, and the ultimate reservoir, of existence and energy. It is only to be explained by their vehement recoil from the rites of worship, immoral and debasing, which were practiced around them, and from the fictions of historical tradition which bore these as their appropriate poisonous fruit. How immoral and how debasing these rites had become, I need hardly remind you. There had been points, in the ex-

perience of various peoples, where natural religion seemed nearly if not wholly, to touch the level of revelation; where the primitive conception of God had been so comparatively worthy and high that the subsequent descent from it appears almost incredible: the monotheism being lost so utterly in the multitude of divinities; the adoration of contemplation, or the solemn ancestral ritual of sacrifice, giving place so completely to frivolous, licentious, or obscene customs of what was called worship. But these customs were now so established that only a radical and world-wide revolution of thought and feeling could displace them. Cicero, and Seneca, with many others, recognized and rebuked the tendency of men, instead of bringing the Divine to the human, to attribute their own sins to the gods: till such were encouraged, and seemed authorized, from on high. The testimony of Herodotus, Strabo, and others, as to the infamous usages of worship in Babylon and in Egypt, is sufficiently familiar. The voluntary sacrifice of virtue by woman was accepted as an offering dear to the gods; and a sensuality so frightful that Christendom could not bear its story, if the veil of the ancient language were lifted, had become part of the ritual of religion on the Nile and the Euphrates.

It was said of the Greeks by Apuleius that they differed from the Egyptians in that they honored their gods by dances, which the Egyptians replaced with lamentations. The lighter and more fanciful spirit of the Greek is suggested by the remark. But in one respect they were certainly alike, in their readiness to instal the animal lusts among services of religion: so that Strabo tells us, you remember, that the wealth of Corinth proceeded largely from the foul hire of prostitution in the temples; and Athenæus records that to the prayers of the temple-courtesans, as well as to the valor of the heroes of Marathon, the Corinthians ascribed the great Persian repulse. Even statues of such courtesans had honored and eminent place in the temples. Gibbon himself—who looked at whatever was not Christianity with passionless and discerning eyes—has given the world in his Twenty-third chapter a slight but a fearfully significant sketch of the license in worship which prevailed in Antioch: where pleasure, as he says, assumed the character of religion, and

where "the lively licentiousness of the Greeks was blended with the hereditary softness of the Syrians." *

In Roman worship, as publicly practiced, an equal licentiousness was not unknown. The Roman nature was haughty and restrained. For a hundred and seventy years after the city was founded the gods had been worshipped without statues; and religion, with that conquering and political people, was always a vast and elaborate public art, by which to compel the services of the gods on behalf of the city. Yet Ovid and Juvenal set pictures before us of fearful significance; and Seneca complained that men uttered the most abominable prayers in the ears of the gods, so that what a man ought not to hear they did not blush to speak to the Deity: while to the general multitude of worshippers he attributed indecency, and virtual insanity, adding that only the number of such secured for them the reputation of reason. All gods had come to be recognized as local. The oracle at Delphi had authorized the maxim that the best religion was that of a man's own city. The noblest of the divinities were not imagined to take any interest in human virtue. The most popular stories current about them were the frightful and depraving legends which rehearsed their furious passions and amours. The Christian Fathers, in their most passionate appeals against idol-worship, had only to repeat what was commonly accepted in the popular notion. Indeed, the most dismal superstitions were coming to take the place of any semblance of faith: as Tiberius put his trust in laurel-leaves to protect him from lightning; as the Emperor Nero, Uhlhorn reminds us, 'having become tired of the goddess Astarte, worshipped no longer any god, but an amulet which had been given him—the ruler of the world becoming the devotee of a fetish.' †

In this terrific condition of things, three controlling tendencies appeared, each of which we must recognize to bring before us the fearful arena into which the new force of Christianity entered. The first is, the increasing atheistic or pantheistic unbelief of

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* "Decline and Fall, etc.," London ed., 1848, Vol. III., pp. 175–7, 196.

† "Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism," New York ed., 1879 p. 63.

philosophers in any personal God at all—in any God, except an indefinite principle of order, or a lambent fire-soul of the universe. The sad words of the elder Pliny have been often referred to, in which he utters his blinding doubt whether there be any God at all, distinct from the world or the sun—and counts it at any rate a foolish delusion to suppose that such an infinite Spirit, if there be one, would concern himself with the affairs of men. It is difficult to say, he thinks, whether it were not better for men to be wholly without a religion than to have one of this kind. He concludes with the lament that nothing is certain save the absence of certainty. He speaks respectfully of the opinion then beginning to prevail, which attributes events to the influence of the stars; and he breaks into the passionate saying that the best thing bestowed upon man is the power to take his own life.

So Varro is reported to have held that the only thing true in religion is the idea of a soul of the world, by which all things are moved and governed; and Seneca speaks, as quoted by Augustine, of that ignoble crowd of gods which the superstition of ages has collected, in the worship of whom the wise man will join only as remembering that it is matter of custom, not due to reality, as commanded by the laws, not as pleasing to the gods. The Epicureans, represented by Lucretius, practically denied all gods, made the outward world and the soul of man the necessary result of a play of atoms, and esteemed it the chief end of philosophy to banish as illusory, or brand as fictitious, all forms of religious belief.

The Stoical school, whose original teachings show so much of the semblance of Hebrew conceptions as almost to justify the suspicion of many that Zeno and Cleanthes had learned what was written in the Law and the Prophets,—this had become, if it were not at the outset, essentially pantheistic. Traces of this meet us plainly in Seneca; and a scornful Pyrrhonism appeared the only philosophical refuge from atheism on the one hand or pantheism on the other. Even Plato—who, according to Justin Martyr, had learned of the Hebrew faith in Egypt—had said in the Timaeus that it was hard to find the Creator of the Universe, and that when he was found it would hardly be possible to make

him evident to all; and the aristocratic tendency of the ancient philosophy, represented in the remark, made such conceptions of any unseen supernal unity as philosophers might attain without effect on the general mind. All such speculations, to the common understanding, were, as the sneering Caligula said of Seneca's eloquence, 'sand without lime.' When Cicero, therefore, wrote his Scipio's Dream, or Seneca his Natural Questions, when Strabo said—imposing his own thought upon Moses—that the one highest Being is that which we call heaven, the universe, and the nature of things, when Marcus Aurelius long afterward said, but in the same spirit, 'the man of instructed and modest mind says obediently to Nature, who gives all and takes it again, Give what thou wilt, and take back what thou wilt,'* or when Plotinus, the Neo-Platonist apostle, said in dying that he 'should try to convey back the divine in man to the divine in the universe'†—there was nothing in all this to make the impression of a vital Divine Unity on the popular mind. The conception of that had no distinct hold on the thoughts even of philosophers; and they were almost as distinctly atheistic—if theism imply faith in a creative Person—as had been the religion of Buddha at the outset, or the ethical instruction of Confucius.

A primitive monotheism, general in the world, is indicated as probable by many facts: among Romans, Greeks, Orientals, Hindus, the earliest inhabitants of Egypt or of China. But it had certainly come to pass in the day when Christianity broke upon the empire that the world by wisdom knew not God. What Duncker says of Brahman might have been said of the very highest conception of God then obtaining among the thoughtful: it was "a soul-less World-soul" which they recognized.‡ Lightfoot has tersely expressed the fact, when, after a large and candid summary of the maxims of Stoicism and of its principles, he says in his Commentary on the Letter to the Philippians, "The supreme God of the Stoics had no existence, distinct from external nature."§ This was true; and the thin veil of mysti

* "Meditations," X. 14.

† Neander's "History of the Church": Boston ed., 1851: Vol. I., p. 31

‡ "History of Antiquity," IV., 546. § p. 294.

cism here and there thrown over the stony system does not disguise its essentially cold and hard materialism.

With this tendency in the philosophical minds was simultaneously shown a wide and swift decay of faith concerning the gods among the people, especially in the cities; so that the ancient rites of worship became objects of public sarcasm; so that Horace describes the manufacture of a god in a style as contemptuous as that of Isaiah or Jeremiah; so that Froude, it would seem, hardly exaggerates when he says that in the time of Cæsar 'the Roman people had ceased to believe: the spiritual quality was gone out of them: and the higher society of Rome was simply one of powerful animals.'* A certain apprehension that there might be Powers, unseen yet near, whom it was at least not safe to offend, still kept men to the performance of some rites of religion. But Livy—writing at about the time of the Lord's advent—complained of that neglect of the gods which even then widely prevailed. The tendency in later times only increased. The constant introduction of new gods into Rome from Egypt and the East, the portentous syncretism which filled the pantheon with a promiscuous crowd of divinities from all the earth, show how lightly the old ones had come to be regarded; while in Greece—where Aristophanes, conservative as he was, had burlesqued the gods with riotous ridicule—at the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries the religious processions were greeted by the populace with mocking gibes. It may perhaps with reason be doubted whether the vehement satire of Juvenal is to be taken as representing exact lines of historical truth; whether the temper of the man, and his pessimistic tendencies, have not surcharged with lurid tints his picture of the times. But there can hardly be room for doubt that he at least approximated the truth when he said that even children had ceased to believe anything about the under-world, and that the priests of august temples could commonly be found in corner-taverns, among sailors and slaves. Indestructible instincts in the soul would not allow nations to become atheistic; but the deified Virtues of the early Romans—Valor, Truth, Clemency, Concord—had ceased to

* "Cæsar": New York ed., 1879: p. 18.

attract the later worship; and the multitude of new gods, jostling each other in their appeals to the popular fancy, could only excite in the morally sensitive a passionate disgust. Cicero, you remember, in one of his most famous treatises, represents the accomplished and honorable Pontifex as sneeringly repelling all arguments for gods, or for Providence, while upholding the expediency of the established public rites.

Here, then, appears the third tendency—in some respects more startling in itself, and more threatening in its prophecies, than either of the others—to the deification of Roman emperors, even during their life, and in spite of the utmost ferocity, sensuality, or intolerable folly, manifest in them. This had its chief currency in the provinces, no doubt, but at the capital it was authorized and maintained. A tendency to it had crept into Rome from conquered and tributary Oriental countries, where deified men had long been adored; but its rapid development shows how thoroughly the old faith had fallen into decay. Here, at least, was a recognized power: a power unlimited, over property and life. There was that one affirmative fact, amid the whirl of departing beliefs and bewildering doubts; so that not unnaturally miraculous stories sprang up about Cæsar, or about Augustus; and the latter was deified by decree of the Senate, as the former had been apotheosized by the people. This came to be the only general worship known in the empire. In Spain, Africa, Gaul, Greece, in Palestine and in Egypt, were temples, images, and the offerings of this worship. Festivals and games were associated with it. Fraternities of those devoted to its celebration were widely established; cities coveted the name 'servants of the temple of the Cæsar-God': and of even the Jew it was inexorably required that he should offer an homage to the emperor, by perpetual public sacrifices, such as he offered to no other person. To refuse this homage was practically the "crimen læsæ magistatis"; and this, though Seneca could satirize bitterly the deification of Claudius—dying of medicated mushrooms — whom he had recently extolled as a god; though Nero's daughter, of four months old, had been made a goddess; though it must have been felt, about many of the emperors, that if they were gods, then devils had taken Divine

prerogatives; though the rough and ready Vespasian could sneer at the thought of becoming a divinity, in his last sickness; and though, at a subsequent time, the frightful Elegabalus solemnly installed the black conical aerolite of Emesa as sovereign of all gods, on the Palatine mount.

It was into this world, so dim and uncertain in either the popular or the philosophic conception of God, so bewildered and baffled between polytheism and pantheism, so fallen from the monotheistic idea which had probably had supremacy in an earlier time, so unbelieving concerning the gods whom its ancestors had worshipped, so certain at last of only one thing in the sphere of religion—that the emperor had an awful power; that whatever his vices he could be no worse than Jupiter had been, or any one of a score of gods; and that if the Senate decreed worship to him, then worship he should have, as a matter of patriotism and public order, if not as a matter of personal conviction — it was into this world, stumbling amid such fetid darkness, that Christianity came: and the doctrine which it made speedily controlling, and finally universal, concerning God, was certainly in the most absolute contrast with what had preceded; the effect which it accomplished can hardly be exaggerated, in its spiritual significance, or its secular importance.

It had of course to put at instant defiance that worship of the emperor which was the terrible final fruit of the rotting heathenism which it overshadowed; and in that tremendous contest it was that multitudes of Christians were tortured, burned, sold as slaves, or flung to wild beasts. But it had as well, this new Christianity, by spiritual force to combat and conquer the polytheistic or pantheistic schemes of the universe; to present to men another portrait of God; and to establish toward Him a loving belief, in place of the sad or cynical incredulity with which the very idea of the Divine had come to be regarded. It was a vast work: how vast may be inferred from the utter failure of men like Plutarch, like Epictetus, or like Marcus Aurelius afterward, with all their earnestness, all their power of ample and persuasive statement, and all their hold on the popular respect, to do anything whatever, wide or enduring, toward giving men a better knowledge of God. They wrote or spoke in the

interest of the ancient systems, though they came after Christianity was declared, and when a subtile influence from it acted perhaps imperceptibly on themselves, was certainly beginning to act on the empire. Yet Plutarch, or the disciples who followed him, could work no moral improvement in society; and Plutarch could only denounce superstition as worse than atheism, because more positive in its effects, and try to show a reasonable basis beneath the figures of the pagan mythology. In some aspects of his thought, as in many of his life, one cannot consider him without admiration; but he must have felt that all his efforts were essentially vain, while he wholly failed to recognize the fact that a new light was rising on the world, that a new force was descending into it, by which should be accomplished more than all for which he idly and sadly strove.

In considering what Christianity did, in this superlative department of thought, we are to remember that it was not in all things a novel system, without hold on the Past, or an organic connection with that. It had, on the other hand, immense and vital historical connections: it was so divine, as Pascal observed, that another divine religion was only its foundation:* and in its discovery of God to the world it simply absorbed into itself all the virtue of that preceding and preparatory system which had led the way to it; it poured a nobler illustration upon that; it added to what had been in that, other elements of supreme importance; and when it had thus given it consummation—a sudden, strange, transcendent consummation—it gave it also a swift and amazing universality. This is the office which Christianity accomplished, in instructing mankind as to Him who is above. Observe, then, how unique, how imperative, how ultimate, is the word which it utters concerning God: the fixed and final conception of Him which it has made familiar and controlling wherever its astonishing energy has been felt.

That it ascribes to Him absolute Personality, I need not say: that it never, for a moment, confounds Him with the universe, or conceives Him as the animating but impersonal soul of the earth and the heavens. The ethnic worshipper, untaught by

* "Pensées"; Sec. Par; Art. IV 12; Art. XVII. 9.

philosophy, had apprehensively suspected a hidden Will behind the various palpable phenomena of wind and stream, of star or storm The idol now, in the heathen temple, however grotesque and appalling to the sight, or however decked with raiment of gold and shining stones, is not worshipped for itself, but for the secret and awful presence which is supposed to lurk behind it, to be watchfully present in the uncouth outlines of limb and arm, and thence to be able to threaten men. The moment the mind, advancing in discerning and critical power, began to carefully reflect upon this, its folly was apparent: and so, with reaction from the common idolatry, came the loss of the sense of personality in God, the substitution of Nature or Fate in place of the idol. Indeed, tendencies to a logical or poetical pantheism are always active in the world, and have by no means been unknown in our own time.

The Christian Faith, like the Hebrew which it consummates, refuses any image of God; it looks upon all such as paltry and blasphemous; and it has been often energetically denounced for what was esteemed the ruthless violence with which it has turned the noblest statues, purporting to outline the Infinite Majesty, into lime and dust. But the sense of the perfect Divine personality is in it more intense than it ever had been in the simplest idolater. The Hebrew hymns, from first to last, had been vocal with this. The whole historic Hebrew legislation had throbbed with this pervading thought. So vivid had been the conception of it in prophet and singer that they had gone to the edge, at least, of anthropomorphic pictures of God, to show that as the architect is different from the house, the governor from his kingdom, the psalmist from his harp, so God is distinct from His creation; and that as man has intelligence, conscience, the power of choice, the capacity for affection, so God contains within Himself, in His sovereign life, all elements and attributes of a perfect personality. Whatever else is true or not of the Hebrew Faith, this certainly is.

There is no touch or trace in Christianity of anything injuriously anthropomorphic in its supplemental disclosure of God. He is a Spirit, to be worshipped only in spirit and in truth. But that conception of His personality which it forced upon all who

heard it in the world is as vital, universal, and as sharp in its impression, as if this had been the only lesson which it was given to it to bring. Against all philosophical speculation which would challenge or cloud this, against all governing preference for a universe with no supreme Person at its head, it sets this forth in resplendent exhibition. Its doctrine of Man, as a person before God, is not a whit more definite and complete than its doctrine of God as a Person above him.

To this it adds a doctrine of His Unity, in both Old and New Testaments, only the dim foreshadowing of which had even Plato or Xenophanes caught, and from which the mind of the world at large had seemed hopelessly estranged. Monotheism is believed by many, as I have intimated, to have had original prevalence on the earth, among other peoples as well as the Semitic, and only gradually to have lost its supremacy. But how utterly it had passed from the noblest ethnic religions, in the day when Jesus appeared on the earth, no student of history needs to be told. Though recognized possibly in the early Persian faith, it certainly was not by those who succeeded to the inheritance of that, with whom the dualism, which seductively promises to solve problems of the universe, became the established norm of religious thought. If the Indian people once recognized and revered one multiform Power behind the visible phenomena of the world, even in the Vedic hymns the three departments of earth, air, and heaven, were already assigned to separate divinities; and there appear among them the gods of Fire, Tempest, the Sky, the Ocean, and the Dawn, with the Adityas, with Vishnu, Çiva, Pushan, and the rest: while under the influence of that ancient religion, to which he clings with patient tenacity, the Hindu has come in later time to worship his three hundred millions of gods. It is said by those familiar with them that the ancient hymns at least admit the doubt whether man was not originally esteemed a part of Divinity.

How utterly, even frightfully, the thought of God's oneness had passed out from the popular mind, in Egypt, Syria, Greece, Rome, has already been suggested. The tendency had been constant, unreturning, to crowd the earth and people the sky with subordinate gods, to whom prayer was offered and tribute

brought; who were simply, as Heraclitus said, 'immortal men,' yet no one of whom could be conciliated without service, or offended without danger. This seems to represent a law of human nature, the operation of which has not been unknown in Christendom itself. Outside the special Jewish people, often indeed within that, it wrought in antiquity with a subtle and overwhelming power. It was not as malaria rising from swamps, and isolated basins. It was an impalpable spiritual poison, which infected the entire air of the earth.

Under the teaching of Christianity, in both its earlier and its later stages—when Law and Promise were preparing the way for it, and when it came to complete exhibition—the doctrine of God's oneness, I need not say, is imperative, universal. What had been the occasional thought of rare and high minds, which transcended their time, and which caught uncertain glimpses of this truth, as Pythagoras did of the unity of the universe in its revolving spheres, but which were not able to hold clearly for themselves the high speculation, much less to make it a law and an impulse to the general mind—that, since Jesus, is an axiom in religion. Roman, Greek, German, Sclavonian, for each and all the pantheon has been emptied; and the moment the new Faith burst upon them, one God was recognized, lord of winds and seas and stars, author alike of day and night, pain and pleasure, life and death. Those who find in Christianity the declaration of a Trinity in the Divine Being yet find this always associated with and subsidiary to the absolute oneness to whose completeness it in their view contributes. It would be no more absurd for any geometer to maintain the natural circularity of squares, or the identity of the globe with the cube, than it would be for any disciple of Jesus to doubt the absolute oneness of God; and the moment any exposition of the Trinity touches the line of tri-theistic speculation, it shivers into fragments against this immovable article of faith.

An impression of unlimited and sovereign Power, belonging to this one personal God, is now also upon the world as it was not before, and of the dependence of the universe upon Him; with a similar impression of His complete constructive Wisdom. Of course, these are not to be traced altogether directly to

Christianity, as a system of religion, but also to those researches of science which are quickened by it, and which give illustration to its lofty theology. But the fact is significant that such science has been possible only where the basis for it was furnished by a clear apprehension of God's oneness and power. The Macedonian Aristotle is esteemed its father: and his famous cosmological proof of the existence of an infinite immaterial Energy, unmoved and all-moving, inclosing in itself all time and infinity, was not so much a deduction from, as an indispensable condition to, his physical research. He may have found an impulse to it from the Jews, with whom he had lively intercourse. Whencesoever it came, it made him the one master of science domesticated at Athens; and he, because of it, was expelled from the city.

Just so far as Christianity has accustomed the world to its radical doctrine of a changeless and omnipotent personal God, it has given to science an undecaying basis and impulse. If miracles are accepted as having been wrought for this religion, they show a power as unsearchable as any which the astronomer needs, for the support of furthest suns, or the configuration of remotest and vastest nebular systems. If they are denied, it cannot be denied that such an impression was made of God's power, by the Faith which Christianity exalted to completeness, and by Jesus himself, that miracles seemed to men not improbable. And He of whom the Nazarene taught that He cares for the sparrow, and clothes the lily by His delicate touch with its daintiest grace, only shows therein the constructive skill of which science searches the manifestations in shells or insects, in the analysis of fibre, or in the secret chemistry of plants. Whatever she discovers, by lens or drill, by experiment or induction, only gives the light of further illustration to that doctrine of God which has been incessantly widening in the world since Christianity drove from the thought of mankind the gross or fanciful schemes of divinity with which the old world reeked or rang. She must be a witness, whether joyfully or not, to the grandeur of the religion which has given to her her larger freedom and finer inspiration.

The discovery of the Eternity of God, which came also to the

world through the religion unfolded in part in the Old Testament, but fully in the New, has the same relation to man's highest powers, and especially to his studies in science. It anticipates the largest demands of these, and gives to them unbounded scope. To get the amplitude needed here, unbroken by barriers of time, Aristotle had affirmed unmeasured duration as the sphere of primal energy; while Plato seems to have conceived of the universe as an unwasting living thing, compounded by the creator of the whole of each of its four elements, not liable to old age or decay, with a soul of its own at once centered and diffused: itself a God, alone in its kind, and sufficient to itself.* There was no philosopher among the Hebrews, and none among the followers of Jesus, who could measure himself with that illustrious teacher of the Academy, whose genius has at once mastered and inspired so many greatest thinkers of the world. But it may certainly be said that in the doctrine of God's Eternity, which they with such an emphasis taught, they gave a basis which he himself could never parallel for all conceivable cosmical processes.

If the astronomer counts five hundred millions of years since the first fire-mist began to be condensed to make the earth, if the evolutionist holds it probable that an equal interval of ages has elapsed since the first life-germ appeared upon the planet—I am not committed, in either case, to their calculations; but I match the periods demanded by them against the Eternity represented in the Bible as the sphere of God's life, and they do not exhaust or even diminish it. "In the Beginning," that is the majestic and interminable expression, "God created the heavens and the earth"; and "in the Beginning," that is the response from the century which saw Christianity complete, "the Word was with God, and the Word was God." The longest conceivable periods of time are here surpassed, as the drop by the ocean, or the reach of the hand by the bend of the heavens; and they who never saw telescope or microscope, and who had learned nothing in any school of the impalpable majesties of creation, in declaring to the world a personal God, sole and sov-

* Timæus, 30-33.

ereign, of unsearchable wisdom and a power eternal, not only surpassed all previous teachings, not only conveyed to human souls the grandest thoughts which these can receive, but they gave to the largest discoveries of science, or its remotest and subtlest hypotheses, warrant and liberty.

But it is, of course, when we turn to the special impression on the world through the teaching of Christianity concerning the temper and character of God, that we find it in most vivid and absolute contrast with the religions which it displaced; in which no tendency had appeared toward its majestic and lustrous declarations; by comparison with which its vital, regal, if we may not say its celestial supremacy, becomes most apparent. Here too the fully developed system is associated vitally with that which preceded; but it did far more than simply prolong that. It has its own imperial lessons, as characteristically belonging to it as does perfume to the violet, or the radiant azure to the sapphire.

In the manifold popular religions of the world the tendency has been constant to make the god like his worshipper, with only greater knowledge and force, and a larger opportunity: as the traveler among the high Alps sees his image reflected from the clouds, huge and terrific. Here and there a philosopher might conceive of a Being, hardly personal however, who dwelt apart in unexcited supremacy while men wrangled or suffered, were enslaved or victorious, lived or died. The Brahman may at times have seen in his supreme God a sovereign Intelligence, to be approached by devout contemplation, and into whose essential splendor the worshipper might hope at last to be absorbed. But the common mind, however quick to receive impressions—as the Greek mind was, as the Indian must have been—has never held fruitfully so remote a conception, and has come back to the worship of a god with all the parts and passions of our nature in gigantic development. The very forces of nature have been humanized by man's fancy, that he might thus draw nearer to them. Mohammedanism itself, largely indebted for its more recent conception of God to Hebrew and to Christian sources, hardly does more than reflect in that conception the character of its prophet. A stern, absolute, unloving Will, demanding only

to be obeyed, that is the Koran-conception of God: a Being who will give to the fullest measure what those who serve Him most desire—the sensual joy, ever fresh and immortal, of drunkenness and of lust. It stands in as fearful a contrast as possible, this hard and ruthless later system, with the teachings of Christianity. It wants even the grace of Attic heathenism; which at least, amid all its childish follies and sensual vagaries, built an altar to Pity, and made that honored wherever through the world men looked with admiration to the "City of the violet crown."

It is not needful to show in what absolute contrast with this whole trend of the ethnic religions is that alleged discovery of God which was made in part through the Hebrew economy, and which is completed and proclaimed by Christianity.

The pure character of God—that is the basal element in it: a character of intense clarity and brightness, which man does not even like to contemplate, and from which he constantly seeks to escape into alluring and liberal idolatries. Ever anew this character is declared, eternal in God: in the Law which articulates Divine commands; in the setting apart of places and times in which this Being may be approached by him who fears His immaculate purity; in the institution of a priesthood, with sacrifices, through whom and which the soiled but seeking worshipper may come; in the 'benign intolerance' of that sharp separation, inexorably enforced, between the worshipper of the true God and the worshipper of the false; and in a thousand impassioned utterances, of devout enthusiasm or of penitent deprecation, ascribing such splendor of spirit to Him.

So keen was the impression made on the tough and insensitive Hebrew nature that a fear of Him in whom this character was incessantly supreme became the predominant sentiment in worship. It was not at all an abject fear, as if He might do men harm without reason. It was not a fear which forbade a confidence, sweet and strong, in His kind purposes toward the nation. But it was the awe, the contrite sense of condemning majesty, which was proper to the soul conscious of sin, when contemplating a Sovereign intolerant of that. However fascinating the sin might be, however common or even consecrated in all the world outside of Palestine, the Hebrew knew, at Corinth or at Thebes as

well as at Jerusalem, in Antiochan groves as on the terraced slopes at Bethlehem, that the God of his fathers was the enemy of that sin, and that His displeasure—like a swift, silent, consuming fire—would follow its commission. However signal might be the prosperity of the nation which He fostered, however stately or lovely the house which men erected for His worship, catching suggestions for its ornate architecture from Egyptian, Phenician, Persian models, bringing into it the lily, the lotus, and the palm, carving with dexterous Syrian skill its flower-capitals, overlaying it with plates or hanging it with chains of Indian gold—however full of thanksgiving and praise might be the service offered before Him, still the fear of the Lord was always to the Hebrew "the beginning of wisdom." The vivid, supreme, impenetrating impression of the lucid lightnings of His sovereign holiness pervaded the moral life of His worshipper.

No more remarkable or subliming thought had ever been conveyed to man. Intelligence and power, both eternal, take from this character their ultimate and transcending moral lustre. It seems, at once, to vindicate itself as not suggested by the crafty or covetous spirit of man, but by Him above of whom it teaches, and who through it appals and rules rebellious wills.

When Christianity was proclaimed in the earth—the consummate flower on the thorny stalk of the preceding Judaism, the spiritual system in which that was transfigured—it did two things in regard to this immaculate purity immanent in God. It illustrated more fully its meaning and energy, and it made that the possession of mankind which before had pertained to a separated people. "Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of hosts," is the cry, not of seraphim only, but of saints, in all the New Testament. That God is to be feared by one cleaving to sin, as well as to be sought with eager desire by one ready to leave it, as the stars in the sky this is evident in Christianity. Jesus himself, as admitted by all, was intolerant of sin, though inviting and welcoming toward each who turned from it. With flaming eye, and a voice whose intonations still reverberate from the page, he rebuked pride, greed, malice, an undue passion though aroused for himself, the simulation of unreal virtue, the lust

within even if unexpressed in the life, a mere indifference to spiritual welfare. Not in the Decalogue, not in the sternest warnings of Old Testament prophets, is the Divine pureness of thought and will so radiantly apparent as in the sermon preached by him on the grass-covered ridge of the Horns of Hattin. It is incorporate in his life, in every action which illustrates his spirit. To those who accept his death as a sacrifice, appointed of God as the condition of the remission of human sin, the eternal holiness foreshadowed in ritual, priesthood, and silent splendor of the column of the Shekinah—finds its ultimate earthly expression on the Cross. But even if that be not so understood, the Divine purity, resplendent in Jesus, must make, as it has made, an incessant and an indelible impression on the mind of the world. As exhibited in him, giving him his lordship, constituting the light to enlighten the nations, it smote with instant and powerful impact on the souls of his disciples; and the final description, by his last surviving personal disciple, of Him who is utterly righteous and true, surrounded by those redeemed and renewed to a similar righteousness, only answers to all which had gone before in setting forth this perfect holiness. As the indestructible azure in sea or sky, as the golden beauty in the sunshine, this character appears, throughout both the Testaments, immortal in God.

The gods before had given no law, had had no interest in human morality, and had exemplified everything in character known to man except the element of imperative virtue. Here was a God, for the first time proclaimed to all the world, to whom sin was the scarring scorch of hell: who would follow it with a steady and victorious displeasure never attributed to even that Nemesis who hated prosperity, and to propitiate or repel whose possible anger at his singular successes, Cæsar, in the very pride of his triumph, was fain to repeat a magical formula on ascending his chariot.

The new impression thus made on the world, of the character of God, is one of the preëminent facts of history. It is all the more striking because so many had tried to make some similar though infinitely fainter impression, and had signally failed. Pindar had said, that favorite lyric singer of the Hellenic world

that nothing unbecoming should be recited of the divinities. Pythagoras had said, as quoted by Plutarch, that men are then best when coming nearest the gods.* The illuminated Plato—'the greatest man of the ancient world'—had rejected as fables whatever attributed immorality to them. Socrates had risen higher yet, and had affirmed that the service paid to the Deity by the pious soul is the most grateful sacrifice, and that no real evil can happen to a good man under God, either in life or after death; and by Sophocles, and Æschylus, with all the doubt of the Divine rectitude which they represent, it had been taught, in the stately accents of tragic song, that recompense must overtake the guilty, and that even an insolent thought shall be punished. But no one of these, nor all combined, nor any other on whom had played the prophesying fore-gleams of the transcendent light, had ever persuaded the peoples which honored them—much more, mankind—that the gods were not drunken, passionate, profligate, given to jealousy, lust, and war. The drift of human nature had set always that way: till even Brahmanism, which at its height contemplated God as an absolute Intelligence, though careless of character and not intent on moral distinctions, became so corrupt that Buddhism, under Gautama, revolted, and substituted for it an absolute atheism. Even Cicero, in his ample and elaborate writings, derives no argument for virtue from the character of the gods, but relies solely upon philosophy to show the end, the object, and the standard, of right life and noble action.† By Christianity, and only by that, has the world which it educates been taught the lesson, now recognized by all as prime in religion, that immaculate sweetness and splendor of character is the glory of God, and that only the pure in heart shall see Him.

And yet—what could hardly have been expected—with this Purity in God, from which men had instinctively recoiled in their consciousness of personal moral exposure, a wholly new discovery is made by Christianity of His kindness, compassion, and solicitude for men: all flowing from the Love which is the vital element of holiness, and which is declared with imperative

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* De Superstit IX. † Tuscul. Quæst., I.: 4, 26; II.: 4; V.: 2; *et al*

energy to be His essential spiritual being; since "God is Love" affirms the last Christian apostle. Out of this flow, as in it are involved, intense sympathies, radiant compassions, providential cares, fatherly affections. This impression of God, inaccessible to early ethnic thought, only dimly expressed in Hebrew Scriptures, but declared with perfect emphasis by Christianity, has been widening in the world ever since it was proclaimed, with a power which we continually feel.

That the interest and care of heavenly Powers extend to all creatures—that in their cloudless celestial seats they take note of the ant, the insect, and the snail—this is no thought which heathenism generates, or for which its theology has room. Whatever may have been the conception concerning man, in his relation to the gods, such creatures as these have always been recognized as developed under general laws, by impersonal or inferior forces. Christianity presents God as the author of all things, and as interested in all; and it acknowledges no interval between His sovereign and immeasurable glory and His care for such creatures. It is an axiom with it that as in Him is eternal majesty, so in Him is an infinite love; and that His benignity extends in their measure, and according to their needs, to the grass of the field and the birds of the air, to the very ephemera whose span of life is the swift summer's day. So all investigation of minor as of superior forms of organization, as now enlightened, feels itself following Divine processes, treading in the track of the Infinite wisdom, when it searches the structure of humming-bird or of bee, of the flower beneath, or of the butterfly that sails flower-like in the air, released and winged. It rests upon the lesson, of which philosophy had not dreamed, of which glimpses had been caught by psalmist and seer, but which was first so announced by Christianity as to fill the world with its bright effluence:—the lesson that He who built the universe is immanent in nature, with a loving compassion as unlimited as His power, and that nothing is too humble, as nothing is too high, for His thoughtful regard.

That such compassions extend to man, the highest of terrestrial creatures, is a matter of course in the New Testament There is no room in all its compass for any conception of hea-

then Fate; but a Divine providence is recognized in it, as it never had been by even Xenophon or Socrates, and certainly not by the popular religions. It is a providence which extends to the humble and obscure, to the child as to the adult, never impinging on their fine sense of freedom, but guiding each with a touch more impalpable than that of the unseen air on the muscle.

It is the providence of a Father in Heaven: and this conception of God for the first time shines here, in an exhibition at once luminous and tender. Max Müller finds the "Heavenly Father" a name for God among all the original Aryan peoples, and traces the name in the ancient mythologies of India, Greece, Italy, Germany: a striking indication that monotheism—however wanting in persistent cosmical energy—had been to these peoples the primitive religion, and that some way or other, in historical times, they had fearfully fallen from its high level. But even that early name of "Father" did not mean what it means in the Christian sense, as Coulanges, for example, has forcibly shown. It did not imply, what even under Stoicism it did, a generative paternity, for which other names stood side by side with it. It did not in the least imply affectionate paternity. It represented supremacy, only: was applied by poets to those whom they honored; by slaves and clients to Master and Patron. The idea which it contained as applied to the gods was of paramount authority, superlative dignity. But Christianity shows the fatherhood of God, in His spirit of love, as well as in His authorship of finite intelligences, extending to all who are born of His life, and becoming intense toward those who seek moral fellowship with Him. To them He gives gifts, according to this conception of things, which the mind of the world had wholly failed to attribute to Him, or to conceive possible, until it was exalted and instructed by Jesus—the gift of His own thought not only, but of His essential and renovating spiritual power.

There is a fact indicated here which not only surpasses probability, and transcends utterly logical analysis, but which can be understood, or certainly can be verified, only by experience. The poet gives us of his fancy and feeling, of his discursive spiritual thought, or his treasured knowledge, in the music of his melo-

dious numbers. The philosopher gives us of his far and fine intellectual schemes, the expression of the result of his mental intuition, of his resolving analysis or reconciling synthesis. But neither poet nor philosopher, nor any other, ever seeks or is able to impart of the exquisite life of his genius, or the supreme qualities of his spirit. That it is reserved, according to Christianity, for our infinite Author to do for man; for every man, the humblest, meanest, who will accept the sovereign gift. By the imparting of His own spirit, in a way no more mysterious than is every contact of the Infinite with the finite, in a way wholly practical in its effect, He will quicken and purify, and knit to Himself in immortal sonship, the lonely and timid human soul. This is the astonishing promise of Christianity, the privilege of whose fulfilment has been recognized by men precisely in proportion to their faith. What the noblest ethnic precursor of the Master—the 'John the Baptist,' as one has called him, 'of the world before Christ'*—vaguely felt as a *daimon* within, of a strange authority to restrain and direct, though not to renovate or to impel, that the humblest human disciple of Jesus, according to the Master, may aspire to find, in richer and more supreme experience, in the Spirit of God presiding in his heart. There is nothing in this approximating the pantheistic conception of human souls, as transient emanations, to be reabsorbed in the Divine. The personality of God is the vital and everlasting foundation of a similar personality in the souls which He creates. But each of these, according to Jesus, as strictly and centrally discriminated from God, may yet receive the inspiring grace of His separate soul. That millions have thought they found this true, we certainly know. That it is among the most tender yet astounding of all the thoughts which ever uplifted and crowned human life, no thoughtful mind can refuse to concede.

But something beyond even this appears, attributed to God in this unique and astonishing religion. It is a readiness on His part, through transcendent self-sacrifice, to restore to Himself, and to their rest and blessedness in Him, the most vicious and depraved. Whatever one's theory of Christianity may be, this is always conspicuous in it. If we accept, as multitudes do, Jesus the

* Marsiglio Ficino. See Neander: "History of Church" · Vol. I., p. 18.

Lord as being himself essentially and eternally Divine, then this becomes indisputably evident. The mystery of Incarnation, the humiliation and patience of the subsequent life, the gloom of Gethsemane, and the agony of the Cross, have here to such their infinite meaning. It was not suffering inflicted on a creature, it was suffering which He who held miracles in His hand accepted for Himself, which became the ground of man's spiritual life. In that conception of Christ, sovereignty yields the preëminence to sympathy; and the power which holds the worlds on their poise is not dimmed but is diademed by the infinite pathos of stupendous condescension.

But even if men only see in Jesus the perfect representative of the Infinite Father, in the wisdom of his mind, and the tender, heroic, Divine benignity which inheres in his spirit, the same supreme truth becomes still apparent. For more at least than any other is he to such the witness for God. Not merely his precepts, teachings, promises, then express to us God's heart; but his readiness to suffer, even to die, to die in ignominy, die in agony, that he might thus draw men to himself. Unless we degrade the whole history of his death to the flattest level of common murder, accomplished by hatred on the helpless, that supreme self-surrender for the ignorant, for his enemies, becomes to us a mirror, from whose streaming yet resplendent surface flashes reflected the moral glory of Him who shaped and established the suns. The Son has still declared to us the Father. We see God's temper evident and illustrious in his utter self-devotion, as we see His power in the miracles which were wrought, if these we accept. The more closely, in other words, we associate the spirit of Jesus with God, the more fully shall we see in his voluntary Passion the direct revelation of the heart of the Infinite. He who on any theory stood nearest to that heart, and was in innermost sympathy with it, has given us the key to its unimagined treasures of love, in the crowning tragedy of the history of the world. The Southern Cross, blazing upon the distant heavens, cannot so show the power of God, and the eternal majesty of His plan, as does that darkened Cross, on the low hill outside the gates, declare the spirit of self-sacrifice in Him, if His Son has fairly revealed Him.

If Christianity, in other words, be a religion, and not the mere uncertain philosophy of a Jew who was killed, this Love in God, carried to utter fulness of development toward even the degraded and the depraved, shines supreme on its front. There is an element here of which no rainbow or star had taught, and the thought of which had not entered man's heart. The nymph Egeria might teach Numa, according to the legend, in the fondness of a personal passion, what were the proper religious customs. The Pythian priestess, at what was esteemed the central spot on the surface of the earth, might deliver ambiguous messages from Apollo, amid ecstasy and convulsion. But no other religion, nor any poetical compact of legends, ever supposed the essential spiritual life of the gods to be imparted to the soul of their worshipper. And assuredly no other had ever conceived of a personal God, of an infinite power, with a pure and awful holiness of spirit, yet careful of the humblest, mindful of the meanest, and with the temper of utter self-sacrifice for the welfare of others, paramount in Him! It seems too stupendous for human apprehension. I do not marvel, though I see it with sadness, that men even now find it incredible. I match every other conception of God ever known in the world, even that which obtained among the instructed Hebrew people, against this which is radiant in the New Testament, and all the others—of philosophers most enlightened, of rapt and fine poetic spirits—are as painted dust in the comparison: torch-lights beneath the meridian sun: tinted vapors before the heaven-high crystal air. It may truly be said, as it has been said many times, that if Jesus had done nothing more than teach men to say "Our Father" in the Christian sense, his Divine legation would have been justified. Plato, or one speaking in his name, had said through Socrates in the second Alcibiades: 'We must wait for some one to teach us our religious duties; as Homer says that Athene took the cloud from the eyes of Diomed, that he might recognize gods and men': and that One now was in the world!

That the conception of God thus authorized and impressed by the religion of Christ has not universally pervaded the world, even where that religion has been longest established, is evident enough. Such imperfect effects were only to be expected: as

the most ribald blasphemies still mock the Gospels from those who hear them, and as some of the bloodiest battles of the world have had their field on the Mount of Beatitudes. It shows how hard it has been, and is, to hold up mankind to the supreme level of this Christian theophany. Some, under its light, have made the God declared by Jesus an inexorable tyrant, and have turned Christianity into a system as severe and repressive as that of Mohammed. Others have dissolved the whole moral energy of God into an undiscriminating compassion, as careless of the governing forces in character as were the gods of Syria or of Greece. One must have eyes to see the sunshine. A moral idiocy can only transfer its own image to the heavens.

But it cannot be denied, it is as certain as the continents, that a change has occurred, prodigious and inspiring, in the thought of the regions which now constitute Christendom, concerning the Being recognized as supreme: and that this change dates from the point where the new religion broke radiantly over the earth, as if the heavens had then been opened. There had been no progress toward such a change, but only retrogression from it, in preceding religions. No man, or people, had ever expected, much less had themselves been able to accomplish, a similar change. In those who have accepted Christianity with the heartiest faith, the effect which it has wrought in this direction has been as novel as it has been surpassing.

As I have suggested, a science which was impossible before, has taken from it basis and impulse. History has ceased to be an enigma, beneath the discovery of an order of events foreseen by Him who is thus declared sovereign in energy, and prescient in thought. There is now a majestic rhythm in it. It is felt to be moving toward remote consummations. Even nature has been enjoyed with fresh enthusiasm, in the light of the new and larger knowledge of Him who ordained it; and a love of landscape, unfamiliar to the world of heathen thought, is almost as present as household affection in the realm of modern life and letters. There is a courage and hopefulness of spirit, not felt before: an expectation of better ages. There has passed a transcendent impulse into poetry; and songs are now heard such as never before had stirred the air, exalting the spirit as

with the rush of angelic plumes. Philosophy itself takes finer exactness, on higher levels, with larger range; while the characteristic spiritual life of the modern believer infolds elements unparalleled, unimagined, in the earlier time. The lowliest feel themselves related in spirit to the Lord of the Universe. The little child feels it, as well as the mature; the savage just enlightened, as well as the cultured Christian disciple; the peasant, uninstructed in human knowledge, only more easily than the savant. It is not strange to such, henceforth, that God has builded a city above, and has crowded it with glories which men cannot prefigure, that they at last may share His rest. It is not strange, or passing belief, that the hand which holds the universe together should wipe the tears from human eyes.

The grandest, tenderest, most inspiring thought which the mind of the world has ever received is this of God, now made familiar to it through Jesus. Even the sceptic has to admit it the loveliest of dreams; while the discerning student of history finds in it the source of a vast, prophetic change in the life of mankind. I do not now argue, you observe, for the truth of this conception of God; but I point to the majesty, harmony, and impressiveness of it, and to its effects, as vital and grand beyond possible cavil. It holds its place, while ages pass; as unaffected by changes of custom or mutations of states as the atmosphere is by the waving of trees. It involves supremest blessing and promise. All character, rooted in love to the Highest, takes from that a superior glory; philanthropy, heroism, domestic affection, the very passion of patriotism, being ennobled and consecrated by it. Self-surrender for the truth, self-sacrifice for others, which were the rare experience of the few, have become the familiar enthusiasm of many, since their Divine authority and splendor appeared in Jesus; and no occasional fitful ecstasy of Philo or Plotinus could rival that sweet and solemn joy which has come to millions of human souls since the God of the New Testament was declared to the world.

There is no department of human experience on which there does not fall to-day a beneficent force from that declaration. The change from the old world to the new, in this regard if in no other, can only be compared to the change of which the voyager

is sensible when, turning his keel from Arctic seas, he meets on the mighty oceanic current airs prophetic already of the softness, the fragrance, and the serene brilliance, of unreached tropics. If the religion announced in words so strangely simple, yet so full of authority, from the rugged and lowly hills of Galilee, had done nothing else but make this impression on the life of mankind, it would take its place as the highest, most positive, and beneficent energy which the earth has contained; surpassing arts, and arms, and ethics, as the unsounded skies surpass our roofs. It might, assuredly, have come from God—whether in fact it did so or not—if only for this purpose of teaching mankind what before had not been affirmed or surmised concerning Him whom all the peoples had dimly felt or keenly feared, but the picture of whose radiant and sovereign holiness, vital with Love, was hung upon no celestial constellations, was imaged on no poetic fancy, is only shown to the world which it blesses in the mission, the words, and the face of Jesus!

LECTURE III

THE NEW CONCEPTION OF MAN, INTRODUCED BY CHRISTIANITY.

LECTURE III.

That another and a nobler conception of God has been made familiar and commanding in Christendom by the religion which has moulded and taught this, will probably hardly be denied. It must certainly be conceded by any one surveying with candid attention the progress and change of human thought on this sublime theme. But that any equivalent change has occurred in man's conception of his own nature, may not so easily be admitted. It would, no doubt, have seemed antecedently far less probable.

Whatever else man does not know, it might plausibly have been said, he must be expected to know himself. The elements of that knowledge are within him. The faculty for detecting and combining these elements, in systematic representation, can scarcely be increased or essentially changed by any effect of religion upon him. If not then instantaneously apprehended, when moral life begins with a man, his knowledge of himself must be early and certainly attained; and it is hardly supposable that important augmentations can be made to it by a change in his forms of religious service, or in his conception of the Powers unseen. He cannot be expected to perceive or appreciate the vast and subtile harmonies of science at the outset of his career. He cannot be supposed to have mastered then the superb mechanisms, the knowledge of which implies large inquiry, long experiment. The lightning, for him, will not have learned to run on his messages. The needle of the compass will not for him have become a seer, guiding his course amid the darkness, and loosening his keels from the visible headlands. Not the type alone, but the alphabetic characters which give that significance, he may not possess till centuries have succeeded his beginning on the earth; and the beautiful lights or the towering heights of physical discovery or philosophical speculation may

long remain as unapproachable by him as rainbows cresting inaccessible summits.

But one thing, at any rate, he must know from the start: his own nature, in its constituting forces, and its spiritual value. Consciousness must precede speculation; and speculation can only define and elucidate what consciousness involves. Without lens or drill, sharpened edge or chemical solvent, the man who cannot find out without these what is around him, may discern by intuition what is within him; may know it with an exactness to which no reflection can add precision, and with an assurance whose fullness no contrary argument can abate. Even as the most perfect poetry—in its motive, and for its use—has sometimes appeared in the earliest time, in lyric, dithyrambic, epic song, in tales of Troy or northern sagas, some song of Roland, or some weird and passionate Nibelungen-Lied, so man's knowledge of himself may be expected to be as perfect at first as ever thereafter, and his earliest insight to teach him all which any religion or philosophy can.

This, as I have said, might seem to be the fair presumption, independently of historical facts; making it doubtful whether any religion, however peculiarly and transcendently Divine, could add essential or crowning elements to man's knowledge of himself. Especially might such a doubt appear justified when philosophers had arisen, still preceding such a religion, who, in instances at least, as of Plato or Socrates, and in some departments of self-revealing inquiry, seem to have sounded all the depths, unveiled the heights, and opened to view the wide expanses of man's intellectual and spiritual being. Here, at least, it might reasonably be said, neither Christianity nor any possible form of religion can make important further contributions to the knowledge of man concerning the powers which his nature infolds, or concerning its proper lordship on the earth. In theology it may teach; in psychology it can say nothing novel.

Undoubtedly in this there is an element of truth; and as undoubtedly, if it shall appear that Christianity has taught the introspective and aspiring man what he did not know concerning himself—has taught him that which his educated consciousness rejoices to recognize, but which it had never before apprehended,

has thus exalted the general estimate which man puts upon himself, not as a moral person perhaps, but as a Divinely constituted being, and has given him a new sense of the worth of his nature, and of the place which belongs to him amid the multitudinous circles of the universe—if this shall appear, then here is at least a superlative force, which works at once for the welfare of man and for the glory of Him above from whom our nature is assumed to have come. It will not then be unnatural to infer, though the argument may certainly not be demonstrative, that the system through which this fresh and surprising energy is exerted proceeds from God, and not from any spirit of man, surpassing philosophy, and with an impetuous and imperious push, after the failures of thousands of years, enthroning in its proper supremacy, under the heavens, the human soul.

That Christianity has done this appears to me evident; that it has done it by reason of its organic structure, not accidentally; and that the changed conception of man which certainly now obtains in the world—as compared with that which prevailed before Christ, which now prevails outside the reach of his religion—is not externally connected with the religion, as a gold ornament imposed upon the shield, or as decorated porches and carved window-caps added to the finished frame of the house, but has its condition in Christianity; as the flora and fauna of the temperate regions, diverse from those on arctic parallels, have their condition, not so much even in soil, as in the warmth and light which surround them. It is this thought which I would present for your acceptance, if in the end you judge it correct.

I begin with the remark that such an ennobled conception of God as this religion seems beyond doubt to have introduced carries with it, naturally, a similarly ennobled conception of man. It must do this: since all men, recognizing a God at all, recognize man as in some sense His representative on the earth. The popular ethnic religions, as I suggested, have done this habitually, making the gods gigantic prototypes of the spirit in man. The Christian system, beginning at exactly the opposite point, and professing to come from God to men, not to be an effort, successful or otherwise, on the part of men to arise to God, yet begins, in its earliest premise, with the formal declaration that

God has made man in His own image; and it proceeds with constant steadiness upon the assumption that if the resemblance in character has been lost, or painfully obscured, it remains indelible in the frame of his being. It is only a religion like Brahmanism, which recognized God only as a neuter, cold, and passionless First Cause, or a philosophy like the Buddhistic, which knows no God, which represents existence as essentially evil, and which traces the ultimate life of its leader through more than five hundred previous lives, of rat and crow, dog and pig, fish, peacock, and golden eagle—it is these alone which find no specific likeness to a Divine original in the human soul. Even Stoicism, with its doctrine of a World-soul, an ether-god, made the human soul a representative of it: a kind of evaporation of blood, penetrated with ethereal fire from the World-soul, destined to exist, perhaps, for a time after death, in a hardly personal separateness, but to be re-absorbed at last into the primal originating substance.

Of course, on such schemes of thought no room is left for attributing a real royalty of nature to the personal human spirit. It has no intimate or organic relationship to a Divine Personality. It cannot aspire to essential or permanent celestial experiences. All that it can be prompted to do is to cultivate a stern hardness of will; to be careless of circumstances, defiant of the future, ready to part with individual consciousness, and not afraid of any fate. One need not go back to Epictetus or Antoninus to find this. Read the despairing and fascinating words—among the most pathetic, I think, that have been written in our time in Christian England—by Holyoake, the earnest and eloquent Secularist leader, addressed to the people whom he would instruct, and see if this is not so: "Science has shown us that we are under the dominion of general laws, and that there is no special Providence. Nature acts with fearful uniformity; stern as fate, absolute as tyranny, merciless as death; too vast to praise, too inexplicable to worship, too inexorable to propitiate; it has no ear for prayer, no heart for sympathy, no arm to save." *

* See Farrar's Lects. on "Critical History of Free Thought": London ed., 1862; page 441 [note].

From such a conception of the Power above us, which is only harder and more relentless than that of the Stoics, there can come no interpreting light on the majesty of man's nature, and no inspiration to a higher sense of the dignity of his spirit. The soul, on this theory, is simply the product and plaything of unintelligent caprice or an unmoral force. Its grandest faculties move in chains. Its deepest sensibilities are the saddest. It is walled in the iron of force and law, in the midst of a universe having no Head. It is here that the agnostic scheme—ignoring God, or treating Him as 'the eternal Why? to which no man has replied; the infinite Enigma, which no Sphinx has solved'—deals its deadliest blow, not more at revealed religion than at human liberty and civilization. But wherever a personal God is conceived, from whom man came, whom man resembles in spiritual being, there, as the conception of the Divine One is lifted, the conception of man will be also exalted. And he who has seen the glory of God, in the face of Jesus Christ, is certain to think more justly and loftily of his personal nature, derived from a Being so transcendent, than he who has only imagined an Apollo, god of music and prophecy, or a lovely Aphrodite, springing lightly from the foam of the sea, and girt with the alluring cestus. I cannot think that this needs to be argued; and so we may properly proceed to consider what man did in fact think of himself, in the world at large, in the times before Christ.

It seems too obvious fairly to be questioned, that there was no prevalent sense in men of an essential primitive dignity belonging to their nature. The Greeks, for example, though inquisitive, aspiring, and bold in speculation, ascribed no glory to that nature from any imagined Divine energy concerned in forming it. Its origin confessedly lay hid in 'the dark backward, and abysm of Time'; as Plato said that 'the human race either had no beginning at all, and never will have an end, but always will be and has been, or it had a beginning an immense time ago.'* In the common understanding of things, man had sprung from the earth—an autochthon—and the grasshopper was his fitting

* "Laws," VI.: 782.

badge. From rocks, and trees, and swampy places, some had come; those born of the marsh having legs like serpents. Heroes themselves had been earth-born; and even the gods, according to Pindar, had drawn their breath from the same mother.* The first men had lived as insignificant emmets in the excavated earth, or in the sunless depths of caverns; and Prometheus had first shown them the risings and settings of stars; had made known to them letters, numbers, and the function of memory; had helped them to the ornaments of life.†

Dissociated thus from a Divine originator, the nature of man failed to impress the ancient world as possessing inherent splendor or majesty; and the immediate impulse was to honor its accidents more than itself, especially to honor the extraordinary power which was sometimes associated with it, and to conceive this the supreme thing in human experience. Whoever had this, by acquisition or inheritance, became thereby an object of homage; of an homage increasing as the power became greater, and reaching its climax when that was sovereign. So barbarous tribes, as Herbert Spencer reminds us, still worship their rulers as divinely descended, as gods themselves; as the Fiji Islander, to take his illustration, stands unresistingly to be cut to the ground if the king, who appears to him Divine, ordains his destruction.‡ So our Aryan ancestors worshipped the weed whose distilled juices could lift them for a moment into the excitement of an unaccustomed power.

As the power of the muscle is succeeded and surpassed by that of the mind which equips and wields it—as the power becomes organized, in a sense impersonal, yet only therefore more permanent and far-reaching, through the raising of one in whom it is lodged to the headship of the State—this worship becomes only more complete, in those mastered by the power, and dependent upon it. It even displaces the earlier worship, received from ancestors, of mythical heroes, or of personified forces of nature, whose voice is in thunder, or whose play of motion is in the shining sea-surge. It is simply in the natural development

* "Nemean," VI.: 1. † Æschylus: "Prometheus," 448–460.

‡ "First Principles of System of Philosophy": New York ed., 1879, p. 5

of this tendency that the worship of the Emperor, as I showed the other evening, becomes the enthroned religion of the State. No matter how recent or mean his life, how atrocious his character, how essentially frivolous his habits, tastes, or personal faculties, because he is Emperor he is worshipped as having kinship and compact with Divine beings. It seems almost to have been a part of the plan of Providence—if such a plan may be at this point theoretically assumed, in connection with our religion —that such a consummate demonstration in history of the tendencies of man's spirit should be matched simultaneously against the first teaching of Christianity in the world: that the worship of Tiberius, Claudius, Caligula, should show forever, in colossal exhibition, how natural to man, in the civilized as in the barbarian state, is homage toward power; how mean human nature appears to itself, when set wholly apart from any station of superior force. Civilization has not outgrown the tendency, or learned the supreme lesson of the Master that the highest of all should be servant of all, and that of little children is the Kingdom of Heaven. But power, at least, however valued, has not the place in modern times which it had before Christ: when whoever had it was worshipped in proportion to it; whoever had it not, became despicable in consequence. To despise him was inevitable; to enslave him was legitimate.

Among peoples to whom the attainment of eminent political or military power was not possible, as it was not to the Greeks under the Empire, among a people distinguished as they were for intellectual activity and a keenly responsive æsthetic sense, success in these nobler domains of effort gave distinction; and weakness of frame, obscurity of origin, the utter want of political influence, did not hinder men from paying their eager tribute to the genius which touched the canvas with light, or moulded the marble to forms of passion, or shaped the quarry into architrave and frieze, or which uttered rare thought in melodious numbers. Still it was the accident of genius, or of special accomplishments, not the original endowment of nature, to which the Greek rendered his honor. All Greeks were separate in his thought from the rest of mankind; and it was at Rome, not at Athens, that the populace applauded the poet's words who

'counted nothing human unworthy of his regard.' The Greeks themselves were sharply separated into ranks of honor and of dishonor; and one of the most significant things in even the highest Greek philosophy is its disesteem for man as such, its regard for only the rare and cultured: as Plato addresses himself to the philosophic nature—a plant, he says, which but occasionally grows among men; as Aristotle defends servitude on the ground that those of inferior powers are to the abler as the body to the soul, the lower benefited by serving the higher; as Plotinus, later, discriminates sharply between the vile rabble, of mechanics and others, who cannot attain, who do not tend toward, the summit-good, and the few who do;* as Tacitus suggests the affectionate hope that there may be some exalted spirits which do not perish with the body, as do the rest. Always, it is that which is special in man which attracts the philosophic respect, not his common human nature.

Under the Brahmanic system, as it appeared to the armies of Alexander in substantially the characteristics which belong to it to-day, the highest place among men belonged to those supposed to have power over the gods through prayer and sacrifice—they having issued from the mouth of Brahman, while the other orders had proceeded from his arms, his thigh, or his foot. And even in this highest order, it was the abstracted contemplating intelligence of the man twice-born, who entered thus into conference with the Absolute, and drew into himself the infinite essence, which gave distinction: a distinction not dependent on physical strength, or on multitude of possessions, but on the supposed capacity and habit of this absorbing contemplation; a distinction which naturally raised its possessor to immeasurable supremacy above the other classes in the land. Here was the germ, or the organizing power, of that enormous system of caste under which so bitterly India has groaned.

There is something, perhaps, in this standard of distinction which commands our respect more than does that which measures worth by property, by muscle, by rank and leisure, or even by genius. But in Brahmanism also, even at its best, it is not

* See Prof. Fisher: "Beginnings of Christianity." New York ed. 1877, p. 180.

man, you instantly observe, who is honored as such, but the men separated distinctly from others, who have been quickened to discern in nature the mere play of illusion, and to contemplate directly the eternal World-soul. A man of this class had a special and splendid value. By knowing God, he became God. But the rest of mankind were as dust and burned cinders beneath his feet.

Buddhism had its genetic impulse in a revolt against Brahmanism. It was prompted by eager sympathy with man, and was published in a generous interest for his welfare. The legend of its author is one of the most attractive in history, and his system largely corresponded with the story. It excluded no one, of either sex, of any rank, from learning the truth, and declared itself a law of grace for all. To its many admirable ethical precepts no student can fail to offer his homage. Its care for the poor, its ministry to the oppressed, are the crown of its glory. Yet, in utter contradiction to the common recent notion about it, Buddhism did not attack or disturb the institution of caste. It not only maintained this, where it secured dominance; it appears even itself to have introduced it into countries which before it had not invaded; and this was only in radical harmony with its whole scheme of thought. No true conception of the essential dignity of personal and moral human existence is possible under it. That existence is regarded as the radical and essential evil, which it is the height of aspiration to annihilate. The life of man is common with the life of tiger or serpent, mouse or bat. It was never contemplated by Gautama that all could attain liberation from evil, even by seeking for non-existence after his method. A maxim of his, in the "Path of Virtue," has even a tone of haughtiness in it: 'As on a heap of rubbish cast upon the highway the lily will grow, full of sweet perfume and delightful, thus the disciple of the truly Enlightened Buddha shines forth by his knowledge among those who are like rubbish, among the people who walk in darkness.' * And even one thus distinguished and enlightened, as we must not forget, could only look, in his highest

* "Dhammapada; or, Path of Virtue"; London ed., 1870; p. lxxiv. vs. 58–9.

aspiration, for the extinction of desire and the subsidence of consciousness in that Nirvana in which the consummate individual life should sink at last, as the bubble breaking in the sea. Any noble conception of the human soul was in such a scheme simply impossible.

In the Hebrew system, as I need not remind you, man, as such, if belonging to "the people of God," had a value ascribed to him unknown elsewhere, independent of property, of personal strength, of military distinction, or of capacity for affairs. As a child of Abraham, to him Divine promises had been given; for him had been declared, amid majestic phenomena, that sovereign Law which 'made for Righteousness'; for him had been instituted the priesthood and its ritual; for him, the illustrious office of the kings. Canaan had been given not to a few, but to the many. The rights of the poorest were carefully guarded. The sharp and strict Agrarian Law, which was the basis of the civil constitution, was for his protection, with the law which forbade his wealthier neighbor to take usury from him. For every Hebrew, as the development of the State went on, because of his relation to the nation and to its sovereign Head in the heavens, psalmists had sung, prophets had predicted the future events, great teachers of truth and of imperative duty had been preternaturally inspired of God, to bring His message to the humblest. Whatever else may be true or not of that remarkable preparatory system which preceded Christianity, it certainly is true that it recognized, as had no other, the place of man amid the immensities, his vast responsibilities, his right and privilege of personal communion with the Most High. No matter what his native obscurity, or his narrowness of resources, provided he were of the chosen people, or had become incorporated with that as a proselyte accepted, all promises were his, the entire theocracy was established and administered on his behalf.

But this recognition of human worth was still sharply limited by one inflexible line of demarcation; and to Roman, Greek, Egyptian, Assyrian, the Hebrew did not ascribe the value which confessedly belonged to his humblest brother in the Hebrew commonwealth. It was not human nature, in itself, that he honored, any more than it was that which Plato honored in the

Republic, when he severed the Greek from the barbarian, and treated the nobler Hellenic race as so superior that others were natively alien to it. Practically, systematically, the Hebrew reserved his spiritual regard for the sons of the fathers who, as he conceived, had seen the miraculous glory on the mount, and felt the throb of the rocky cliffs when Omnipotence touched them; who had come out from Egypt amid wonders and signs; and whose not remote ancestors had talked with the Almighty, and seen visions of angels. It was Hebrew nature, rather than human nature, which even to him possessed intrinsic grandeur.

But the moment we meet the supremer force of Christianity in the earth, we enter a changed condition of thought. This religion is preached, by admission of all, to Roman, Greek, Syrian, Scythian, as well as to Jew. It recognizes no distinction of classes, but senator and slave sit side by side in its assemblies. It lifts the humble, without degrading the high. Its first teachers, and distinguished apostles, are taken largely from the uncultured classes. It acknowledges no limitation to race; but as soon as the minds of its earliest disciples have been enlightened as to the import and value of its contents, it is by them proclaimed without pause to all who will hear it, whether in Asia, Africa, or Europe. The most tenacious and stubborn prejudice, in a mind so narrow and so intense as that of Peter, is overcome by this religion; and he is constrained, by an immense impulse connected with it, to offer its sublimest provisions to the man at Cesarea, who especially represents the fierce and haughty foreign Power which has conquered his country, profaned its temple, and heaped gross injury on himself.

Nothing in history is more remarkable than the sudden expansion, at the liberating touch of this religion, of the minds which had been rigorous and limited under the restraints of their previous system. It is the inrush of a flood, lifting and swelling the trickling stream, till it fills the channels, passes all banks, and spreads its waves over widest expanses. It is the sudden transfiguring advent of summer-air, which pours reviving light and force over areas continental, instead of restricting them, as the winter had done, to tropical islands. The sudden distribution of accumulated properties, hereditary for centuries, to all the

needy and mean of a nation—the sudden dispersion of master pieces of painters and sculptors, lodged for generations in princely saloons, to those who in the eye of the law had not the smallest claim upon them—neither of these would have seemed so strange as the readiness, the eagerness, of the early disciples to give the religion which, to them at least, seemed Divinely authenticated, to all the world.

It has become an instinct with their successors. It seems to us supremely appropriate; because the Christianity which they then preached has been for centuries the life of the life of those from whom our blood has come. But at the outset it was almost as extraordinary as would have been a man with wings that a Jew should be eager to preach his religion to those who were not of the chosen people, to those who in all political relations and ancestral affinities stood to him as aliens and enemies; that he should be ready to plead with an impassioned earnestness on behalf of that religion, in the face of danger and daring death, before Greeks and Orientals, in the schools or the streets of Antioch or of Ephesus; that he should be ready to take as its first converts in Europe a proselyted Greek woman, and a Roman jailer; that he should preach, at Athens, Corinth, or amid the turbulent multitudes in Rome, to philosophers, laborers, rulers, soldiers, and heathen slaves, the majestic system unfolded to him by the teaching of Jesus, in which he felt that the whole revered and attested theocracy had at length been fulfilled. It goes without saying that a wholly new force had broken suddenly into his spirit, to produce this unmatched and amazing effect. It is as evident as the mountains of Moab from the heights of Olivet, that a power unexpected, energetic, expansive, had wrought a vast revolution in his thought, giving him wholly new conceptions of the value of Man, without reference to nation, class, or race, and showing him the duty of each man to others, whatever their social or political separations.

That force was found in the religion which he had accepted; in which were the lessons that inspired him to preach it, without discrimination, to all who would hear. This becomes only the more apparent when we remember that Jesus himself, the great Teacher of this religion, so far as we learn from the records

of his life, almost never went beyond the boundaries of his country or nation. He spoke to his townsmen of God's ancient favor to the woman of Sarepta, and to the Syrian noble; and their reply was an effort to kill him. The furious rush toward the summit of the Mount of Precipitation was their only attempt to rival the level of his sovereign thought. He suffered himself to be sought and found by the ardent woman of Syro-Phenicia. Under the shadows of Ebal and Gerizim he opened conversation with the woman of Samaria. The most sympathetic catholicity of spirit appears in his life, as that lies before us in the New Testament, giving a tender majesty to his words, a serene and resplendent benignity to his action; as the sun-bright radiance, according to the story, broke through and suffused the woven threads of his common but transfigured dress. But, personally, his ministry was almost strictly confined to the Jews. It impresses us the more, then, with the essential breadth of his religion, with the value it attaches to all human souls, that the instant force of it should have been such on the minds of his followers as to prompt them to surpass the limits of his example, as well as utterly to transcend the teachings or the moral suggestions of the Faith before governing with themselves and their fathers. It can have been only in the organic structure of that religion that they found this surprising impulse—ratified, however, and clothed with emphasis, by the closing words of the Master to them, as reported among them, and by the last gesture which they very early ascribed to him, of Benediction on the earth, before the heavenly cloud received him. It was this inherent energy of the religion, pushed in on their souls with incalculable force, which carried them abroad in world-wide effort, and which made all distinctions of rank or power, of race or class, disappear from their sight.

The new light thus cast on the value and greatness of human nature, was not limited to them. It has entered since into the vital consciousness of mankind. It is to-day, thanks be to God! the broad and clear illumination of the world.

On the face of it this religion purported to be one which sought men, and sought them on behalf of God, to bring them to Him. It was not a religion for the devout only, but for all

men: however unintelligent their minds might have been on highest themes, however refractory and rebellious their wills against the precepts of a supreme righteousness. And it was by no means, in its own contemplation, a religion which had been constructed by men, to lift them nearer to heavenly levels. The ethnic religions, in their best and most attractive aspect, are such religions of aspiration: the lower ever looking up to the higher, the ignorant creature trying to find the unknown Creator. In an early Vedic hymn, translated by Max Müller, after affirming as wise and mighty the works of him who stemmed asunder the wide firmaments, the poet asks: "How can I get near unto Varuna [Heaven]? Will he accept my offering without displeasure? When shall I with a quiet mind see him propitiated?" So, in another translated passage from the Zoroastrian Avesta, is shown us another up-reaching spirit: "I ask thee to tell me the truth, O Ahura! Who was from the beginning, the Father of the pure creatures? Who has made the path for the sun and the stars?" * There had been traditions among the Greeks that in the prehistoric times the gods had held commerce with men. Hecataeus of Miletus is said to have definitely fixed the era at which they ceased to intermarry with mortals, in the 9th or 10th century before our era. The feeling continued that poets, as Plato expressed it, 'might often still, by the assistance of the Muses and the Graces, attain truth in their strains'; † that their highest works were indeed to be attributed to a possessing divinity. But there was nowhere among the Greeks any conception of a positive body of law and truth declared by the gods for man's acceptance. It would have seemed scarcely less preposterous than that stars should be sent for human torches.

But Christianity came, professedly at least, with such Divine discoveries to man; and it claimed to come with illustrious heralding. If men conceive, as they not unfrequently have conceived, the song of angels over Bethlehem to be a later poetic legend, without any sure historical warrant, this aspect of the Gospel remains still evident; for it then is apparent what im

* "Science of Religion": New York ed., 1872, pp. 110–111.

† "Laws": III., 682.

pression it had made on the minds of its disciples, an impression so quick, deep, and continuing, that it was afterward spontaneously expressed—or, if any one chooses, was expressed with a purposed and calculated conformity to the feeling of those disciples—in the radiant picture of the Bethlehem legend. Their religion claimed, from the beginning, not to be a product of human contrivance, but a message from the heavens: in which the eternal and invisible God, who had made man in His image, spoke to His creature, to bring him into higher communion with Himself. And in this vast initial fact was plainly involved, to those who received it, a supreme affirmation of the dignity and worth of that nature in man to which a message so august had been addressed.

In this, Christianity contrasted, as I have said, the highest philosophies which had preceded, while it was utterly, by its constitution, set apart from the prevalent religions of the world, Hellenic, Buddhistic, or any other; but it corresponded with, while immensely surpassing, that earlier system upon which it was suddenly super-imposed. The Zeus of the Greeks, as Mr. Grote has clearly recognized, in his highest supremacy was not a Law-maker, but a Judge, having only the commanding Divine functions judicial and administrative. The whole conception of the Deity as dictating a code of laws, Mr. Maine declared, in his "Ancient Law," to belong to a range of ideas comparatively recent and advanced.* But the grand uplifting and educating force to the Hebrew nation always had been their fervent belief that God had given a Law to their fathers: a Law which contemplated high character in them, and which showed impressively that the Sovereign of the Universe was ever at hand, taking instant cognizance of the action of men, and of the spirit revealed in that action, and certain to recompense, in this life or the next, according to their obedience to Him. It might well be that a pursuing fear of God should be inspired by this Divine Law. It might well be that life should appear so solemn and momentous, under its overshadowing cloud and glory, to those morally weak, that they should desire the easier rule of enticing

* "Ancient Law": New York ed., 1861, p. 5.

idolatries, confronting their austere religion from Tyre or Damascus, in Babylon or Nineveh, or along the verdurous banks of the Nile. But as long as the fact remained in their conviction that such a Law, holy and mandatory, had been given to them of God, they could not but recognize also the estimate thus put by Him upon their nature. That Law of which Kant said that 'two things filled his soul with profound awe, the starry heavens and the moral Law,' had at any rate this continual mission. Over every Hebrew household and heart shone a gleam from the Sinai brightness. Over the whole history of the people fell a force of unition and benediction from that unforgotten revelation of God. In the highest political, as in the deepest moral sense, that Law was their life; because it evermore quickened the sense of their public value as a people, of their importance, commensurate with their duties, as persons before God. Other nations might be richer, more famous, more powerful, with vaster military resource and skill, capable of conquering and plundering them, of deporting them from their land, or of grinding them into the dust within it. But no other nation, to their apprehension, had been so sought of God as had theirs. In all the wisdom of the Egyptians it was not recited that the Eternal himself had bended the heavens to communicate His thought and paramount will to those who had lifted the stately columns of Memphis or Thebes. The Roman, Greek, Assyrian, Phenician, had no such record of Divine intervention. The nation which had it was lifted to moral supremacy by it. Its will was strung for every great endurance and effort, as long as the faith of this continued. When the alluring Phenician idolatries expelled this from the thought of Israel, the infected tribes lost vitality, and were swept into far Oriental spaces, as 'a rolling thing before the whirlwind.'

When, then, Christianity, in its profounder spiritual signifi cance, in its alleged ampler discovery of the Infinite Mind, claiming the same Divine origin, purporting to be a more effulgent final message from the supernal spheres of light—when this came to men, and challenged their faith, the same impression which before had been made of the worth of the special Hebrew nature was reinforced, and capitally augmented, as ap-

plied thenceforth to all men, to whom peace had been offered, with the Divine blessing on men of good-will. An impression of the dignity before angels and God, of that spirit in man to which this religion was addressed, was inseparable from it, in the minds of its disciples. No matter whether one were emperor or servant, could utter his thought in the flexile and exquisite Attic tongue, or could only harshly stammer it forth in the hardly intelligible barbarian jargon, if God was sufficiently interested in him to address to him a religion like this, his soul was ennobled and crowned by the fact. That touch of Divine recognition of his nature stamped it as royal.

But, still further, this religion purported, and was believed, to have come from God in fulfilment of a plan fully indicated before, after an immense and prolonged preparation. It was believed to contain amazing elements, of miracle, theophany, accomplished prophecy, and to have for the central personage in it a Being of celestial nature and power, whom it was at least lawful to worship, and whose appearance on the earth made the supreme epoch in its history. It is not now essential to inquire whether these convictions were just or not. The point to which I call your attention is the fact that such convictions were entertained, at what all must admit an early date; and that their necessary influence was to enlarge and quicken the general conception of the man for whom a religion so transcendent had been proclaimed.

According to its immeasurable greatness must be the greatness, in native constitution, in worth of being, of him for whose acceptance it divinely appealed. Even men would not build costly ships to carry sea-sand from Sidon or Ascalon, and drop it into the deep; but only to carry wealthy fabrics, products of art, or treasures of looms, between the rich commercial cities. Even men would not send armed legionaries to conquer rabbits, or capture mice. Always there must be a certain proportion between means employed and ends desired; between benefits proffered, and the accredited worth of the recipient. And if it were true, as they assuredly held it to be true, that God had sent His Son to the world, by teaching, life, and the mystery of death, to draw men to new relations to the Highest, then he

must be worthy—the man for whom all this had been done—of Divine regard; and then for man to overlook or deny his personal value, or to magnify the transitory accidents of his position above the intrinsic worth of his spirit, was to impeach the eternal wisdom. Precisely, in other words, as the primitive conception of Christianity was higher in the minds of its disciples, their impression was more complete of the grandeur of that moral nature in man to which it appealed. As a scheme of ethics, a human philosophy, the theory of a sensitive and skilled Nazarene, it could not have urged a power of this sort on their minds. As a Divine revelation of duty and truth, as it to them plainly appeared, made with miracle, preceded by a vast and majestic preparation, and consummated in the marvellous advent and work of a Person celestial—it was inevitable that it should impress them with the conviction that he for whom it was designed had possibilities, if not prophecies, in his nature, which made him worthy of Divine contemplation. The inference was immediate; the impulse which it gave immense and new.

Yet further, of course the particular provisions of this religion, as they apprehended them, wrought with a silent consistent energy toward the same unique and fruitful impression. They all appeared distinctly to imply, to those who accepted them, the inestimable worth of the nature of man, and the infinite supremacy of the living, thinking, aspiring spirit, above any concomitants of language or race, of property or poverty, obscurity or power. I have nothing to say here of the special contents of the religion about which there may be diversities of opinion, but only of those aspects of it which lie on its surface, and which none will dispute.

The appeal was made by it, as they understood it, to man, to each man, to change his course and his purpose in life, in the exercise of his personal sovereignty of will, under the influence of invisible motives appealing purely to his moral sensibility, and under a subtile spiritual force proceeding directly from God himself. The captain of troops might disregard such a will in man, and treat it as the foolishest impediment and impertinence. The rich patrician might no more consult it, in one slave or in all, than he regarded the slight invisible pulsations of the air

through which his litter was borne by his attendants: and this, although it well might be that these slaves, captured in war, or purchased of pirates, were of an ancestry nobler than his, of a spirit as high, and of rarer accomplishments. They had not power. Subjects of violence, or victims of defeat, they had been bought from the slippery deck, or on some bloody disastrous field, for a few sesterces each: and thenceforth their right to a personal will was no more practical than their right to carry the suns in their hands. They were as cattle, as the dead, before their lord. The master's will was the law of their life. The emperor's will was the law of the State: before which reluctant wills must yield, as the stems which the tempest bends or breaks. Even in the ideal philosophy of Plato, the commonwealth is the organism for which and by which the individual exists, to which his personal will is subject, even in matters like marriage, or worship, or the training of children. No one should dare to publish a song, though sweet as the golden tones of Orpheus, if it had not been approved by the guardians of the laws.

But when the supreme author of Christianity proclaimed his illustrious religion to the world—according to the conception of its earliest disciples—he solicited for it the voluntary acceptance of each human person to whom it came. He regarded no chain, excepted from his commands no human station, and brushed away the meshes of Stoical necessity with an unswerving hand. He set before each man good and evil, that he might choose. He admonished and attracted him, by a vast and manifold variety of motives, delicate yet august, to give up idolatry and accept the new Faith, or to come out from the narrower system of Moses into the ampler liberty of Christ: in either case, to turn his life into new courses, and accept for himself sublimest aims. But always he applied for men's assent, and did not overbear them with even heavenly force. Faith must be free. Consecration is the chiefest volition of a soul. A man's destiny turns on his own election. The intrinsic sovereignty of a will to be determined from within, not to be controlled by mechanical pressures, is always recognized by Christianity. As a Person, its author spoke as to a person, to the humblest hearer to whom came his

message by evangelist or apostle; and the intrinsic dignity of the soul thus addressed could need, to the believer, no other demonstration. Humanity was recognized by this religion as having its centre above itself: but it was appealed to, to relate itself freely, in an intimate way, with the eternal and sovereign Spirit. Each created soul took a strange majesty on its native constitution from such a winning and animating appeal of God himself, as represented by Jesus, for its free choice.

Still further was this impression enforced by all the frame of that religion whose primary appeal was so replete with Divine persuasions. It took for granted in every man the conscience of right, to which instruction, precept, rebuke, were properly addressed, and which must respond to a manifested righteousness, however passion, habit, desire, might fight against this. There had been no instruction, either mental or moral, in the ethnic religions. Preaching, of any sort, was simply unknown, unless we except the Buddhist teaching, which instructed men to extinguish desire in order to arrive at non-existence. Festal ceremonies, sacrifices, augury, were under the Western systems the whole of religion. Cicero thought of philosophy, as I have said, but never of religion, as a helper to morality and wisdom. He based no precepts of virtue on the authority, will, or example of the gods: and while he looked perhaps for conservation of interests, he never expected spiritual culture from the most elaborate rites of worship. But Christianity was a system which lived by preaching, to the judgment and conscience. The Sermon on the Mount has always been conceded a central and cardinal factor in it, by those who have disputed almost everything else: and this had its only possible power through its appeal to man's apprehension of what is morally beautiful and binding.

It has sometimes been affirmed that much which is most impressive in it had before been taught, by other teachers, Jewish or foreign; that in the maxims of Seneca, in the analects of Confucius, or in the Buddhist 'Path of virtue,' we find parallels to its precepts. It is not in the least needful to my purpose to inquire whether this is correctly represented. If it is, the more amazing, certainly, becomes the unique and stupendous personality in him who gave to such spiritual maxims, elsewhere

ineffective, a swift and unprophesied dominance among men; who lifted to a height overtopping the world the radiant orb of which other elect and eminent spirits had caught vanishing beams. But it surely must be granted, by the most utter sceptic, that the precepts and promises of that august Sermon belonged to the religion which was propagated afterward through the compass of the empire; and each of these precepts, with the promise that attends it, made its appeal, directly, energetically, to the moral in man—to awaken it if sleeping, to train and direct it if already responsive.

It was not by indulging human desire, though for the most enticing pleasures; it was not by flattering human ambition, the Hebrew pride, the Roman craving for further conquest, the Greek aspiration for achievements in art; it was by setting the sovereign conscience in every man on its own side, in the face of whatever fought against it, that Christianity won its early triumphs. It took it for granted that every man to whom it spoke had the moral element indestructible in him; that this could be taught to shudder and shrink before the evil which God detests, and to aspire toward the holiness immaculate in which is His joy; and that if the inner and final adhesion of this moral nature were attracted to itself, then the religion which was now in the world had gained its disciple, its champion, or its martyr. It must be apparent, I think, that no form of religion, no form of philosophy, ever honored and exalted the moral in man as did this Faith which flung its whole force on the deepest and keenest sensibilities in that, and which sought to conquer it by spiritual persuasions. It only signalizes this characteristic of the religion of the Christ that when Mohammedanism, centuries after, appeared suddenly in the world—that religion, as one has called it, 'of fatal apathy and of sensual hopes'—having no chance, by its very constitution, to appeal to the conscience, it could only argue with the scimetar's edge.

It took for granted in man, too, this religion of Christ, an intellectual nature, which might be uncultured, rudimental in development, but which was capable of apprehending great truths, as taught by an accepted Teacher, and which had in it such profound aspirations as would leave it undaunted in front of mys-

teries; only inspired by truths so transcendent that for the present it could not grasp them. There is no attempt to multiply mysteries in the New Testament; but neither is there the slightest attempt to simplify any, or to vacate them of unsearchable elements. Whether there be a Regeneration, is not at this moment a question for us. The fact is indisputable that the Christian Scriptures declare such a thing, and do not undertake to define or describe it, or to explain the coincidence in it of the Divine and human activities. What the writer of the Fourth Gospel meant by his amazing proem, has been strenuously disputed; but the fact that it stands at the outset of that book—the most spiritually profound in human literature—is apparent to all, and that there it has stood from the earliest time in the history of the book. Even, then, if one should imagine this Gospel to have been invented a century or more after the death of Christ—a supposition as difficult, I think, as to suppose the Hudson river to have been manufactured by the water-mills at Glenn's Falls—it shows illustriously what the religion on whose behalf it is conceived to have been fabricated had done for its writer, and what an estimate the early disciples conceived that religion to put on man's intellect. To address the Timaeus to artisans of Athens, or the Nicomachean Ethics to boys in the streets, would not have been ascribing an equal honor to the common intellectual nature in man.

It appealed to his conscience, this new religion. It sought by all pertinent motives to persuade and fix his wavering will. And while it addressed him with truths so simple that the child may understand them, with a royal confidence in his intrepid investigating power it flung mysteries in his path, to be stimulants, not impediments, to his faith. 'Come up hither, and I will show thee things which must be hereafter,' said the voice, speaking apparently from the heavens, to the seer of the Apocalypse.* 'Come up hither, and I will teach thee what as yet thou canst not understand, what some time or other shall be unfolded to thine exalted and visioned intelligence'—that is always the voice of Christianity to those to whom its messages come

* Revelation iv. 1.

It spoke thus, at the outset; and certainly no other system of thought, religious or speculative, ever honored the mental force in man more highly than did this, when it went to the sailor, the jailer, the slave, to Lydia at Philippi, or to Damaris at Athens, and said, 'Turn from your old life, and take the rule of Christ for yours, and you shall be led into a grander and more intimate knowledge of God and His universe, and of your essential relations to both; for the intellect in you is capable of all this. It is only for a little lower than that of angels!' Nowhere has either the fineness or the power of that intellectual nature in man, the culture of which in the elect few was the glory of Greece, been so vividly recognized as by this religion, which came apparently by fishermen and peasants, led by one from a workshop of Nazareth, but which opened unbounded realms of thought, and which solicited each obscure man to think for himself what it declared the thoughts of God.

It was not less signal, significant, or fruitful, the recognition which was given by this religion to man's intrinsic capacity for affection: for an affection transcendent, toward God himself as declared by Jesus, and toward mankind whose nature appeared revealed in him, in a definite outline, yet in ideal glory. No love for the gods had been shown, or been possible, under ethnic religions. The philosopher could not love the indefinite and impersonal principle of order pervading the universe, any more than he could love atmospheres or oceans. To have any affection for the ruthless or frivolous gods of the mythologies was outside the compass of human aspiration. But since the new tidings of God had come, or what claimed to be such, this new and surpassing enthusiasm of the soul was prompted, demanded, as the natural product of the novel religion. A love toward the Infinite was contemplated by it, on the part of the humblest disciple of Jesus, beside which all other affections should be weak, but from which they should take, each one, a higher purity, and a fresh consecration. Filial and fervent, it was to be: persistent in energy, and of passionate intensity: such as could conquer pain and grief, outlast the years, survive vicissitudes, be only more mighty in the midst of temptations, be only supreme in the presence of Death. Out of this love beneficence should flow

as the stream from its spring. By it the universe should be illumined to him who saw God's presence in it. The very dissolution of that universe should not be able to break or shake it, while God continued, with the soul for His adoring subject.

Here, then, was recognized a capacity in man before unsounded, unsuspected; and the divinest witness was given to the greatness of his nature. In the fulness of this love holiness consisted; and however men have quarrelled with that supreme requirement of the Scripture, in both the Testaments, 'Be ye holy, since God is holy,' no one can deny that it contains the noblest eulogy on human nature, in its constituent moral powers, which was ever pronounced. We cannot rival God in power; the angels cannot; or in the measureless infinitude of His knowledge. But in that which is grander than power or knowledge, in the character, of sovereign and unspeakable glory, to which all else in Him is subordinate, men are required by this religion to rival God: through perfect love to be as holy as Himself: as the single drop, in its crystal sphericity, is as perfect as oceans; as the single sun-ray, slanting through the crevice, is as perfect in its intrinsic splendor as measureless floods of the solar effulgence. The slave at Corinth, the despised, rebellious, and passionate Jew in the Roman Ghetto across the Tiber, might feel that this was a measure of character as far surpassing the reach of his power as he yet knew this—and knew not the grace which might assist it—as it would be to climb on star-beams to the sky, or to take up the piles of Lebanon in his fingers. But he could not but feel, as no one now can refuse to feel, that he who presented a requirement like that, put immensest honor on human nature; an honor simply unparalleled and supreme. To have offered man a garland of suns would not really have attested so supremely the Divine honor put upon him.

Of course, too, it lies on the face of Christianity that it recognizes a life beyond the present: a life which is not mere existence prolonged, and modelled after the earthly fashion, but life in a fuller, intenser sense, the Zoé of the Gospels, full of vision, gladness, happy fellowship with illumined souls, noble service exhaustive of no power, communion of spirit with God himself. This was not a thought wholly strange, it is evident, to the

highest preceding philosophies. Socrates had had some expectation of such a future, though not positively affirming it, and saying, in sad contrast with the apostle, 'whether to die or live is better, God alone knows.' Plato had had perhaps more lively thought of it, in harmony with his higher speculative genius. But Aristotle left no testimony concerning it, unless negative in its character; and Pericles, in the famous funeral oration which Thucydides has recorded,* refers to the glory of the city for which they whom he was celebrating had died, to the undying praise which by their self-devotion they had deserved, to the noble sepulchre in which they had gained a place and name, the whole Earth being the sepulchre of illustrious men—but he makes no reference whatever to any experience beyond the present awaiting the bravest or the best. Cicero not unfrequently, and always eloquently, refers to a possible future life, though he found no comfort in it himself when friends had died, though his own hope was fixed supremely on posthumous fame, and though he plainly admits the alternative that if souls perish in death they are not miserable. Cæsar publicly denied it in the Senate, himself at the time the recognized head of the public religious system: and he was confronted by no earnest protest, but only by a smiling or sneering indifference. Seneca doubted, though inclined to expect the continuance of the best souls till the coming conflagration. Pliny, Lucretius, Horace, and many others, represent the disbelief, sad or scornful, which practically pervaded the ancient world. Even the honest and noble Epictetus saw nothing probable for man in the hereafter but dissolution into other elements.

A conscious and personal future life was therefore at the best, it was with the highest, what it has been to sceptics in our time, 'a grand Perhaps': while the general mind either wholly repulsed it, or took of it this pallid impression, that if there were a future existence it was gloomy and joyless, in which the dead were ghostly spectres bewildered in the dark, from which they turned longingly back toward the life which they had left, wishing their tombs to be built along thronged and resounding

* II., 35–46.

streets; having even their sarcophagi covered with sculptures of battles, games, and other eager and festal activities; sometimes providing for feasts of friends, to be held at intervals in their tombs. In other instances such inscriptions on the sepulchres as—'I was not, and became; I was, and am not'; 'To eternal sleep'; 'I was naught, and am naught';—show how entirely had passed from many minds the expectation of life, in any complete and superlative sense, beyond the grave. In regard to this, at least, the striking remark of Coleridge is exactly true, that "across the night of Paganism philosophy flitted on, like the lantern-fly of the tropics—a light to itself, and an ornament, but, alas! no more than an ornament, of the surrounding darkness."*

Even in Egypt, where the doctrine of a future existence, corresponding with that known on the earth, had long been familiar, a later funeral tablet cited by Renouf, speaks of it as 'a land of heavy slumber and darkness, an abode of sorrow for those who dwell there, where father and mother are not recognized, and where Death Absolute is God.'

It has been persistently disputed, you know, among those most competent to discuss it, whether the hoped-for Nirvana of Buddhism meant annihilation of personal consciousness, or simply an utter rest of the spirit, after all struggle for individual ends should have ceased to be made. The former appears the more probable opinion, as is largely and elaborately shown by Burnouf. The highest hope cherished by the system seems clearly to have been, that

> ——"dying in the darkness of God's light,
> The soul may pierce these blinding webs of Nature,
> And float up to the Nothing which is all things:"

while all agree that what among us is called 'the soul,' is to Buddhism simply a phantom. But the fact that such a discussion has been possible is the fact here significant. For no one has doubted that Christianity offered, to those complying with its conditions, a life as glorious as it was personal, and undefined

* "Aids to Reflection". Aph. IV.; New York ed., 1853. Vol. I., p. 225.

by limits of time. Men have quarrelled with it often for still associating with that life the old body, transfigured. But they have not doubted that it promised the primary life of the spirit. They have sometimes affirmed that it promised a glorious life to all, without conditions; but none have doubted that it promised such to its faithful disciples; and so, anew, it exalted immensely, beyond computation, the practical conception of the nature of man. When from its obscure pulpit in Palestine it preached the doctrine of unending existence awaiting all—not of any transmigration of souls, such as Egypt and India had constantly taught, not of any groping and shadowy consciousness such as the poets had associated with Hades—but of a supreme and beautiful existence, for all whose character made them ready, an existence intense, exuberant, immortal—when it taught, as it certainly taught very early, the real resurrection of the Lord from the dead, and his amazing ascension to the Heavens, as a pledge and proof, and even a ground, of the assurance of such to believers, —it was at any rate bringing a force to operate upon men to expand and exalt their thoughts of man's soul such as no preceding history had known.

All the combined supernatural elements which the early disciples discerned, as they thought, in their religion, from the advent of the Lord to his last appearance to Saul of Tarsus, bore on this stupendous result, were what they were by reason of it. For this it was that a Divine Person, as they conceived, had come to the world. For this, he had taught, endured, according to their conviction of things had wrought miracles, and had finally died, when he might have escaped, or might have resisted. For this, he had sent the Spirit from above, that the hearts of men might be changed within, and made ready to rise to spheres of light. And for this he was coming, in power and splendor, at that end of the world which they were anticipating as not distant, to call the saints out of their graves, and to appoint, as men had deserved, unending destinies. The Cross was only interpreted to them by its relation to this supernal and boundless life, which the soul in man was great enough to desire, and great enough to receive. The Incarnation took its moral glory from that illustrious and immeasurable end toward

which it had come to help men forward. Before the meanest stretched welcoming and triumphant eternities. The soul of the slave had in it the sovereignty of immortal presages. Therefore it was that the common salutation of Christians upon the streets was, "Christ is Risen!" and that the glorious Easter anniversary—still honored in our churches—became to them a festival such as pagan religions, with all their arts, and all their ancientness, never had known. The life to come, the life unending—that was its word of strange and solemn illumination!

To those who do not find the evangelical doctrines, so called, in the early scheme of Christianity, it seems probable that these were elaborated later, possibly by the unconscious action of subsequent minds constructing a basis on which to plant such towering hopes. But those who accept these doctrines as primitive find in them the Divine foundation on which, from the first, those hopes were builded. The hopes themselves, inspired by Christianity, and opened to all men on certain conditions, none can dispute. For the peasant, the soldier, the slave, the barbarian, as well as for statesman, artist, philosopher, there lay, in its conception, beyond the grave, unbounded existence, which might be full of peace and praise, which opened to virtue matchless areas, and gave to power the vivid promise of indefinite expansion. Because of that, the new religion had come to men; because of that, it had histories behind it, vivid with prediction, majestic with miracle; because of that, it was what it was in its own transcendent and inspiring constitution. And wheresoever this was apprehended, with loving faith, the nature of the man to whom such a religion thus had spoken was lifted to an eminence before inconceivable; deserving the regard of the Infinite himself; deserving the homage of every man.

Certainly, no other eulogy so sublime has been pronounced on human nature as that which was thus pronounced by Christianity, when it broke into the history of the world, at the outset of our era; which is implied in it to-day, wherever its astonishing messages are carried. I find it hard, sometimes, to entertain sincere respect for many of the arguments brought against the religion which has changed so substantially the life

of the world. But that one which seems the foolishest of all—a mere mephitic waft of air—is the allegation which occasionally is made, which has been rampantly made in our time, that it degrades the nature of man, and puts too low an estimate upon it! How soon will men complain that showers bring drought, and that sunshine makes darkness too complete!

The fact that Christianity, by its Master and his disciples, condemns man's character with unsparing severity, and makes his want of inner righteousness the reason why it has come to change him—that it shows the fiercest passions of men raging against the gentle and the sovereign Person who is principal in it, and that it predicts results of evil, vast and terrific, as certain to flow from the temper of malice, lust, unbelief—this only adds emphasis to the tribute which it organically and everywhere pays to the greatness of man's nature, in the constituent elements of that. It is because that nature is so grand, in possibility if not promise, that sin, in the conception of this religion, as interpreted by its early disciples, becomes so dreadful in power and effect. Heathenism practically knew nothing of sin, except as consisting in neglect or refusal of certain specific rites of religion. Christianity locates the element of it in the want of supreme affection toward God; in the failure of man to realize his true moral ideal; in his want of harmony with the spiritual Universe, of which by birthright he is a member. Morally, to the ethnic religions, man was always a child; to be punished for negligence, carelessness, petty wilfulness. It has been made a reproach against Christianity that it treats him too much as a magnificent rebel, not the servant of circumstances or a client of chance, but a responsible moral person, on whom God lays imperative commands, by whom those commands are repulsed and defied, to whom, therefore, comes a celestial Person to conquer and to help. I am not now concerned to inquire whether Christianity is right or is wrong in this contemplation of man as a sinner. I only point out the fact that such a doctrine of sin is in perfect harmony with all that teaching by which it magnifies the essential worth of the soul in man. In the contemplation of Paul, for example, it was because man was constitutionally great while morally depraved, that the Lord had come to graft in his

spirit a new element of life. In the contemplation of all the New Testament immortal recompenses of evil or of good, are not too much for the soul whose powers bear the image of God It is for a fallen Prince in the creation that battlements of doom face gates of pearl in the Christian pre-vision.

In spite of sin, man is honored by this religion; of course therefore, in spite of everything else—poverty, ignorance, rudeness of manner, distinctions of sex, nationality, race, or the servile condition. 'The Good Sans-Culotte,' Jesus was called, ages afterward, by the French Revolutionists; and it was a real glimpse of the honor which the Master had paid to the poorest which mingled in the words with the fierce gleam of human passion. From no rudest, weakest, or most oppressed man had the Lord turned aside; and no such man could hear himself addressed by the new religion, from Tabor or Olivet, from broken sepulchre and illuminated heavens, or from the stern summits of a prophesied Judgment, without a fresh consciousness of the radical greatness of human nature, in himself and in others.

But the final expression of this reverence of Christianity for the nature in man is shown when obscure and unlearned persons —servants, mechanics, soldiers from the ranks, runaway slaves, outcast women—have accepted its Lord, as preached by apostles, and have bowed together in penitent joy before darkened cross and golden cloud. Then they are spoken of, in all the New Testament, in terms surpassing the majesty of kings; and their scattered and seemingly insignificant societies are described as no orator would have dared to picture senate or city in the proudest imperial days of Rome. They have been purchased by the blood of Christ, and are marching together, through whatever painful or toilsome paths, toward the place which he is preparing on high. With him they are the heirs of God, the sons and daughters of the Lord Almighty; apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, all are for them, that they may be brought, by the Divine Spirit, to the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ. They are, in their collective unity, a spiritual House, a holy Priesthood, the very Body on earth of him to whom all things are being subjected. By them is to be made known to principalities and powers in heavenly places the manifold wisdom

of Him on whose word the universe rests. The church on earth is one with that enthroned on high, the immaculate and immortal Bride of Christ. In its final supremacy, the new Jerusalem will have descended out of heaven from God, having upon it the glory of God.

No matter what one may conceive of all this — though it seem to him a folly surpassing all "the foolishness of preaching"—he cannot but recognize the estimate thus put on the common mysterious nature of man. For the first time in the world were recognized here the abysmal secrets of that moral being to which is possible a mighty love, surpassing knowledge, such as glorified men like Paul and John, and afterward, in humbler disciples, brightened the cell, and quenched the flame: to which is possible also a malignity like that which had flamed to intensest exhibition before the majestic presence of the Christ. Here, for the first time, were presented to the world possibilities on the one hand of such transcendent and ravishing hopes that language rushes into rhapsody to describe them, and on the other hand of such remorseful gloom and despair that one immersed in their mystery of pain is as if dashed 'from heights of glory above the empyrean, to a depth so low that the floor of hell might be its zenith.' The pathos and the majesty of that conception of man which pervades the New Testament no human thought had measured or apprehended till it fell upon the world from the life and the lips, and the consummating death, of him of Nazareth. If this conception is not correct, Christianity is in error, from the root upward. If this is correct, the glory of that ever-living religion which taught it to the world seems as apparent as the splendor of Uriel sitting amid the sun's bright circle. That the Divine nature should have been combined with the human in the Person of the Lord seemed not too astounding to be believed by the early teachers of this religion.

I am sure that I need not argue before you that this changed and ennobled conception of Man has been of immense and fruitful power. It came, as I trust you will feel that I have shown, not accidentally, but as associated organically with the religion which we are considering: involved in that, as the heat-ray in the solar light-ray. It came to stay. It has widened in the world, pre-

cisely in the measure in which this religion has had purer development, larger sway. Of course the ambition and selfishness of men have fought against it, with fierce and often successful resistance. Of course forms of religion, called Christianity, but wanting its primitive tendency and spirit, have overlooked or denied this conception of man, and have delivered him over—even him for whom this religion had come—to the blindness of ignorance, to the torpor which comes with want of hope, to the hopeless hardness of servile toil. The world is not yet Christian; and the worst reproaches which the Faith brought by Jesus has had to bear, as I suggested before, have come from the work of selfish passions, skulking beneath the Christian name. But that sublimer conception of man which emanated from him—nobler than Roman, Greek, Assyrian, or the earlier Hebrew—did not fail at the outset, in the terrible struggle to get itself established; and it has not failed since. Set Chrysostom's eloquence against Cicero's, and you see it; or the first epistle credited to Clement, against any philosophical fragment of Seneca. Set the admitted equality of members in the earliest Christian congregations of the catacombs against the haughty distinctions between classes in the empire above them, and you cannot but see it. Out of it came the philanthropical endeavors which glorified the earliest years of the church; out of it, the strong missionary impulse, which drew from it ever-fresh inspiration. It erected the son of the Gallic prefect in unbending severity before the imperial Theodosius. It made the son of the Tuscan carpenter the lord of the Middle Age Christendom. It became the germ of future freedoms, authorizing the idea which is now organific in the structure of Governments, that they exist for the individual, not he for them. And the emperors who pursued it with sword and flame were right in feeling that they or it had got to go down in that awful duel.

The whole public life of the world, so far as Christianity affected that life, took sudden, impulsive, and powerful start from the nobler influence thus breaking into it. The old weariness departed, of which ancient biographies give examples most touching and impressive. The old thought, ever recurring, 'Better it were to die early; best of all, not to have been born' the old

feeling, expressed by the Stoics, that 'the aim of philosophy is to despise life': the old sad tendency which made life cheap, and suicide familiar:—these vanished in the light of the new religion, as mists before auroral splendors, when men whose horizon had seemed limited inexorably to the small and uncertain attainments of time, were inspired to look on to a Future beyond, unbounded as the sky, and brighter than that when sunshine fills it. A gleam from the Immensities shot sacredness over life. An undertone from Eternal relations was thenceforth beneath men's common speech.

Never has passed that new and vast impulse from the life of the world. The religion which had shown God to mankind, so as before He had not been conceived, the same religion showed Man to himself, so as before he had not been imagined, in the greatness of his nature, in his immortality. In regard to this conception of the soul, its dignity and worth, the race has been a new one, since Jesus taught it, and so far as his religion has gone. And it is upon that sublime conception introduced by Christianity, justified and verified, as they surely believed who first received it, by prophecy and by miracle, which has ever since been building itself into the public life of the world—it is upon that, that we stand to-day in utter tranquillity, when materialism affirms that man is a fabric of wind and ashes, whose whole life is evolved from the brutal; when even a scholarly scepticism says that 'the last enemy which speculative criticism has to destroy is the belief in a future life'; or when the metaphysical moralist declares, in the sad tone of Stuart Mill, that 'man is naturally a lover of dirt, a sort of wild animal craftier than the other beasts, to whom the most criminal actions are not more unnatural than most of the virtues, and to whom the imaginative hope of futurity may be more a burden than a blessing.' Such philosophic pessimism, in our own time, from a robust and gallant spirit, seems the only thing needed to make most illustrious that radiant conception of the essential greatness of man's nature which came by Jesus.

LECTURE IV.

THE NEW CONCEPTION OF THE DUTY OF MAN TOWARD GOD, IN WORSHIP.

LECTURE IV.

In passing from the ethnic religions, ancient or modern, into Christianity, or in advancing to it from the more rubrical system of the Hebrews, it seems impossible not to feel that we come suddenly into a freer and more spiritual conception of that personal duty of man toward God which is expressed by the tender and lordly historical word Worship; and when we remember how closely and how largely this is related to the mental and moral advancement of mankind, to what an extent the highest spiritual life of the world is determined or modified by its energetic educating force, it certainly will not seem that the change thus accomplished is insignificant. Indeed, I think that the more we reflect on it the more deeply shall we feel how profound, radical, far-extending it is, and how much it implies concerning the religion to which it is due; what a light it casts on the sovereign authorship of that system of Faith which came by Jesus. I would not exaggerate anything here, more than elsewhere; but to me there appear profound significance and incalculable importance in the change thus inaugurated. It looks, at least, like a wholly new and sublimer force breaking in upon the previous context of history, to quicken and lift, in a method and a measure both unparalleled, the moral activity and life of mankind.

It is manifest, at once, that Christianity insists, as strongly as any religion in the world, on the duty of man to offer a true worship to God. Whatever indifference there may have been toward this on the part of philosophers, as we know there was much both in the Greek and the Roman society, there was none whatever on the part of the earliest teachers of Christianity Whatever carelessness of it there was among the peoples, in whom faith in the gods had largely decayed—to whom customs

of worship had often become a matter of fashion, of civil regulation, of artistic pleasure, of family festivity, or sometimes of riotous debauch—there was no reserve, and no incredulity, about the supreme function of worship, in the small assemblies of Christian disciples gathered by the first preaching of their religion. The testimony of Christians, and of the adherents to antagonist rituals, agree on this point; and the younger Pliny's report to Trajan, forty years after the death of St. Paul, shows how widely, in villages as in cities, what he regarded as a depraved and excessive superstition had gathered its companies and developed its cultus.

To those accustomed to the sumptuous and sounding pageants of heathenism it may easily have seemed that the Christian disciples, meeting privately before the dawn to sing hymns to the Christ, and to partake in the breaking of bread, had no appropriate or significant worship. To those long trained in the Hebrew economy—with its annual feasts, its sacrifices and processions, its girdled, mitred, and breast-plated priests—it might seem as if those who professed the new Faith had left not the ancient ritual only, but all commanding forms of worship, and had gone into fellowship with Pyrrhonic philosophers, or with the rude and careless rabble. Traces of such impressions are not wanting in the first Christian centuries; and it may have been an incredulity of this sort, quite as much as a ribald scorn, which was expressed in the ancient graphite scratched on the wall of a vault on the Palatine—if the reference of it to the Christ be conceded—representing the Lord as a crucified man, with an ass's head, and the words beneath, in rude characters, "Alexamenos worships his God." But Christians knew the realness of their worship, as well as its object; and both Hebrew and heathen discovered their mistake when all the authority of ruler and priest, with the desperate and continuing violence of the empire, proved unavailing to break up the assemblies in which the disciples communed and adored.

To offer this worship was not with them a mere duty of obedience to external precepts, though these were not wanting. It was still more an instinct of the heart: an instantaneous and necessary impulse of their entire Christian consciousness. And

if the gospels were now lost from our knowledge, we might almost reproduce them from the primitive customs of the disciples so far as to put again into the sovereign lips of the Lord those kingly words, 'Worship God! Worship Him, in spirit and in truth!' As fully as either words or example can impress any duty on man, the whole scheme of Christianity impresses the duty of devout adoration to the Most High. If any fail to accept this duty, they stand outside its impulse and rule.

But, evidently, there are important particulars in which the worship commanded by Christianity, and by which it was distinguished in the world, differs from any which had preceded it; and except as we apprehend these differences, and feel the vital consequence of them, we shall not see what a work it accomplished in this direction, or what prophecies are in it of the future spiritual culture of man. At the very beginning, it recognized no further need on man's part for the offering of sacrifice, of bird, or beast, or the fruits of the earth—that by this he might appease the gods or win their favor, or that by it he might fulfil the law which had come to the Hebrews through their fathers. Nothing more radical, apparently revolutionary, can well be conceived than this immense and startling liberation by the new religion, of all its disciples, from the solemn ancestral ritual of Sacrifice. This, at least, can hardly have been suggested by any calculations of human prudence, or any impulse of a trained and responsive Jewish sensibility. It traversed all custom, appeared to dishonor the most sacred memories, to contradict the very instinct of penitence, if not to contradict God himself in what the Hebrews had revered as His law. It seemed intended to launch men forth into unknown spaces of spiritual experience, with none of the helps, guidances, stimulations, which had been familiar. It seemed, almost, to sever the world from Him who had made it; or to bar before men the natural way of access to Him.

The idea of sacrifice, as a necessary means of approaching with acceptance supernal Powers, seems to have been imbedded from the outset in the timid but aspiring human heart. Whether it came from a primitive revelation, and had drifted down among diverging tribes, to take Coleridge's word about Plato

as 'a plank from the wreck of Paradise,'* or whether it was a deep native impulse of the soul which felt itself out of moral sympathy with the Powers above—this has been a question, I need not remind you, keenly discussed; the discussion of which is not at all ended. But whatever the answer to this may be, and equally whether it be one or the other, the fact remains, that sacrifices were offered in the earliest times of which records remain, and were only offered more abundantly among the wealthier and haughtier peoples. They were regulated by God, according to the Hebrew understanding of things, with careful precision, in the law which they recognized as coming from Him. But they were by no means then introduced: for the earliest glimpse we have of Noah, emerging from the ark, is when he builds an altar to Jehovah, and takes of every clean beast or fowl to offer his sacrifice.† Indeed, the first glimpse we have of men, after the gates of Paradise are shut, is of their differing offerings to the Lord.‡ Suppose these legends, myths, allegorical pictures: they certainly belong to a time very early, and they show the impression of the men of that time that sacrifice to the unseen Powers had been known on the earth before themselves, before all other authentic history, from the beginning. So it is everywhere, in human annals. Nations had sometimes democratic beginnings, the pastoral tribe becoming organized by degrees into the unity and strength of a state; and sometimes, at the outset of their annals, a conquering monarch marches before us, with his army and captains, having already his capital and councillors. But always at the outset of history, whatever else is there or is not, the altar is there, the officiating priest: and the first approach which man makes to the gods is through the solemn appeal of sacrifice.

Buddhism is the chief form of religion, which has prominently and long existed, in which rites of sacrifice have not been known. This comparatively recent reactionary system excluded such offerings, by its nature: as being really a scheme of metaphysics, not a moral or spiritual law; as contemplating deliver-

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* Works: New York ed., 1853: Vol. I., p. 134 (note).

† Genesis viii. 20. ‡ Genesis iv. 3, 4.

ance from the miseries of life, not from sin; as knowing no God, and placing unconsciousness at the summit of aspiration; and as offering, in the words of a lucid and learned expositor, 'a salvation which each man could gain for himself, and by himself, in this world, during this life, without any the least reference to God, or to gods, either great or small.'* Combine with this constitution of Buddhism that doctrine of the sacredness of animal life according to which the worm under one's foot might become in the end a supreme Buddha, and the result is natural that it should stand singularly apart from other religions, as being without a cultus of sacrifice.

We cannot always certainly define the moral significance of the different forms of ethnic offering, since our knowledge of them is not complete. But in the Mosaic system, and probably in others, they had in part an expiatory meaning, as offered in atonement for acknowledged transgression; some had a dedicatory intent; and some, the more affectionate office of manifesting gratitude for particular gifts, with the desire to enter into personal communion with him from whom such gifts were conceived to have come. This was the delightful significance of the peace-offering among the Hebrews. It is at least not improbable that the altar at Athens of which Paul spoke, 'To an unknown God,' had been raised, as many were, in such an impulse of gratitude to an undiscovered benefactor, esteemed Divine. How largely the strictly expiatory idea, of giving possessions or the fruit of the body for the sin of the soul, obtained among peoples outside of Palestine, we cannot perhaps be wholly sure. Probably it always became more distinct as the personal or public sense of transgression became more acute after some extraordinary and frightful offence, or when national calamities appeared to be the answering punishment for public iniquities. But the eucharistic aspect of sacrifice, which makes it a thank-offering, the dedicatory, and that which presents it as a form of supplication,—undoubtedly these prevailed at large, as we know that they did among the Hebrews; and always as a

* Rhys Davids: "Indian Buddhism": New York ed., 1882, p. 29.

thing was nobler and more prized, the Divine acceptance of it in sacrifice was supposed to be surer.

So costly offerings, of gold and jewels, became familiar, and the treasuries of the temples were splendidly supplied from the riches of the peoples. So animal sacrifices were offered, in China, Persia, India, and elsewhere. So human sacrifices came to be offered among many peoples, Phenician, Arabian, Roman, Greek, our Gothic ancestors. It was not because they were naturally insensible to the softer affections; but because human life, even the life of their children, appeared likely to be peculiarly acceptable to such gods as they recognized. Human sacrifices were thus offered at Athens, down certainly to the time of Themistocles, as well as in Thessaly, Sparta, Crete. Though they had been forbidden at Rome by decree of the Senate, less than a hundred years before Christ, they continued to be offered there—by Cæsar, by Augustus, and traces of them had not wholly disappeared in the time of Maxentius; so that not only Justin Martyr or Tertullian may have known of them in their day, but Lactantius in his. Amid the splendid commerce of Carthage children were offered, whom the wealthy and childless sometimes bought of the poor, and whose screams were drowned by kettle-drums as they were immersed in the blazing gulf. Not always, at least, were such terrible offerings designed for expiation: as in the instance of Marius, cited by Plutarch—if he be conceded to be the author of the Parallels—who was reported to have offered his daughter to the gods to secure a victory which he thought promised in a dream on that condition. But, from whatever motive, human sacrifices were offered widely and late; and no chapters of history are more frightful than those which keep these records.

Among the Hebrews the law of sacrifice was, as we know, systematically arranged; and all its details took significance from the spiritual ends which it was obviously designed to subserve. Men were taught, of course, that the sacrifice in itself was nothing, to Him whose is the earth itself, with all the cattle on all the hills; that to obey was better than to sacrifice, and to hearken better than fat of rams;* that God desires mercy, and the knowl

* 1 Samuel xv. 22.

edge of Himself, more than burnt-offerings;* and that by doing justly, loving mercy, and walking humbly before God, one really comes to Him with acceptance.† On the spiritual apprehension of the import of sacrifice prophets and psalmists emphatically insist; and more and more full becomes their vivid development of this as their ministry touches with more penetrating force the public life. But still the law of sacrifice abides: careful, comprehensive, hallowed by lofty historical memories, consecrated by association with Him from whose Divine appointment it was felt to have come. No human sacrifice was there allowed; no such revelry, and no such self-torture, as were common in the ethnic rites. It was in part, no doubt, to guard them against these that the Hebrews were shut off from free intercourse with other peoples by imperative enactments, as by the flaming swords of cherubim. But life was offered among them: the life of the creature carefully selected, without blemish: and the blood of such sacrifice must be poured out, before the very High-Priest himself could seek remission for the sin of the people. Along the long line of Hebrew history such blood had been shed. Continually arose above Moriah, down to the end of the life of Jesus, the smoke of sacrifice, ascending to Jehovah.

It was therefore an almost incalculable change introduced to the world by the new religion, when, without a lingering trace of such external sacrifice, man was commanded at once, everywhere, to draw near to God. Only a Pagan emperor, like Julian, still offered such sacrifice, after the gospel had come to power. The fact of the change cannot be denied, however men may differ in explaining its conditions. By multitudes of disciples it has been held, in subsequent time, that the previous sacrifices had been typical of that which God himself was at last to offer, in the incarnation and death of His Son; and that this, appropriated by the faith of the believer, presented the condition on which the finite and penitent soul might thereafter approach the Most Holy. Great numbers of believers affirm, as well, that this sacrifice is effectually repeated, in essential substance, when the body and blood of Christ are presented, beneath the figures of bread and wine, in the mass which is central in Roman Catho-

* Hosea vi. 6. † Micah vi. 8.

lic worship. This is to them a eucharistic and an impetrative sacrifice, permanent in the church, continuing and consummating what was anciently prefigured. Others reject both these ideas, and hold simply that sacrifice was abrogated, when Jesus unveiled more radiantly to men the majesty and the mercy of God, and showed more clearly man's nobleness of nature. It is not now important to inquire whether either of these, whether any other explanation of the change, is just and sufficient: since the only point now before us is the ultimate fact, on which all must agree, that the old forms of sacrifice, known from the beginning, were made at once to cease by Christianity, wherever it went; and that the most radical and vast revolution ever known on the earth was thus wrought by it, in the ritual custom and rule of mankind.

It was not a philosophy, you observe, which accomplished this change, like that of Gautama, revolting in Buddhism against the oppressive prevalent religion, and substituting for it ethical maxims, with a general speculative scheme of the universe: recognizing no sin, in fact no soul, and therefore of course admitting no sacrifice. It was here a religion, which only emphasized the fact of sin beyond any other, as it showed the dignity of that human constitution which sin pollutes, and the glory of Him against whom it is committed; which searched out its element among deepest feelings and secret thoughts, and which showed God as consistently severe against every form of tolerated iniquity as Law or Prophet had ever conceived Him. At the same time, in connection with these illustrious teachings, it breaks unexpectedly—this surprising religion—over all fixed and ancient landmarks of this sovereign rite. Say, if you please, that it acknowledged on Calvary—as I, for one, reverently and gladly believe that it did—the deep preceding instinct of sacrifice. At any rate it closed the history: and wherever it went, Roman and Greek, receiving it, were strangers thenceforth to ancestral altars. The hideous rites of Syrian, Phenician, Gothic sacrifice, all were ended. The Druid ceased to slay his victim; and captive or child was no more liable among any people to be offered to the gods.

It descended suddenly on the custom of ages, this new doctrine

and plan of worship. It had no affinities with philosophical doubt, or with popular apathy. Least of all had it anything of that prudential political spirit which made Roman religion a mode of seeking public order, and which led Cicero to wish that all its ceremonies should be controlled by the Senate. Here was a religion, full of force, and full of fire, with what it asserted to be new and supreme revelations of the Infinite, appearing in the world, and exciting the utmost enthusiasm of men, which yet abruptly swept away what had seemed the most essential of rites, and brought men instantly face to face with the God over all! It came like a day, majestically arising, however portended by some dispersed and struggling beams. It came amid a people to whom sacrifice had been not merely an instinct, but, as they believed, divinely commanded, with the ritual for it minutely ordained. It came in an hour of vast general moral gloom, as angel-voices were declared to have been heard in midnight skies. It came in connection with a doctrine of human exposure and need more searching and profound than had before been preached in the world. It came at once for all mankind, wherever the word of Jesus went; and it seems nearly impossible to feel that it was the word of any mere man, with no peculiar Divine authority upon and behind him, which either dared to attempt or was able to accomplish a change so prodigious and unexpected, and as vividly complete in its startling consummation as any contrived tragic catastrophe.

But this termination of the earlier physical rite of sacrifice did not stand by itself, an isolated and a negative thing, in the scheme of worship thus offered to mankind. It was vitally connected with conditioning principles, of the fruit of which we constantly partake, but which we do not always refer as we should to the august initiative of Jesus. It is hard for us to feel how much Christianity has done for the world in this regard, as it is hard to replace before our thoughts the woods and swamps which three centuries ago covered the sites of American cities, or to feel the relative nearness of the time when no landscape glowed to our ancestors on any canvas, and when no music, such as delights us, had ever sounded in the chill and still American air. The more distinctly our thought goes back to

the time when the new religion was announced, the more shall we feel how novel not only, how grand, uplifting, impenetrating in power, was the scheme of worship thus conveyed to the world: what a debt the race owes to the teachings of Christianity, if only for the work thereby accomplished.

Sacrifice is still required of men, by the law of the Master, but it is now the sacrifice of confession, of repentance and restitution, where another has been injured; the sacrifice of whatever is lower in our nature to whatever is higher, of whatever is pleasing in our custom of life to the glory of God, in the welfare of others, or in our own noblest advancement; the sacrifice, always, of ease, and inclination to the imperative claims of duty; the sacrifice of a supreme dedication of soul and life to Him from whom our life has come, and by whom the soul, in its marvellous powers, has been ordained. It is rooted, fundamentally, this Christian sacrifice, in the idea of sin, as a force which separates man from God; in the idea of God, who requires self-surrender on the part of his worshippers. It is not, therefore, a sacrifice to be accomplished by the hands, accomplished by another, in grove, or glen, or solemn temple. It is to be accomplished within the heart, by each for himself; and the things devoted, the things destroyed, are the very things most natively precious: our passions, appetites, and eager desires; the pride which forbids us to acknowledge wrong-doing; the love of enjoyment, which prompts us to use the world for our luxury; the desire for eminent position and power, which seems as native to aspiring spirits as the function of breathing to the lungs.

In comparison with these sacrifices, moral, invisible, which have been made by millions uncounted since Jesus showed the Invisible Father to the homage of mankind, the offering of hecatombs of oxen and sheep—of the scores of thousands of animals slain in China, for example, at the vernal and autumnal festivals of Confucius—were a trifling thing. That might involve a small loss of possessions; but this implies the destruction of the passion which insists on possession. That might simply intensify pride, where this overwhelms it; and all sensual desire, all purely secular and selfish ambition, might perfectly consist with external offerings most numerous and costly, even under the

solemn Hebrew ritual. But that which the Lord asks, as the primal element in the worship of God, is a complete self-devotion to Him; the offerer and the victim being the same, the scene of the transcendent offering being the soul: as Tertullian said, when pleading for the freedom of worship in the empire, "Let one man worship God, another Jupiter; let one raise suppliant hands to the heaven, another to the altar of Fides. . . . . Let one consecrate his own life to his God, and another that of a goat."* As an earlier and a greater than Tertullian had said: "Ye also, as living stones, are built up a spiritual house, to be a holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God, through Jesus Christ."† The sacerdotal office is involved in every sacrificial scheme; and the universal priesthood of believers rests upon the fact that each for himself, under the Faith which came by Jesus, is to offer himself, a true and living oblation to God.

That this is not a mere speculative idea, an ethical formula, or a high but abstract spiritual conception—that it is a binding practical rule, introduced by Christianity—is as evident in history as the empire of Rome. Whoever conceives of Christian service as consisting chiefly in hearing sermons, enjoying the pleasant society of good people, cultivating taste and a kindly temper, passing temperately through a prosperous life, and giving occasionally, of an over-abundance, for relief of the needy, has certainly missed the grandest idea of his religion concerning true worship. He has fallen from sympathy with the great High-Priest of his own faith. He has fallen from sympathy with those who, in any time or place, have nobly in heart fulfilled the Lord's plan, and offered to God, after whatever sharp wrench of the spirit, what to them was most precious. The fierce Dominic, offering himself to be sold as a slave that the poor woman's brother might be redeemed; Francis of Assisi, madman if you choose, but with a tender love for bird and beast, and a wholly unconquerable courage before men, fasting, praying, preaching, building, as if the soul would absolutely slay the body, and offer it to God—these men rebuke us, if we have

* Apologet., c. 24. † 1 Peter ii. 5.

found the lazy luxury of Sunday-services synonymous to us with Christian worship. Confession, which ultimates in self-sacrifice, is its law; not self-satisfaction, which precedes self-indulgence. And, blessed be God! such has been often sublimely shown, from the earliest time.

The martyr burning at the stake may have furnished no proof in that supreme action of any divinity in the religion which he confessed; for men have died, and women too, on behalf of convictions real to them, and of transcendent worth, which we relegate without question to chaotic realms of fancy or fable. But the Christian martyr, dying for his Faith, did at least illustrate in his person the law of self-sacrifice which the Master had taught, and become a true king and priest unto God. The missionary teacher has done the same, in Catholic and in Protestant communions,—amid savage ferocities of American Indians, amid cruelties and cannibalisms of remote islands. Fathers and mothers, giving up their beloved to what they thought the service of God, have done the same: and multitudes of saintly women, or of devout and heroical men, have shown in life, and illustrated in death, that perfect law of personal sacrifice which they had learned from the Master of Christendom. It has been the law of Christian worship, as sharp and imperative as any rule of ethnic or of Hebrew worship, that only by the oblations of God—body and spirit presented to Him in living offering—can men with acceptance approach His throne.

But this, we must observe, is not at all, in the Christian contemplation, a service of fear, to be wrested from the worshipper by the dread of Divine neglect or vengeance. The sacrifice of self to the service of God, which is the first element in the new worship, is to be a free and voluntary offering, spontaneously brought in the impulse of love, and through the attraction of that glory of God which resides in his grace. The work, for its own sake, is relatively nothing. The adoring, self-forgetful, fervent spirit, jubilant with Divine affection, that is supreme By this, each endurance and endeavor must be glorified. Only as so inspired and crowned does anything in worship become lovely or grand.

This is too plainly the doctrine of Christianity to need illustration. How distinctively it belongs to this system of religion, discriminating it from any other, I need scarcely remind you. The master-word of this religion always is Love: toward God, toward Man. It so presents God as to win for him love, if that be possible, from the most selfish or sceptical spirit. It honors and eulogizes the nature of Man, by demanding this from him. It founds its unsparing censure of his character on the fact that he does not cherish or express this, notwithstanding such regal powers are his. In the fact that he can serve God in love, is the reason why such a religion was sent. In the fact that he does, sometimes at least, reach this attainment, is the alleged fruit of the Master's mission, and the pledge in the soul of the Life everlasting. With the vital and exuberant energy of love prompting and shaping it, everything done by man toward God takes celestial value. The fragrance of the ointment poured out in worship, by the humblest offering lovingly given to Him who equally shapes the planet and rounds the tear, who sets suns in their places and paints with gold the insect's breast—the perfume of that adoring service fills the heavens!

It was from this new element of love, pouring into worship toward Him whom Christianity supremely declared, that that worship took its prevalent tone of joy and triumph, as soon as it emerged from cavern and catacomb, and began to exercise its liberty in the world. Its whole temper had been expressed in the Epistle of Barnabas, written probably early in the second century: 'Wherefore, also, we keep the eighth day with joyfulness, the day on which Jesus rose again from the dead; and when he had manifested Himself, he ascended into the Heavens.'* New forms of expression were needed for the new and surpassing joy; and they came, inevitably, in a wondrous and victorious 'tone-speech.'

The careful student of the history of Music finds nothing more remarkable in it than the elastic development of the art, advancing by bounds rather than by gradual imperceptible progress, when the doctrine of the New Testament had come to

* Chap. xv.

its quickening dominance among men. The Greeks were naturally a musical people, and the finer mathematical relations of sounds had been studied among them, certainly from the time of Pythagoras; but the laws of symphonetic harmony, as representing coincidences of according sounds simultaneously produced, are thought by many to have been by them wholly unrecognized: their music contemplating melody only, or the arrangement in succession of different sounds for a voice or instrument. Even then, their music was principally, it would appear, in the minor mode. Only a kind of recitative, among the Romans, accompanied their famous odes. The very instruments of music known to these graceful or powerful peoples were comparatively few; and however immensely they surpassed the Hebrews in literary accomplishments, in political skill or military strength, as well as in painting or plastic art, they seem scarcely to have equalled them in the variety and range of their musical resources. The inspiration of a worship nobler and more animating among the Hebrews, had given them psaltery, harp, flute, cymbal, timbrel, trumpet, and shawm; it had gathered singing men and women around the court, when that was established; and it preserved, to the end of their separate public history, schools of musicians, with multitudes of ministers for the service of song. They accepted much, no doubt, from the Egyptians, as the Greeks did also, who afterward borrowed largely as well from Phrygia and from Lydia. But the Hebrews accepted and absorbed what hardly seemed cognate with their natural genius, because they had an inspiring use for it, and felt their need of it imperative. The very name of their Psalms, or Praise-hymns, implies in itself instrumental accompaniments; and though they wanted the fertile fancy, the lively sensibility, the facility of invention, in which the Attic genius was eminent, music at least was always more to them than 'the signet of an emerald, set in a work of gold,' which the proverb had declared it to be when associated with wine in secular feasts.* It was a voice of exulting thanksgiving to the Holiest in the Heavens; a royal instrument for adoration in worship.

* Ecclesiasticus xxxii. 6.

But when Christianity had broken forth upon the world, with its loftier discoveries both of God and of man, and of the duty of man to his Author, the spirit taught by it could not remain satisfied with previous modes of tuneful utterance. It had to find a yet richer voice for richer feeling, and to make invention contribute to its needs. So came, very early, antiphonal chants in unison, with appropriate music for the Trisagion, or seraphical hymn. So the laws of harmony, with the connected counterpoint, appeared. So instruments were added, which the earlier church perhaps had declined, till the organ found its completeness and its home. And so music became ever richer and grander, in anthem, mass, and mighty oratorio, in the passionate wail of the Miserere, the exultant chords of the Jubilate, in the Gloria in Excelsis, the Benedicite, the Magnificat, and the Te Deum. Back to Gregory, St. Augustine, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Basil, we trace the vast history: and they but represented a tendency, energetic and controlling, of which they were the exponents, not the creators. The pleasure connected with the various ceremonies of the ethnic religions had been that of household or social festivity, of public games and picturesque pageants. But the rich and lofty spiritual joy in the worship of God, as that worship was at once inspired and instructed by the genius of Christianity, this it was which lifted from the first the voice of the Church in her unending grateful song.

Canonical singers were early ordained, with the admonition, "See that thou believe in thy heart what thou singest with thy mouth, and approve in thy works what thou believest in thy heart." Of such music it was that Augustine wrote, in words palpitating with feeling, and shining still as with the glister of joyful tears. But to no separated officers was the great function in the churches confined. "All come together with us to sing," said Chrysostom, "and in it they unitedly join; the young and the old, the rich and the poor, women and men, slaves and the free, all send forth one melody. The prophet speaks, and we all respond, all sing together. Secular inequalities are here expelled. One chorus is formed of the whole congregation; there is a grand harmony of voices, and the earth imitates Heaven." * 'The

* Opera: Venice, 1741: Vol. XII., p. 349.

ploughman at his plough,' said Jerome, in a passage often quoted, 'sings his joyful hallelujahs: the busy mower refreshes himself with psalms: the vine-dresser sings the songs of David.' In social and domestic life the same new sounds of melody were heard. Inartistic no doubt, to us discordant, were these primitive Christian airs. But they were a voice of wholly strange sweetness amid the clashing and fierce confusions which for ages had filled the world. They gave immediate response, from exulting souls, to the new and astonishing religion which was here The music was a mirror, as has well been said, 'placed at such an angle that in it was reflected the very blue of Heaven itself.' So it was sung in the dungeon of the prisoner, at the stake of the martyr, in the palace of later emperors, as well as in Christian house and field; and so it has never ceased to be heard wherever the new religion has gone. Philosophy does not sing. Unbelief does not sing. A scientific positivism has no conceivable utterance of music. The tender and infinite aspiration of that incessantly contradicts it. It is only the faith which accepts with love the Lord who comes to us in Christianity, and which through him sees an Infinite Mind illuminating alike the heavens and the earth, which exults in the mystic ministry of music, as it carols like a bird in aspiring song, or rolls the vast harmonies of its new adoration from choir to chorus, and from organ to organ.

But even the music does not fully illustrate the new motive which had come into worship, the grander impulse and law which controlled it. We must associate with it the new Hymnody which also started into utterance with the advent of Christianity. The ancient psalms were again sung—usually probably in the Septuagint, or later in the Italic or the Syriac Version—by Christian assemblies, even when these were met with the silent dead, in the darkness of catacombs; and doubtless a deeper sense was felt than ever before of their prophetic value and import, as they seemed to the disciples to have pointed forward to the Son of God, prefiguring even his passion and cross, and as he had sung from them, with his beloved, on the same night on which he was betrayed. But even at the outset were also hymns and spiritual songs, not included among the psalms, yet

familiar to the churches, upon which apostles pronounced their blessing: from which Paul, at least, seems distinctly to have quoted. The Evening-hymn, transmitted by the revered Basil from the fourth century, and declared by him to be then very ancient, may have been one of them. The Gloria in Excelsis, the Angelical Hymn, is ascribed in its concluding part to the middle of the second century; and it has been conceived by some, with no essential improbability, to be the hymn which as Pliny wrote the Christians sang alternately to Christ. An extant hymn of Clement of Alexandria is little later in its origin.

How rapidly, and how widely, this new impulse wrought to the expression of the new faith and loftier love inspired toward God, you know already: how Gregory Nazianzen, John of Damascus, Sophronius, and others, put Christian history into Greek odes; how the Latin language, in the Western Church, developed even unsuspected capacities under this inspiration: accent taking the place of quantity in the cantilation, and the rhyme, of which few examples are found in classical poetry, becoming a familiar mark of the hymns. Hilary of Poictiers, Ambrose, Prudentius, Fortunatus, Gregory the Great, Peter Damiani, Thomas Aquinas, Adam of St. Victoire, James de Benedictis, the Bernards, Thomas of Celano—you know the long illustrious roll of those who thus uttered in various strains the thought of the church, through centuries otherwise filled with gloom; who in cloister or court, chapel or camp, made the harshest skies responsive and resonant with their tribute to God.

And with such hymns came as well the great Creeds:—hymns themselves, 'to be said or sung,' some rubrics say, but better 'to be sung,' if only this be done by the whole congregation, with sufficient instrumental and vocal assistance to invigorate and sustain. This is the earliest function of the Creeds. They are not what in modern times are called specifically 'Confessions of Faith,' though in the large sense they surely are such, and of noblest significance. But they are not careful philosophical definitions of particulars of doctrine, precisely outlined, systematically arranged. In the Creeds—the 'Apostolic' from the Western Church, or the 'Nicene' from the Eastern—the great facts of his religion, as he understood them, were expressed by

the Christian, to be triumphantly uttered in worship. They were born of experience, augmented by its growth, with its tremendous diapasons rolling through them: a nobler origin than if either or both had come from the pens of dictating apostles. And surely there are no other compositions, of human minds, superior to these in essential and mighty melody, in spiritual power, or in the memories which cling to their crowded lines. One scarcely can read the 'Apostles' Creed'—which the Westminster divines added to their catechism, which they who prepared, or who afterward adopted, the Heidelberg catechism gladly received, which is in the fullest sense ecumenical and perennial—without feeling afresh the wonder of that mysterious energy which built it to its compact completeness through stormy ages: starting with the great confession of Peter, finding a sovereign shaping law in the baptismal formula, leaving traces of its working in Ignatius, Justin, Irenæus, more largely in Tertullian, not articulating the creed to the world till perhaps the fourth century, not rounding it till still later into the ampler and final form which now is familiar; but all the time, from first to last, holding unabated the primitive faith in the Divine facts, and making those facts the song and the strength of those who received them. Certainly, one cannot thoughtfully read it without being carried on its majestic affirmative words to the day when the fire flamed for the Christian, unless he would cast a pinch of incense on the altar of the emperor, and when the answer came ringing back from man or maid, before prefect and people, "I believe in God the Father Almighty, and in Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord!" It was, in very deed, age after age, the hymn of the martyrs.

So one scarcely can read the 'Nicene Creed' without recalling that venerable council where, as Stanley reminds us, 'the battle was fought and won by quotations, not from tradition, but from the Scriptures';* where the Holy Gospels were on a throne in the centre, as the nearest approach to Christ himself; and where the men whose sinews had been cut, whose bodies had been branded and curiously tortured, whose right eyes had

* "Eastern Church": N. Y. ed., 1862; p. 208.

been dug out with swords, and their sockets seared with heated iron, met with scholars and teachers, bishops and the emperor, to testify of their Faith. The exulting Christian consciousness in the world, that it was which gave birth to the symbol, majestic and tender. It was expanded later, at Constantinople and at Chalcedon; but only to make it more fully representative of this advancing Christian consciousness. And they who imagine the early creeds to have been a burden on the faith which they expressed, have altogether misconceived them. They were standards and symbols: as the Church militant, like the army, needs such to inspire and rally its squadrons. But they were, above all, the grand cadenced and triumphing hymns of the Church; the solemn and victorious carols into which its voice spontaneously arose as it took up its morning-march in the world. If they seem anything less to us, it is because the spirit of faith, which inspired such worship, has lost a part of its energy in our souls.

So, also, with hymns and cantilated creeds, came in gradual but rapid development, after the apostolic times, the great common Liturgies, to give equally their choral and sovereign voice to the spirit of praise in the Christian assemblies. Their germ is in the central and solemn eucharistic service, and there are many analogies between them; but each principal Church has its liberty in regard to them, and they grow variously, at Antioch, Alexandria, Cesarea, Edessa, or Byzantium, as at Rome or at Milan. The Gallic takes one form, and the Spanish another, by some esteemed the most joyful of all; while the various 'uses,' as they are called, of Hereford, York, Lincoln, and other dioceses, are familiar to the Saxons, until the overshadowing Roman authority compels uniformity. Luther must still take something from them, amid the tumultuous outbreak of Reformation: so must Zinzendorf, the Huguenots, the reformers of Holland, and those of Sweden: in larger measure the reformers of England. It may not be necessary for us verbally to repeat them. We might, possibly, count it a hindrance and a grief to have our amplest liberty of worship constrained or limited by the mandatory requirement to use any one of these historical helps to devotion. But when one studies them, in their im

mense and vital substance—the liturgy of James, so called, or of Mark, or of John at Ephesus, from which the Gallican claimed specially to be derived—it is impossible not to see what joy and vigor, what a tone of exulting faith and love, had burst upon the world when Jesus brought the new tidings of God. With the swing and stride of a giant's strength the Church went forth to that long battle which never has ceased; but it went, as well, with the voice as of 'harpers, harping with their harps.'

But the worship thus introduced by Christianity—a worship without external sacrifice, but with the inward devotion of self, which springs from love, and which utters itself in tones of mighty and affectionate triumph—is not a service, this also must be noted, to be transacted on certain days, or only in particular places. It is at home everywhere; and wheresoever the worshipper is, in whatever hour of darkness or of day, there is it equally timely and meet. Not on the Lord's Day only is it fitting, but at every time when need is felt and moral impulse; and the services of solemn festival or fast are only to contribute to its earnestness at each moment. The Books of Hours illustrate this, of which many survive from the Middle Age. It is an axiom with us, who perhaps use no such books. It was a not unnatural impulse of piety, starting with the annual observance of the day of the Lord's death, of His resurrection, and of the coming of the Holy Ghost at Pentecost, and proceeding later to the celebration of the supposed day of His nativity, and of His baptism, at length to endeavor to make the whole year not secular only, but also Christian; overlaying its brass with heavenly gold; associating the seasons with different parts of the Christian record, and making the sun on his path through the heavens recall the successive discoveries of God in the stupendous story of the Gospels. This, no doubt, may become with time a mere matter of form; but the instinct beneath it is lovely and grand, since its purpose was to show the whole succession of months sacred to God, and every season, every time, a time meet for celestial communing.

Such universality of Christian worship, in respect of time, and also of place, belongs to its nature; but it is as special a prerog

ative of it as flight is of birds. The ethnic religions, recognizing many local gods, tended of course to localize constantly the homage to be paid to them; as the temple of Serapis was destroyed at Rome by the very Augustus who had spared Alexandria on account of its presence; as the coming of new gods into a city was understood to disturb and displease the older. The gods had their houses, as kings had theirs. The renowned temple of Diana at Ephesus, in which was enthroned the many-breasted wooden image declared to have been dropped from the heavens to the earth,—the temples of Apollo, at Delphi or Argos, or on the Palatine hill at Rome—the Parthenon, in honor of the Virgin Athene at Athens, with the temples to Jupiter, Saturn, Æsculapius, and the others, which crowned the Capitol-hill at Rome, or embellished the Forum, or gave consecration to the island in the Tiber—these, and the others famous in the world, only represented a rule of thought native to the mind, and hardly to be expelled from it, which assigned to the gods peculiar habitations, as conceiving them stronger and swifter than men but invested similarly with finite conditions. On the mountain-top, in recesses of the forests, in the cavern from which shrieked inarticulate winds, as well as in shining stellar places, they might dwell apart; but in the shrines of man's erection they also tarried, and might be approached with acceptable praise. And as the worship rendered there was older, richer, more sumptuous in display, more abundant in offerings, their acceptance of it was supposed to be surer.

This is not remarkable. It was to be expected. But it is remarkable, at first sight unaccountable, that the Hebrew system, which gave at least a conception of God far higher than any which elsewhere obtained, should have also carefully localized His worship: requiring it to be offered in the Tabernacle, and afterward in the Temple; calling up the people in annual procession from all parts of the land, and from more distant regions, that on the rocky crown of Moriah, in courts and on pavements of human construction, they might offer the praise which it would have seemed inevitable to feel might as well be offered on the banks of the Nile, in the meadows of the Euphrates, in any Roman or Syrian city, or afar upon the sea. The immediate and

sufficient explanation of it is, that it was needful thus to preserve unity of worship among the Hebrews; and that the entire providential plan, of which that unity was a condition, could only in this way be ultimately accomplished.

Therefore the Shekinah had been in the Temple, and was never in the synagogues. Therefore all riches, of woods, marbles, plates and chains of silver and gold, were assembled in the Temple. And therefore to that they must go up to worship, from Nazareth and Hebron, from the east of the Jordan or the Philistine coasts. It was a wise, it was therefore a permanent and imperative requirement; and it sank so deeply into the general Hebrew mind that to change this rule, or deny its authority, would have seemed as absurd as to deny the fountains of Lebanon, or the coolness of summer-snows from Hermon. The disciples of Christianity long retained this fixed and confining ancestral impression, and they clung to the Temple as the centre of worship, after they had otherwise distinctly separated from the Jewish congregation. According to the record, God had to drive them forth from Jerusalem by the sharpness of persecution, to break the strength of the inherited habit.

This, of itself, is sufficient to show how vast and strange was the departure from all preceding custom and rule when the Master said—or was very early reported to have said—to the woman of Samaria, 'Not in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, shall men specially worship.' But it was as perfectly characteristic of his religion as any word ever spoken by him. It is the vivid lesson of Christianity, a lesson illustrated in all its development, and now most familiar, that no place is peculiarly sacred: that worship offered in the spirit of love is everywhere accepted of God.

It is impressive, in connection with this, to observe what special care was taken, if one so may express it, to prevent any places, associated with the great Teacher of Christianity, from gaining a sacredness peculiar to themselves in the eyes of his followers, in subsequent ages. The mountains of Moab still look upon Jerusalem, and the Sea of Galilee still sleeps as of old in silver loveliness in its deep basin, girt with the gray and purple of the hills. Bethlehem remains on its verdant slopes, and Nazareth

in the valley to which travellers bend their eager steps from all the earth. Enough remains to attest the historical character of the Faith, and to illustrate the records through which it is declared to the world. But no one spot can be defined, at Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Bethany, Nazareth, so certainly connected with the life of the Lord that there worship might seem most significant. The house of the workshop, and the house of the feast, alike have vanished, with the inn in whose manger lay the immortal babe. The hill of Calvary cannot be surely identified; and the summit of Olivet has kept no more trace than have the glowing heavens above of that Ascension which the early disciples believed at least to have made it illustrious. One can no more find the room of the Supper than the water-drops which wet the disciples' feet. The olive-trees of Gethsemane can be scarcely the same beneath which passed the mysterious agony. We cannot be sure of the place of the sepulchre. Tabor itself we are only confident was *not* the mount of Transfiguration.

This utter obliteration of places from the subsequent knowledge of mankind, when they might, if identified, have seemed to be invested with unusual sanctities, is intimately connected with that entire doctrine of worship which is taught by Christianity: that in every place he who seeks after God, and works His righteousness, is accepted of Him: that in church, cottage, college, camp, on sea or land, around the world, wherever is adoring affection and trust toward Him on high, expressed by the aspiring spirit, there is true worship.

The assembling together of Christian disciples, for the animation of common affection and the expression of common praise, is legitimate, is commanded: and from such assembling the place where they meet takes solemnity. It is well to make it stately and lovely: a Christian impulse to make it so noble and ornate that it may be outwardly apt for its purpose; to make it even august and grand, if that may be, beyond the measures of fortress or palace. The basilica was its first form, as not associated in the thought of the world with idolatrous rites, but with secular convocations, public justice. But it has been an impulse, not unnatural, in subsequent centuries, to build the cross into base and walls, to make pillars ascend in vertical lines, and leap-

ing arches point upward to the heavens, to blazon the windows with the crimson and gold of Christ's blood and his crown, and to make the very stone soar up, as if robbed of its weight, in that ascending tower and spire of which no heathen architect thought. But still the house takes all its glory from its purpose. The assembly of believers consecrates it, not it the assembly. And the assembly itself is to foster and to manifest the spirit of praise in the hearts of the worshippers. God, according to this religion, accepts the feeblest whisper of love, from the remotest wanderer on the earth—accepts the silent worship of the house, most unadorned, in which the meek and saintly Friends sit in the silence of the Spirit—as if their thought and holy aspiration were borne up on the noblest notes of organ, trumpet, viol, harp, in the grandest and oldest cathedral of the world.

Of course this seems familiar to us. It is so because Christianity has taught us. But a change now of the earth and the sea—the fluid wave becoming solid, the solid crag dissolving into drops and breaking into billows—would hardly be a change more amazing than was that unexpectedly introduced when the Temple lost its preëminent significance, and local worship its peculiar authority, and when the offering of the heart to the Highest was shown equally fit, and equally imperative, in every hour and every place.

It is of course to be noticed, also, that the purpose of worship, as concerning the worshipper, is always the same under Christianity; a purpose peculiar to its spirit and scheme, and paramount in it. It is to bring the personal soul, in its intellectual and spiritual powers, conscious of sin, but desiring holiness, into communion with the mind of its Author, as He is presented by this religion. It is never, what has been excellently stated as the purpose of physical sacrifice, 'an effort to make good our imperfect devotion of ourselves to God, by means of gifts.' Men feel, so far as enlightened by Christ, that nothing which they can render to God is needed by Him, but that He ordains it their inestimable privilege to rise into intimate conference with Himself, and into sympathy with His heart, through the love inspired by His grace and declared in their worship.

So it was with the earliest assemblies of disciples, at Philippi

or Corinth, who led the innumerable multitudes of worshippers in that Europe which the religion confessed by them has built to its modern beauty and strength. So it has been, from their day to this, and is to-day, wherever men gather in the light of the gospel to offer to God affectionate praise. It may have passed, in a measure—I fear it has—from the consciousness of those who now seek the churches for social enjoyment, for literary culture, or to fulfil a recognized duty. But the solemn and fruitful office of worship is still, as of old, under Christianity, to bring men to God in this sympathy of the spirit; and however they may be sometimes allured by pomp of ritual, splendor of vestments, eloquence of discourse, magnificent buildings, they feel instinctively that they have not worshipped if the finest artistic and rhythmic effects of song and sermon, or of opulent ceremonial, have not detached them in spirit from the earth, and exalted them to God. On the other hand, no matter how plain the discourse, how bare the ceremonial, how mean the surroundings, if men have there through worship found God, and felt within that ecstasy of praise which preludes a something more celestial, the place is sacred, the service sublime, the hour prophetic of Immortality.

This is the office of Christian worship, as recognized where this religion has gone; and this is an office, I need hardly remind you, not contemplated as possible in most ethnic religions, not accepted as desirable even if possible. The Pythian priestess could only hear and recite the message of the god, with convulsion and paroxysm. The very goats, approaching the oracle, were said, you know, to shiver and leap, as if in epilepsy; and he who entered the cave of Trophonius, as Pausanias did, had been rumored never afterward to be known to smile. The thought of coming to communion with Powers Unseen, without offering of sacrifice, by the worship of love, and of finding in this succor and uplift, a divine strength and a holy exultation—it was known only among the Hebrews, and even among them but by elect spirits, and then imperfectly. But it became the common inheritance of all to whom Christianity was preached, and is as familiar to the best modern thought as is the joy of converse with friends.

Undoubtedly the nearest approach to it elsewhere was in the ancient religion of India, where the Absolute Intelligence was conceived as absorbed in rest and contemplation, to be approached by intense and continuous separation of thought from outward things. The power for this, as I have suggested, was supposed to pertain to particular men; and the Hindu institutes are a system of discipline, designed to assist those competent for it to fulfil the vocation, and to govern the relations of others to them. This, under Brahmanism. Buddhism, though essentially atheistic, had a similar theory of an immemorial light and wisdom, to be approached by contemplation; and, as it opened this to all, distinctions of rank and of priesthood disappear, in its earlier form. But in both these religions it was a pantheistic absorption into the impersonal being of the universe which was desired and sought, rather than the rational communion of the soul with an infinite Creator. In each, and both, the proposed contemplation aimed at the loss of individual consciousness; as Buddha said, in the final consummation of his experience on earth, 'I am delivered from the influence of the world of matter, of the world of passions, and from every influence that causes the migration from one existence to another. . . . . I have mastered existence itself, by destroying the principle that causes it.' * No temper prompting to affectionate trust or to ardent joy, in a Supreme Person, in the midst of intelligent labor and sacrifice, was possible here. If Gautama said, as has been reported, 'let all sins committed in the world fall on me, that the world may be delivered,' he reached therein the sublime summits of human character; he showed himself allied in spirit with the later and greater Teacher of Christianity; allied with Paul, who could wish himself accursed for his brethren's sake. But he could not say, as did one who followed, "If a man love me, he will keep my words; and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him."† He did not say, plainly because he could not, "The Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, He shall teach you all things,

* Bp. Bigandet's "Legend of Gaudama": London ed., 1880; Vol. II., p. 31.

† John xiv. 23.

and bring all things to your remembrance."* And no angel has ever been seen in the air, in Buddhistic apocalypse, flying in the midst of heaven, and calling to all that dwell upon the earth to worship God, and give glory to Him: while above, in the heavens from which he came, is the voice also of many waters, and of a great thunder, as they sing a new song before the throne.

This worship which Christianity introduced to the world, and which has since become familiar wherever this religion has gone—without outward sacrifice, but calling for inward consecration of the spirit, springing from love, expressing itself with joyful freedom in any place, and aiming always to bring the worshipper into transforming communion with God—has to do, of course, with all the life of him in whom its precept is obeyed. No radical divorce is possible under it, however hard the fact to be recognized, between worship and the practical service of life; between religion and morality; between that which is expressed in the Lord's-Day assembly, and that which is done in the office or on the street. At no one point does Christianity encounter more subtle and unrelenting resistance than at this, from those who would like to make their worship a thing apart, casting a kind of iridescence over life, but not penetrating, imbuing, and vitally shaping it with a sovereign force. At no one point is the religion more emphatic—not in the way of precept only, but by the essential force of its nature—than in making all life properly subordinate to the law of worship, all worship imperfect to which such regency is not conceded. It is the old heathenism which breaks again into view when the same man is a worshipper in the chapel, as in Greece or in Spain, and a brigand in the field; or when the same man, as may happen among us, is touched with devout sentiment in the church, but is sharp, unscrupulous, and false with his fellows. Christianity no more recognizes this as obedience to its law than Art recognizes a gilded background, with blotches of irrelative or contradictory colors, as an ideal picture; than Cities recognize cheating and conflagration as the justifying purpose in their erection. Man

* John xiv. 26.

cannot worship God in spirit, according to the Master's rule, without showing that worship in daily domestic or public life. The temper within, if regnant and sincere, must pervade and control the outward life: as the force of gravitation holds not only the mountain in its place, or the ocean in its bed, but every grain of sand on the beach, and every wreath of delicate mist which the sun pencils with rainbow tints.

It may be hard, it *is* hard, for man to accomplish this lofty ideal of a life-long worship, with which the religion of Jesus is instinct. But it is its ideal. It has been realized, measurably at least, millions of times; not so much by those who retired from the world to give their nights and days to praise, as by those who walked with joyful worship in the courts of God's House, and then with the same adoring love and holy gladness in the common paths of household life, or amid the extremest stress of affairs; who have served God in secret as well as in public, and have found 'on the roadside a place to kneel, as fit as on the pavement of the Milky Way.' Ethics with them have been spiritualized by faith. Consecration has given impulse and glow to the manifold details of obedience. All life has been worship; and communion with God, beginning day by day with each wakening of consciousness, has only closed as that consciousness passed into the realms of sleep and dreams.

This has been realized, and will be hereafter, in ever-increasing multitudes of disciples. But if it had never once been reached, since martyr-ages, it would still remain true that this is the Christian law of Worship, and that only in those who strive with utmost eagerness to fulfil it does that law find its real exhibition.

It is thus that it works, this new religion, to conquer the earth to allegiance to itself, and at the same time to bless and transfigure the whole majestic frame of society. It was by worship, more than by doctrine—or rather by that doctrine, gaining inspiring exhibition in worship—that the old superstitions, debasing and baneful, were expelled from men's minds: the observation of meteors, or monster-births, the consultation of flights of birds, or of human entrails. By it, the Church conquered Montanism on the one hand, with its narrowness and rigidity,

and Gnosticism on the other, with its licentious liberality, and became in the grandest sense popular and catholic. It was by this that it gave its quickening teaching to all, 'instructing artisans and old women,' as was said, scornfully sometimes, sometimes gladly, 'in the mysteries of religion.' It was by this that it knit together, into one body, those of diverse ranks, races, and tongues, whom it attracted, whom it impressed, by the tenderness and spiritual sublimity of its prayers, by the solemn and jubilant voice of its praise. Constantine, who honored it as 'the most devout of religions,' felt this peculiar elevation and charm in its worship. An echo to it was in his own words on memorable occasions. It impressed him as full of exuberant life. He saw the mighty motive in it, which shot its energy into all forms. He recognized, in a measure at least, the magnificent purpose which made it vital, which has made it enduring. He expected its success. But its subsequent victories, won largely, on the human side, through the instrumentality of what is peculiar and sublime in its Worship, have been such as he could scarcely have prefigured. At a subsequent time it ruled and ennobled the very languages of the continent. More than anything else it mastered the savagery, and dissolved the solidity, of feudal establishments. More than anything else it has inspired and educated peoples. It has put the loftiest thought of the world into the noblest forms of letters. You hear its echoes in Dante, and in Milton. You catch its strains in the sweetest songs of every communion. You see its work in advancing Christendom.

> "Urbs beata Hirusalem,
> Dicta pacis visio,
> Quae construitur in Coelis,
> Vivis ex lapidibus—"

are lines of a Latin hymn, of about the eighth century, by an unknown author. It was to build the blessed and holy City of God in all the earth, preparing for that which is supreme in the heavens, that Gregorian and Ambrosian chants arose; that preacher taught, and singer sang, while churches prayed, apologists argued, martyrs died. It is by that worship that the barbarous now are most deeply impressed, as the untaught heathen

of distant islands, or of our own cities, hear in it strains as of the angels singing still. And by that worship, carried into life, all action, all history, shall finally become, if this religion shall ever get to its predicted perfect supremacy, at once glorious and pure. Then laws shall repeat it. Life shall infold it. The mightiest and the meanest, pervaded by its spirit, and uniting in its harmonies, shall be one in its courts. The rule of Worship in this religion, preached from Palestine, will then reveal its perfect glory as measured with that of any other known on earth; as measured with that of the loftiest conceptions which man can form. And then the world, in all its social and public life, in secular enterprise, in literature, in art, as well as in private and household experience, shall be like the King's daughter of the psalm, "all glorious within."

Do you say, 'It is ideal'? It is the Ideal for which the Lord gave up his life! It is the Ideal with which his religion is as separate and vivid as the sky with its blue, or as the sun with its radiant light. A consummation like that is worth working for, praying for, dying to hasten! It will not come as an exhalation, rising to the soft impulse of lute and dulcimer. It will only come as the answering result to faithful heroic endurance and work, in those who honor and love the Lord. But this—even this!—foreseen from Judea, shall come at last: the planet itself the final vast terrestrial temple: the sacrifices of Praise which rise within it, from loving, lowly, and triumphing hearts, conscious of sin but confident in grace, the prelude of the song to be heard by and by, when they who now adore and serve before the glory revealed through Christ, shall rise to more ecstatic worship, as with the Church, at last Triumphant, they see the Almighty face to face!

LECTURE V.

THE NEW CONCEPTION OF MAN'S DUTY TO MAN IN POLITICS AND SOCIETY.

LECTURE V.

That a nobler conception of the duty which man owes to God, in the vast and vital department of Worship, has been introduced and maintained by Christianity, this may be admitted by those who will still be prompt to deny that any change corresponding to this has been wrought by the religion in the practical impression obtaining among men as to the duties which they owe to each other. Man stands toward man, such will affirm, substantially as he did in the days before Jesus; or, if there has here been any change, it has been the result of a general natural advance of society, of improvements in the arts, the expansion of commerce, a wider and wiser practical philosophy; and it is not to be attributed, unless by some too zealous disciple, to the teachings, the spirit, and the positive impulse of the distinctive religion of the Christ. Empires as tyrannous, and rebellions against them as furious and sanguinary, as before had been known, have since appeared; and the pages of history are lurid and bloody with the terrible story. Personal regard for the rights of others has scarcely become more general or effective. Domestic life was as intimate and sweet, and morally as fruitful, in Greek or Roman or Hebrew times as it has been since; and justice was as carefully administered in the courts, when an appellant complained of an injury, or when society took immediate cognizance of crime. In fact the Roman Law—largely anticipating in its development any general control of Christianity over men, and presenting simply the matured public reason of the empire in the domain of jurisprudence—has had large sway in modern Europe, and is at the base of much of its juridical doctrine and life. It has had a degree of authority even in England, and with us; though the ancestral Common Law, pro-

tected in its early insular home, and more germane to the spirit of the people, has not allowed it to gain such authority, there or here, as it elsewhere has had.

In a word it may be said, reply these critics, that the general recognition, and the practical acceptance, of the duty which man owes to man, has hardly been clearer, wider, finer, than they were before Christianity came; or if there has been any advance, it is due, as suggested, not to it, but to influences separable from it, which began to appear at about the same time in the sphere of affairs. Whatever the religion may have done for man in his attitude toward God, instructing and uplifting him, it has scarcely affected him in the relation which he holds toward Man.

It must be granted that there seems much reason for such impressions; and that he who reads history from the point of view presented by the lessons and the spirit of Jesus,—especially if he reads it with any affirmative pre-conception as to the celestial character of Christianity, and as to the effects which such a religion ought to have produced upon human society,—will be likely to find himself sharply disappointed in the evident result: as he sees kingdom arrayed against kingdom, and the turbulence of vice yet unconquered in any; as he sees the robber still successful in his violence, and the villain in his craft, the assassin still gratifying his deadly thirst, the weak still overcome by the strong, the innocent sacrificed to the arts of the guilty, and the menacing figures of human passion as busy as ever, and almost as commanding, in the picture of the ages.

But we must not expect, it were surely unphilosophical to expect, that the sudden coming of even a Divine religion would have power at once to remove from society incrusted abuses, to remodel usages long established, and to rectify the habitual life of mankind. Supposing that coming to have been occasioned by a real mental and moral need on the part of him to whom the religion was addressed, it hardly could be that such a need, in vast communities, should be supplied in a period less than of many generations. It must be presumed that time would be required, and long intervals of time, before the vital root and substance of personal and of public character could be impene-

trated by such a new force, so that society, in its immense complex, should be re-fashioned according to its law. It is only fair to count upon this; and the greater the need of such a religion, the ampler the probability thence derived that the Divine wisdom would proclaim such, the longer must be the necessary interval before it can exhibit its normal supremacy. Till the end is reached, it can show but occasional and particular effects; a few snatches and airs, it may be, but not the final mighty music; a few brilliant angles and facettes, but by no means the consummate crystal.

Nature herself may here instruct us. It is already many weeks since the earth on these parallels turned toward the sun, at that point in the year where the custom of Christendom has located also the traditional observance of the advent of Jesus.* But summer has not come, as yet. The cold and storm which have smitten and benumbed the earth since that memorable date have been only harsher and more tempestuous than those which preceded. We shiver still, at intervals at least, in the gripe of an atmosphere that seems to have drifted into our latitudes upon the fields of unbroken ice, or to have dropped in conquering frigor from aerial regions untouched of sunshine. It is still by only a long look forward that we anticipate the summer blooms, fragrance, and fruitage, which yet at last shall surely appear. So, I think, it might have been expected that only more impetuous and severe would be occasional blasts of passion, only more intense some chills of man's selfishness, after the light of a celestial religion had dawned on the world. Generations must pass, centuries even, before its benign and salutary force can vitalize and reform the vast social systems whose condition of need had occasioned its coming. Only here and there, in spots and at intervals, can its full power be expected to be shown; as we find already, here and there, a patch of cultured and sheltered soil, green with the promise of the affluent summer; as we walk now and then already, for a day, amid a brilliant and balmy air that seems to have sallied from the tropics to meet us.

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* The lecture was first delivered on an evening in March.

Such sweet and prophetic parentheses in history we may expect, where the Christian religion has conquered, in instances, the selfish passion which it came to subdue. But more than this we can hardly, I think, reasonably anticipate, until that religion, riding like the sun to its perfect meridian, shall illumine the world; shining in its celestial effulgence—if such shall at last be found to belong to it—the quickener of love, and the regent of peace. I do not now affirm that it is such a religion. I simply affirm, what all must admit, that if it be such, this will be the natural course of its influence on the history which it was sent to reconstruct.

That such partial effects, special, imperfect, yet not unimportant, and of a character nowise uncertain, have been accomplished under Christianity, it seems to me impossible to doubt, dreary and dark as have been often the passing centuries since its new accents were heard in the air. I am confident that with no prepossessions whatever on behalf of Christianity—if such attitude of mind were possible to us—we should be constrained to recognize this.

In illustration of it, observe some effects accomplished by this religion, in instances where its moral force most distinctly collides with physical strength, and with established and armed custom, on behalf of the rightful claim of weakness; and, for the first instance, take as a striking, one would almost say an entirely incontrovertible example, the now recognized duty of Christian society toward little Children; toward all children born within it: and compare this with anything of the sort which existed in the world before Jesus was born. It seems to me that we must be impressed with the vastness and the permanence of this most radical and most fruitful of changes.

In the Rome of the splendid time of Augustus childhood had practically no other rights than the carelessness or the sentiment of the father might fitfully concede. To the father, as magistrate of the household, belonged an utter authority, over liberty, over personal security, and even over life. The law of the Twelve Tables had expressly authorized him to either abandon or kill his children, if he preferred not to rear them; as the Emperor Claudius, suspecting the faithfulness of his wife Urgulanilla,

ordered the daughter who had been born of her to be stripped and exposed. It was a rule, correlative to this, that whoever picked up a child thus deserted might keep it for a slave. When retained in the house, children were under the tutelage of slaves, with whom their relations were unrestrained; and they learned vice, and exercised cruelty, with a freedom sufficient of itself to explain the decadence of that haughty state which had subjected to its will not only barbarous tribes but cultivated nations, and had made itself rich from their resources.

No thought whatever of the sacredness of childhood, of the debt which is due to it from the state, appears in the Roman philosophy or law. In all the range of classical poetry there is scarcely a line upon that theme, to us so familiar, of the beauty of life's morning, when to the child, 'so exquisitely wild,'

> —— "the boat
> May rather seem
> To brood on air, than on an earthly stream."*

Cicero spoke of it as the natural feeling that if a child died young it was no cause for grief; if it died in the cradle, it was matter of entire unconcern. Octavius, father of Augustus, either seriously thought of killing in his infancy the boy whose subsequent beauty gives loveliness to the marble, or he smartly threatened it, because the Senator Nigidius Figulus had predicted for the babe future lordship in Rome. The general facts have nowhere been set forth more lucidly or correctly than by Gibbon, in his Forty-fourth chapter. "In the forum, the Senate, or the camp," he says, "the adult son of a Roman citizen enjoyed the public and private rights of a person; in his father's house he was a mere thing; confounded by the laws with the movables, the cattle, and the slaves, whom the capricious master might alienate or destroy, without being responsible to any earthly tribunal. . . . . The majesty of a parent was armed with the power of life and death; and the examples of such bloody executions, which were sometimes praised and never punished, may be traced in the annals of Rome beyond the

* Wordsworth: "To H. C., six years old."

times of Pompey and Augustus." "The exposition of children," he further says, "was the prevailing and stubborn vice of antiquity; it was sometimes prescribed, often permitted, almost always practiced with impunity, by the nations who never entertained the Roman ideas of paternal power; and the dramatic poets, who appeal to the human heart, represent with indifference a popular custom which was palliated by the motives of economy and compassion."*

Nor is it to be imagined that this attitude toward children was peculiar to the Roman, a fruit of that fierceness and hardness of will which had made him the unchecked conqueror of the nations; for it is to be observed that it was as common in the Hellenic states as ever on the Tiber. It was not in Sparta, only, that children might be whipped at the altar of Diana till their life-blood ran on the steps of the altar. It was not alone on the forest-sides of Mt. Taygetus, or in the rocky caverns at its base, under the methodical ferocity of the Peninsula, that weak or sickly children were exposed, to be torn by wild beasts, to die of hunger, or to perish in the blast. Plato, and Aristotle, consummate masters of Attic thought, whose names outshine in signal respects those of all their successors, expressly approve of such abandonment of children, in case the parents are unable to support them, or if they fail to give physical promise of service to the State. The doctrine of Plato is, that a child belongs less to his parents than to the city, the latter having need of him for its advancement, for which reason even his infantile sports are proper subjects for public regulation; while Roman moralists, on whom Greek influences had descended, including even Seneca himself, speak as of course, without any denunciation, of the exposure of children if sickly or deformed. It is on such exposure of a son, you remember, on Mount Cithæron, that the memorable Œdipus tragedies are based. The law which permitted a father to sell or expel his son at pleasure was a law in Greece as well as in Rome. The father had the right, in the one as in the other, to accept or reject the child at its birth; the right to give son or daughter in marriage, without debate; the right to exclude the son from the household, even at his matur-

* London ed., 1848: Vol. V.: pp. 387, 391.

ity, and adopt another in his place. Natural affection was not the organizing principle of the family, in the contemplation of ancient law, either in Europe, or in the East. But the family was based on the domestic religion—on the worship, that is, offered to ancestors; and was maintained as subservient to the State. So the laws of Menu described the oldest son as one who is begotten for the performance of a duty, that the worship due to the dead may be offered, because of which he has control of the patrimony.

Of course in societies so founded and organized, and morally ruled by such conceptions of the gods as obtained among them, there could be no effective recognition of public duty toward the feebleness of childhood, or of immediate rights in infants to protection, training, succor, and nurture. The human heart was not wholly transformed, nor its innate sensibilities destroyed. Natural affection was an instinct and a power in the most savage tribes. It could not be wholly or permanently wanting amid Attic culture, or at the centres of Roman power. Many a mother, no doubt, held in her heart of hearts the son or the daughter who was only the dearer by reason of sickness, or of natural infirmity. Many a father, of nobler nature than the religion which he had inherited, must have felt his children as dear to him as his life, and have shrunk, as the hand shrinks from fire, from any injustice or cruelty toward them. But the customs, legislations, and spirit of society were not even a defence for life itself in its earlier years; and the characteristic tone of literature, as it was carried at that very time toward almost its highest historical development, shows how haughtily careless society was, in what we call the classic ages, of what to us appears its imperative and primary duty. Care for the child, when required at all, was so only because of the citizenship which was about to be his. I doubt if any parallel can be found, in all the stately treasure-houses of ancient sculpture, to that carved cradle in Westminster Abbey, in the splendid chapel of Henry Seventh, not far from the famous monument of Elizabeth, in which lies sculptured the sleeping figure of the little Sophia, the baby-daughter of James First, whose life had gone out almost at the beginning.

Not till Christianity had begun to affect with beneficent force the Roman Empire, touching with subtile invisible energy even those who were quite unconscious of the fact—as the currents of the Gulf-stream clothe with beauty the very rocks which repulse them, in the Hebrides, or within the Norwegian fiôrds,—not till then did affection for children find expression in literature, and care for children become the custom of the great. Then Trajan attempted to give an unpurchased freedom to the children of free parents, deserted, but preserved. He even established a fund for the maintenance of poor girls and boys, and was portrayed on coins and monuments raising from the ground women kneeling with their children. Pliny, with no doubt other citizens of a generous opulence, followed at a distance his example. Hadrian increased moderately the bounties for this purpose. Antoninus Pius augmented them still further; and Marcus Aurelius put such endowments under the charge of Consular officers, and set apart fresh funds for the purpose—while he wrote to his friend and teacher Fronto of his happiness in the health of his little girls, and Fronto in turn sends kisses to 'their fat little toes and tiny hands,' and recalls the merry sound of their prattle. Aurelius appointed a prætor to watch expressly over orphans, and required a registration of births. A bas-relief at Rome is believed to show the *puellæ Faustinianæ* clustering around the figure of the Empress, from whom the name had been derived.

There was not improbably a new tendency shown here, as Renan insists,* springing not directly from Christianity, but by a reaction from the shocking and savage preceding cruelties. I think such a tendency does appear; having source in part in the Stoical ethics, and preparing the way for the Gospel to tread, as opening men's hearts, in a measure at least, to its superlative lessons and force. But it seems to me almost as indisputable as is the indebtedness of the city around us to commerce for its growth, that to the new Christian atmosphere, ever more widely although impalpably diffused through the empire, even such late and imperfect recognitions of the rights of childhood must be fairly in some part ascribed.

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* Hibbert Lectures: London ed., 1880, pp. 23–6.

The Hebrew Faith, preceding Christianity, and supplying the base on which its spires and pinnacles arose, had at least involved a widely different view of childhood from that which prevailed outside of Palestine. It had given great authority to the father, but it had imposed also strict obligations; while to the mother had been trusted an authority which she nowhere else had equally possessed. While infanticide was common and was justified elsewhere, it was no more permitted among the Hebrews than was the murder of the High-Priest. The large number of children in a household was regarded as a token of Divine favor. Mothers nursed their own children, and the day of the weaning was signalized in the family. The instruction of children in the history of the nation, and in the precepts and principles of the Law, was early, solemnly, and repeatedly prescribed. The whole community guarded each child; and the independent will of the father was not supreme, under the restraining Hebraic legislation. If he judged his son even worthy of death, as stubborn and rebellious, gluttonous and a drunkard, the mother must agree with him, and together they must bring him before the whole city, for lawful punishment. The prosperity of the city was then only conceived as perfect, when, with old men and old women dwelling in it, it should also 'be full of boys and girls playing in the streets thereof.' * The hope and prayer of the devout was, that 'their sons might be as plants grown up in their youth, and their daughters as corner-stones, polished after the similitude of a palace.' †

It was only natural, under such a religion, that children should be accounted the heritage of the Lord; that for them, at different stages of their growth, the language should furnish many general names, of a tender significance; that they should be presented with thank-offerings in the temple; that it should be affirmed of even the son of the concubine that God had 'heard the voice of the lad'; ‡ that some of the most touching and memorable passages in Hebrew literature should be those recounting the grief of parents when the infant of days had died; and that the sweetest and grandest thought, one may almost say

* Zechariah viii. 4, 5. † Psalm cxliv. 12. ‡ Genesis xxi. 17.

which prophecy itself ever delivered, was that which came from the sublimest of Hebrew seers, that the fierce and warring elements on earth shall be subdued in the reign of the Messiah, that the wolf and the lamb shall dwell together, and the leopard with the kid, and that 'a little child shall lead them.'* That word is like the point of light in the eye of a portrait, illuminating the scheme of the prophetic economy.

Even the preparatory Hebrew system is thus plainly distinguished from the state regulations and the social economies prevailing around it. But Christianity surpassed it, here at least, as the light of the sun the pale lustre of moonbeams. Transcendent in its doctrine, searching in its law, robust and masculine in all its development, never sentimental and never effeminate, it yet came to the docile tenderness of childhood as a priest to consecrate, as a king to enthrone it. It made at any rate spaces of quietness amid the tumultuous commotions of the world, in which infancy should be sheltered, and its mysterious glory be felt. It was when they who believed in the Lord not only saw in each human soul an appropriate object for his Divine mission, but looked back with venerating wonder to his obscure cradle—when they imagined, whether justly or not, that angels had sung above his birth, and had made this the sign of the world's redemption, when they conceived that kings had come from out the dim and distant East, rich in gold, aromatic with spices, bringing to him on his mother's breast frankincense and treasure—it was then that the sense of the sacredness of Infancy took its secure possession of the world. For childhood, at least, the new age dawned when he whom men thought a celestial Person came, according to their apprehension, from the heavens to the earth, not in the fulness of power and supremacy, but amid the very humblest conditions which ever invest a human birth. As the light from the babe, in Correggio's Holy Night, illuminates all surrounding figures, so the light of that birth shed an unfading lustre on the minds of the disciples. To them it was only natural that afterward, in the perfect fulness of his energy and wisdom, the Lord should take children from the street in his arms, and lay his hands on

* Isaiah xi. 6.

them in supreme benediction; that he should say, "of such is the kingdom of Heaven";* that he should announce that their angels do always behold the face of Him before whom the seraphim bow;† that he should declare, in words whose echo never ceases in the world, "Whoso shall receive one such little child in my name, receiveth me!"‡

That was, for the world, the coronation of childhood; and from that time not only the cruel abandonment of it by parents has been made impossible, but the shelter of its weakness, the culture of its delicate but prophesying power, have been chief ends in all the societies into which the inspiration of Jesus has entered. If we find no special texts in the New Testament explicitly commanding the baptism of infants, this only makes more significant the fact that such an ordinance, however difficult to be reconciled at first sight with the evangelical requirement of faith before baptism, sprang up in the church at a time very early, and found itself at home in the welcoming spiritual consciousness of believers. Even infant communion came in among customs of almost immemorial ancientness, was approved by eminent Fathers and Pontiffs, and lingered in places in Western Europe till the Council of Trent. It is still maintained, with original vigor, in Oriental communions.

The same strong current of governing influence which thus was revealed breaking into history has flowed on in it ever since, and it is not needful that I even remind you how richly it is manifest in the Christendom of to-day. The assiduous and affectionate training of children—it may not be always accomplished as it should be, but it certainly is honored as a primary duty, not of the household or church alone, but of the state. The protection of the child is as general and careful as of the adult; and no infant can suffer disastrous injury, by permission of the law, even though it be inflicted by the parent. The wrong is avenged, and the babe is protected. Not merely to the children of cultured households does such watchfulness extend, but to the destitute and the orphaned. Institutions of beneficence, for their shelter and nurture, such as had not been known in the world

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* Matthew xix. 14. † Matthew xviii. 10. ‡ Matthew xviii. 5.

till the power of Christianity began to be felt, are now common in the countries which Christianity has blessed; while the Church, inspired by the words and by the action of him whom it accepts as Master, regulates its worship, constructs its buildings, invents or applies new forms of art, creates a new literature, to minister to children. The ancient prophecy is fulfilled. The little child does lead the household, and lead the state. The deepest fountains of affection are unsealed with its advent in the household. The first faint cry, laden with the ever-new mystery of life, seems a voice appealing from the Eternities, as it breaks into time. And the subsequent solicitude of the state for its future citizen is not wholly from motives of expediency. The parental love in those who form and who govern the state inspires here its administration. The one consecrating spiritual function which secular commonwealths still retain, after severing themselves from every office of religious instruction—that which more than all else gives them moral elevation, and a charm for the heart—is this of securing to all children within them the instruction of knowledge, and a quick communication with the best and largest thought of the world.

If no other change had followed the coming of the religion of Jesus, this change in the attitude of civilized society, with its multiplied instruments, its vaster enterprises, its prouder hopes, and its bolder ambitions, toward the weakness of childhood, is surely one to impress and delight us. It seems to me to repeat the example of the Master himself, and to bring the Christendom which now honors, blesses, and consecrates that childhood, nearer to him than all cathedrals ever builded!

But go yet further in the same line, and observe the equivalent change which has occurred, where this religion has got itself established, in the place and the relation of Woman in the world: the added protection, the enlarged opportunity, now given to her—and given by laws hitherto made exclusively by men.

Under the preparatory Hebrew system the position of woman was relatively high, as compared with that assigned to her in adjacent nations. She had larger liberty than even now is allowed her in Oriental countries, with greater variety and importance

of employments. She headed, like Miriam, the bands of women who celebrated with triumphant song the overthrow of enemies. She led armies, like Deborah, and was like her a prophetess and a judge. In the free grace of an unconfined maidenhood she went out to meet her conquering father, with timbrels and dances. Her hymns were included in sacred records, as was the song of Samuel's mother. She was consulted, like Huldah, by high-priest and king. And while the effect of polygamy was disastrous, so far as that obtained before the captivity, and while it is obvious that the husband, not the wife, was the acknowledged head of the household, in independence of whom the wife could enter on no engagements, the dowry was given for the wife, not with her; the modern harem was unknown; the matron walked abroad unveiled; her husband's house was esteemed her 'rest'; she had a large authority in the family, and the grace and force of her character and mind were honored, cultured, and allowed opportunity. Many references to the gracious power and charm of womanhood occur familiarly in the Hebrew Scriptures, especially in that section of them which incorporates the ethical wisdom of the time; and hardly a nobler or lovelier description of the wise matron has been contained in any literature than that which is found in the poem added to the monitory words of the mother of Lemuel—which might have been designed as a just and animated verbal picture of that sovereign woman, whom some have sought to identify with Bathsheba.

But still, under the Hebrew system, in its relation to the true place of woman in society, we have to recognize what in general describes it: a partial light, positive and prophetic, but not complete; as much, perhaps, as man could yet bear of restraint upon his spirit, but by no means a final and true consummation. But when we turn to the other peoples, synchronizing in their history with the Hebrews, into which also Christianity came, we see at once the relative dignity, as concerning this point, of the Palestinian code and custom, and are able to measure, yet more distinctly, the immediate and the enormous advance which the new religion everywhere enforced.

In Greece, remember, when its literature was most elaborate

and engaging, when its art had reached its superb consummation in the most renowned temples of time, and when its general civilization excited the emulation or provoked the despair of other peoples, women were excluded not only from public affairs, but from the education provided for men. The greatest of Hellenic philosophers represented the state as radically disorganized in which wives should claim to be equals of their husbands. Aristotle regarded them as beings of a certain intermediate order between freemen and slaves. Plato suggested a community of wives, on the ground that children so brought into life would be more wholly devoted to the state. It was only the women recognized as unchaste who were permitted to frequent public lectures, and to be on terms of equal association with artists and scholars. A daughter at Athens legally inherited nothing from her father. She lived, until marriage, without any systematic or general training, in the strictest seclusion; and after marriage she could on her own account conclude no bargain, and be a party to no important transaction. So far was the distrust of her carried, that even what a man did, through the advice or at the request of a woman, was treated by the law as of no effect. At Syracuse, according to Athenæus, who cites Phylarchus as his authority, no free woman was allowed to go out after sunset, unless for adultery; nor even by day, except as attended by a female servant.* The woman was regarded as always a minor, and never free. Her glory was, as Pericles said, that no one should speak of her. Plato's statement is express, that 'a woman's virtue is to order her house, to keep what is indoors, and to obey her husband.'†

It had been a maxim, long before, in the laws of Menu, that a woman ought never to govern herself, according to her will. No sacrifice was allowed to her, apart from her husband, and no rites of religion. It was declared, with a mandate of absolute authority, that 'a woman is never fit for independence.' This was not an Indian tradition, by which western countries were impalpably influenced. It represents, no doubt, the original norm of the Aryan household. It was not, indeed, peculiar to that.

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* Deipnosophistæ: xii. 20. † "Meno": 71.

Confucius, with all his excellent ethics, recognizes no sanctity in the marriage-bond. As a mother, woman was invested by him with special dignity, on account of her relation to her sons. Aside from this, her highest duty was servile submission. As one of the Chinese sages said: 'Men, being firm by nature, are virtuous; and women, being soft, are useful.'* It is a curious statement, cited by Schlegel from Rémusat, that the Chinese character to represent woman, if doubled, means strife; if tripled, immorality.

The Roman temper and rule about women were marked by substantially an equivalent tone, though instances were certainly more numerous there of those who rose, while retaining their virtue, and in spite of their sex, to distinguished position. But Metellus, the Roman Censor, equally honored in private and in public life, energetically declared, in a public oration, that if nature had allowed man to exist without woman, he would have been spared a troublesome companion, and that marriage could only be recommended as a sacrifice of pleasure to public duty. Cato the Censor, of rougher nature, was only more vehement in the same declaration. The spirit manifested by such distinguished and typical Romans entered into the permanent system of the State. It was a fundamental conception of the law at Rome, no less than it had been in India, that a woman should never be independent. As a daughter she was subject, until married, to the *patria potestas* of her father. If remaining unmarried after his death, she was equally subject to the same power in the succeeding male head of the household. As a wife, if married according to either of the ancient ceremonies, she came under the control, *in manu*, of her husband, and was legally regarded as his daughter, the sister of her own children. Her property became the husband's; her consent was not necessary to the marriage of her daughters; the husband had at least a qualified power over her life, for even petty offences; she could not, after his death, be the legal guardian of her own infant children. By the famous Voconian Law, which Cato the elder had successfully advocated more than two hundred years before the voice of

* Quoted by Douglas: "Confucianism, etc.": London ed., 1879, p. 128.

Christianity was heard in Rome, and which, in its important provisions, continued in operation in the time of Gaius, nearly a century after St. Paul had there been beheaded—no citizen enrolled in the census, of even moderate wealth ($5,000) could make a woman his heir, however he might desire it; not if she were his only daughter. The right to select a female heir was reserved exclusively for vestal virgins. Nor could any man, enrolled or not, leave more than one-half of his property to a woman.

Habitual and contemptuous distrust of the sex was in the very life of the governing classes. It ruled custom, shaped statutes, and entered with depraving and dominating force the highest minds. Seneca wrote with passionate outbreaks against the women of his time, though he is almost singular among philosophers of the more refined class for speaking with affection and honor of his mother. One would not know from any allusion in the manifold and elaborate writings of Cicero that he ever had had one. Pliny speaks in his letters, with urbane complacency, of the excellence of his wife; but it seems to have been largely because she gratified his vanity by admiring both his writings and himself, and singing his verses to the cithern; and he applauds the example of a friend who had celebrated the funeral of his wife with a fight of gladiators, only regretting that the African panthers intended for the occasion had been delayed by stormy weather.

What fearful decay of all that is noble, all that is pure, in womanly character, came as the fruit of this attitude of society toward the delicate sex, I need scarcely remind you. Plato must have done but scanty justice to the better class among Greek women when he spoke of them in the "Laws" as prone to secrecy and stealth, and accustomed to creep into dark places; but he was certainly right in suggesting that if they should generally resist legislation they would be too much for the legislator.* In revolt against the system so harshly oppressive toward Roman women, because founded on a conception of their nature so false and debased, there came into use a form of free

* VI.: 781.

marriage, in which the wife retained relationship to her kindred and control of her property, and under which either she or the husband could perfect a divorce by giving to the other a written declaration of a wish to that effect. Concubinage, too, became customary, familiar, and was legalized by Augustus. The tendency to moral laxity, starting in such a natural reaction against the offensive and tyrannical strictness of previous rules, went swiftly forward, till at last the wrongs which had for ages been inflicted on woman in civilized Europe were terribly avenged in the downfall of the empire before those fierce Germanic hosts who had associated their women most closely with themselves, both in toil and in battle, and to the stern chastity of whose daughters and wives even Tacitus, sad and cynical as he was, pays honorable tribute.

But what it concerns us now to observe is that just so soon, and just so far, as Christianity gained its place in the empire, the position of woman, social and legal, instantaneously improved; and that this was the effect of direct, immediate, constant pressure, from the religion brought by Jesus.

The Lord himself, whom the early disciples regarded certainly as a transcendent Person, had been born of a woman; and the fact was recited, to her praise as to his, in the jubilant ecumenical creeds of the Church. Women had been his devoted disciples, during his personal ministry on earth: the wife of Chuza, the sisters at Bethany, the woman who because she loved much had been bidden by him to go into peace. Women had been the first converts in Europe: Lydia at Philippi, the honorable women at Thessalonica, the woman named Damaris—another Athenian Magdalen she may have been—upon Mars' Hill, the Priscilla whose name is more than once placed before her husband's, as if to indicate a certain conceded and beautiful leadership in her genius and spirit. As soon as congregations of Christian disciples began to be formed, in any proud and dissolute city, women began to be recognized and effective in definite and important ministerial functions. Salutations were addressed to them, epistles even, by the foremost apostles; and that faith which was afterward radiantly shown by their sisters in the spirit, in the arena and at the stake, had been discovered

and commended in themselves, before the persecuting frenzies arose. The grandmother Lois, the mother Eunice, were remembered by Paul in his prison at Rome, when his chained hand could not trace his own words. The whole Church, to the thought of the disciples, took the form of a Woman, radiant and crowned, on earth and in heaven.

The effect of all this was immediate and immense. The standard of character, and of moral aspiration, was rapidly and permanently lifted among women. Not losing modesty, only finding it perfected in the love of the Lord, they began to reveal that intensity of faith, that reckless completeness of self-consecration to noblest aims, which has been since the glory of the sex. This was true of those in the humbler class. From celestial instructions, assurances, hopes, even menial service took upon it celestial gleams; while those of higher social ranks, like the British Claudia — supposed by many to have been referred to in the epigrams of Martial — passed out of enticements of luxury and lust into a wholly new realm of experience. Monogamy was made universal in the Church, and marriage became a free and solemn covenant for life, taking a character even sacramental. The larger moral power won by woman, by degrees made the tightest legal restrictions loose and elastic; till in spite of the stiffest prejudice of ages, and the wild license of a passionate revolt, the just and rational liberty of the sex at last came with Christianity into the licentious and ambitious empire which had fettered and debased it, and which in the end could find nothing more meet to do with woman than to make her a gladiator. In all the Lord's recorded dealings with the women of his time, his act had been one of liberation. To woman, as the disciples believed, he had spoken from the cross, as on the Via Dolorosa which led to that. To her, as they equally believed, he had shown himself first after his Resurrection. Women had been joined in prayer with the apostles when from beneath the opened heavens they returned to Jerusalem from the mount called Olivet. And the lesson of the position thus assigned to the sex has never since been lost from the world.

It was a natural exclamation of Libanius, the brilliant and cultured friend of Julian, and the pagan teacher of Basil and of

Chrysostom, when he saw the mothers and sisters of his pupils: 'What women these Christians have'! In the influence exerted by Emmelia and Macrina on Basil, by Anthusa on Chrysostom, by Nonna on Gregory Nazianzen, by the mothers of Jerome and Ambrose upon them, or by Monnica on Augustine, is seen the fruit of the new position and the new inspiration which Christianity had given to the women who received it. And the effect was not personal, local, or transient, merely; it has been as permanent and as wide as Christendom. It was in fact because of this that in the darkest times of the Middle Age, women, as teachers, mothers, abbesses—like the mother of Bernard, or of Peter the Venerable, like Héloise, like Hildegarde—had secure place, and eminent influence. They taught in great schools when these were established, as at Bologna, sometimes veiling their faces that the charm of the utterance might not be intercepted by the more vivid charms of eye and cheek. As peeresses, in their own right, they built churches, endowed convents, and made their castles a refuge for the poor. As royal persons, like Blanche of Castille, they guided with grace and administered with wisdom the policy of kingdoms. Even the fantastic customs of chivalry, in connection with the Christian position of woman, have a moral significance; and in all the rough violence of the times, and the dense darkness of their skies, in the power of such a woman, for example, as the Countess Matilda, the friend of Hildebrand, or of the intrepid Beatrice, we see stars of promise shining in the night. The tendency of Christianity always has been, while recognizing the sex in souls, to give to woman larger opportunity, more effective control of all instruments for work: to put her side by side with man in front of all the great achievements, in letters, arts, humanities, missions, as at the majestic south portal of Strassburg Cathedral the figure of Sabina, maiden and architect, faces the figure of Erwin of Steinbach; and though the old traditions of law are hard to change, the entire movement of modern society is toward the perfect enfranchisement of the sex to which the religion brought by Jesus gave at the outset preëminent honor.

It is that religion which has fundamentally effected the change: not machinery, nor commerce, nor scientific philoso-

phy, but the power behind, which glorified gentleness, which consecrated purity, and which showed the Church as the Bride of Christ. It is that power which has wrought hitherto, which still is working, toward the grand consummation. Do you say, 'It has been a long time coming'? Understand, then, more fully how settled and radical were the customs of ages, which this religion had to overcome; how strong is still that instinct in man which measures worth by power, not grace, and which says as of old, 'I muscularly can; therefore, morally I may'! To conquer, or even to curb that instinct, has surely been no trifling thing; and if Christianity had no other jewel to place in its crown, it has certainly this: the new respect, born of its ministry, toward that gentler sex whose delicacy of structure, for ages its chain, is now its girdle of beauty and honor! It is a fact significant for the past, prophetic for the future, that even as Dante measured his successive ascents in Paradise, not by immediate consciousness of movement, but by seeing an ever lovelier beauty in the face of Beatrice, so the race now counts the gradual steps of its spiritual progress, out of the ancient heavy glooms, toward the glory of the Christian millennium, not by mechanisms, not by cities, but by the ever new grace and force exhibited by the Woman who was for ages either the decorated toy of man, or his despised and abject drudge.

Still another illustration, equally suggestive of the benign power exerted by Christianity upon the relation of man to man, is that which is presented by the change which has taken place, under its unwasting spiritual energy, in the legal and social status of the Enslaved; and perhaps there is nothing else which more vigorously emphasizes its beneficent effect, or which indicates more clearly that it came from a mind, and had within it the energy of a will, superior to man's.

Of the universality of slavery in the world into which this new religion entered, you need not be reminded. In respect to this, all peoples were alike: and German and Egyptian, Frank, Dacian, and Hun, the æsthetic Greek and the conquering Roman, even the Hebrew, whose ancestors had been brought out of bondage only to become slave-owners themselves—all were partakers in this most attractive, apparently most reward-

ing, really most destructive social system. Here and there the voice of poet or philosopher might suggest that it was not according to nature that one man should own another: as Seneca did in notable passages, and as others had done before him. They might inculcate, as beautifully as he did, with some who followed him, the duty of humane treatment of slaves. Even Aristotle had done this, who yet found slavery an important part of natural law. And they might in later time make some impression on the hard legislations: forbidding the master to compel his slave to fight with wild beasts, protecting the slave against the more frightful bodily mutilations, enjoining that one who had treated his slave with what even Roman hardness reproved as excessive severity should be constrained by the magistrate to sell him. The occasional feeling of gratitude, too, for a devoted or profitable service, would express itself, here and there, in the slave's liberation. But the system itself, which made some men the property of others, seemed as firmly rooted in human society as were the Apennines in the substance of Italy; and no more emerging indication appeared of its removal from its ancient and solid establishment on earth than of the mountains being melted by sunshine, or overturned and scattered by storms.

Of the special form of slavery, as it existed in Greece and in Rome, we are well enough informed. It was so vast and so prominent an element in the ancient civilization that its character could not have been hidden if men had tried; but they did not try, any more than to hide headlands or seas.

The slaves at Athens, for example, were of the same blood with their masters; at least not separated from them by such apparent differences of race as separate the African or the Mongolian from the European. They were captives, taken in war, or poor persons who had sold themselves because unable to gain subsistence. Those who could not pay a public tax were liable to be sold for such default. The children of the poor were sold, to buy food, or in simple caprice. Children exposed for death, and rescued, became the slaves of those who had found them; as may have been true in the case of Epictetus. Captives taken by pirates were sold; and because it furnished such multitudes of slaves to the cities of Greece, piracy was held an honorable

profession, tributary to public welfare. The very name 'servus' was said by some to be derived from 'servare,' because the prisoners designed for slavery were of course kept alive. Augustine gives this as the probable derivation in his "City of God." Diogenes, the cynic, was thus captured and sold. Plato himself is reported, you know, by early authorities, to have been sold in Ægina, by the elder Dionysius, who had taken offence at one of his remarks; and to have been afterward ransomed by Anniceris. The story is told with various embellishments, and in some of its particulars may not be correct; but the fact that slaves skilled in music, poetry, the drama, the arts, were bought and sold, at Rome especially, and were commonly owned in the families of the rich, is nowise uncertain. Physicians, sculptors, were numerous in this class; architects, painters, linguists, expert copyists, were also included, with distinguished authors, as Æsop, Terence, Epictetus, Phædon, and others. The greatest of Greek philosophers, therefore, if captured by pirates, taken prisoner in battle, or simply fettered by the will of a tyrant, could have pleaded no exemption for genius or culture from the dismal fate of a life-long bondage.

The number of the slaves was something enormous. In Attica it was at one time estimated [309 B.C.] that there were resident in that State, five-sevenths of the size of our Rhode Island, 84,000 citizens, 40,000 aliens, 400,000 slaves. Gibbon, you remember, reckons the slave-population of the empire as under Claudius equal to the free, or sixty millions each.* Fabius is said to have brought 30,000 into the markets, as the fruit of the sack of Tarentum; and Paullus 150,000, after the conquest of Epirus. When Pindenissus was taken by Cicero, the inhabitants were sold for more than half a million dollars of our money. Athenaeus, in the Deipnosophistæ, refers to individual Roman owners as having 10,000 and more slaves. At one time, according to Aristotle, the island of Ægina contained 470,000 in bondage: an island covering an area of only forty-two square miles, but having commercial relations and dependencies. Corinth is said to have had almost as many, 460,000; and Chios—

* "The Decline and Fall," etc.: London ed., 1848, Vol. I., p. 56.

known to us as Scio—according to Thucydides, had still more. Only the architects and masons belonging to Crassus exceeded 500. There was a just fear at Rome of measures which would make the slaves generally acquainted with their own numbers; and as late as the time of Chrysostom, reference is made by him to the fact that under the reign of Arcadius rich persons owned a thousand or two thousand slaves.

Of course the price was commonly small,—a good slave at Athens, in the time of Demosthenes, costing about thirty dollars of our money; or at Rome, in the time of Horace, about ninety dollars; while a man was purchasable, in the camp of Lucullus, in Pontus, for less than eighty cents;* and the 97,000 Jews sold by Titus after the capture of Jerusalem brought, probably, individually less than Judas had received for betraying his Master.†

So extended, luxurious, and lucrative was the system, it had existed from such time immemorial, it was apparently so inextricably connected with the political and social organization, that the wisest thinkers, the most eloquent champions of public liberty, accepted and sustained it. Plato doubts: only contending, in the "Republic," that Greeks should not be reduced to such bondage, and in the "Laws" finding that something is radically wanting in the soul of the slave. Xenophon makes no objection to it, but suggests that the State, for its own profit, should buy and work slaves. Aristotle is perfectly clear in treating the subject in his "Politics." Property is only, he says in substance, an accumulation of instruments; and a slave is just a movable instrument, endowed with life, which, under direction, gives motion to other inferior instruments. On account of the differences in human minds, he concludes that slavery is founded in utility and in justice. Demosthenes inherited slaves from his father; while in the West they were commonly classed with wagons and oxen, and it is noted that Cato the Censor—himself sprung from the poorer classes, regarded as a model husband and father, and certainly representing no foreign temper—used to flog his severely when they had failed to wait on him correctly; he forbade them,

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* Plutarch: "Lucullus." † Josephus: "Wars of Jews," VI., 9: 2, 3.

even, to entertain any sentiment of piety, reserving such exclusively for himself; and he exposed them remorselessly, in old age, when there was no more possibility of selling them, like old oxen or worthless sheep, to storm and starvation.

Of the condition of the slaves, under the hard and haughty temper thus generated in masters, it is difficult to speak without seeming extravagant. Of the frightful atrocities perpetrated upon the Spartan helots, the lashings, mutilations, and savage ambuscades, I need not remind you. Concede these as exceptional But remember that in general, throughout the Greek cities, their servile condition was marked in the dress, in the cut of the hair, in the whole demeanor demanded from them. They were sold naked, in the public slave-markets. They were not allowed any place in the courts, and could not defend themselves when maltreated. They were liable to cruel and fatal tortures, to compel confession of suspected crime. They often walked with fettered feet, to prevent their escape. They were not unfrequently branded on the forehead, in punishment for slight offences, or in angry caprice:—a practice to which the apostle Paul refers, you remember, when he speaks of himself, in his touching words to the Galatians, as bearing in his body the stigmata of Christ.* They were employed, of course, in all harder and more wasting forms of labor; and though the final penalty of death could not be legally inflicted by the master at his own pleasure, almost any other form of injurious treatment was open to him. I conceive the condition of few classes of human beings to have been more harshly oppressive than theirs: and amid all that fascinates the memory in the eloquence, philosophy, poetry of Greece, through all the apparent brilliance of its history, the real brilliance of its splendid achievements in many arts, we shall hear rising, if we listen aright, above Parthenon and Erectheium, above Agora and Areiopagus, the wailing undertone of the dreary and hopeless misery of slaves. The very comedies in which they were caricatured, to the thoughtful reader have in them an unspeakable pathos.

But in Rome their condition was still more severe. With an

* Galatians vi. 17.

awful prodigality their life was built into the vast and magnificent works, porticoes, temples, aqueducts, mausoleums, whose enormous ruins still amaze us. Great multitudes of them were trained and slain as gladiators. Multitudes more were kept for purposes viler still. As porters, they were chained like dogs to the door-posts. As workers on farms, they labored not unfrequently under chains, and slept at night in the cells of the ergastula, under-ground, wet, filthy, and full of disease. No injury done to a slave was counted by the law an injury to him, but to the master. If done by the master, no one had suffered. If a master was murdered in his house, all the slaves connected with it were liable to be killed, and even the freedmen with them. Not until the time of Hadrian were attempts made to limit the master's absolute power over his bondmen. Vedius Pollio might feed with them the lampreys for his table; and when in the presence of Augustus he doomed to this fate an attractive boy, who had simply slipped on the polished pavement while carrying in his hand a crystal vase, it was only the arbitrary will of the emperor which saved the slave and filled up the pond. Juvenal, himself son of a freedman, satirizes a Roman lady who would have a slave crucified in simple caprice, and would think it an insane question, 'if he also were not human'? For slaves the punishment of the cross was reserved; and one form of crucifixion, as we learn from Seneca, was by impaling.* There were torturers by profession, whose business it was to exercise upon them their detestable craft. So cruelly complete was the power over slaves, and so benumbed the general sensibility, that when the prætor Domitius had had a slave crucified for killing a wild boar with a weapon appropriate to freemen, even Cicero only spoke of it afterward as 'perhaps appearing a harsh thing.' And so common was it, according to Suetonius, to expose decrepit and invalid slaves on an island in the Tiber, that there they might die without expense to the master, that Claudius himself, certainly one of the least exacting of imperial reformers, had by law to discourage the practice.

This was slavery in the European countries, civilized and

* Ad Marciam Consol. XX.

cultured, into which came the new religion; where forum and palace faced each other; where the stateliest temples united with Porch, Lyceum, Academy, to give to their sites perpetual renown; where orators like Cicero, moralists like Seneca, combined to instruct and to elevate the peoples: while among the barbarian tribes of the North, from whom we have sprung, it was as common, and no less cruel.

Christianity entered on no superficial and obvious contest with this ancient, consolidated, and haughty iniquity, so general in the world, and so intricately involved with the customs of the rude, the laws of the advanced, with barbarian ferocities, Grecian philosophies, Roman power. It sent no formal challenge to the system, to which it was still as fatally hostile as it was to idolatry. But it smote it with blows more destroying than of arms, and caused it to vanish as summer skies and melting currents consume the glacier, which we call an iceberg, which has drifted down from Arctic coasts. The Sermon on the Mount, God's affectionate and watchful Fatherhood of all, the brotherhood of disciples, the mutual duty and the common Immortality of poor and rich—these were the forces before which slavery inevitably fell. Where philosophies had utterly failed, and eloquence had been wanting, and the progress of arts, cities, or states, had only clenched tighter the manacles of the bondman, he who taught on the narrow Galilee-beach overwhelmed, by the mystic energy of his words, the consummate oppression. It fell before him, as the warrior falls, more surely than by bullets, by famine and thirst; as the giant's strength fades in fatal atmospheres. 'Not now a slave, but above a slave, as a brother beloved, so receive him'; it was the voice not of one apostle only, though he were the chiefest, but of the whole church, to the master who was himself in Christ. "The grace of God, that bringeth salvation, hath appeared to all men"*—before that announcement slavery could not stand, any more than flax before shriveling fires.

Christianity sought to reform society from within outward; by working a true regeneration of spirit, and thus of laws and

* Titus ii. 11.

social custom. It planted the acorn, and was surer of the oak than if it had built it in any manufactory. It sent the Spring on the earth; and left the old ice-fields, untouched of pick, or drill, or dynamite, to take care of themselves. But as fast as its power widened in the world, slavery grew milder, weaker, less crushing, narrower in its range and more merciful in its rule, until it ceased. This brief synopsis sums up in a sentence the crowded records of centuries of struggle.

The incipient movements toward reform appeared under Hadrian and the Antonines, a century to a century and a half after the recorded death of Jesus, when, as I have said, the atmosphere of society, however severe, was beginning to be imperceptibly modified by the new Faith. The master was then forbidden to kill his slave at his pleasure, or to sell him for a gladiator without permission of magistrates, or for combats with wild beasts. If a slave were subjected to excessive cruelty, the magistrate, on appeal, could constrain his master to part with him for a price. A right of sanctuary was granted to him beside the statue of the Emperor; and the formalities of enfranchisement were made perceptibly simpler. So far as this it was principally, no doubt, the direct or indirect influence of the Stoical philosophy which contributed to mitigate the condition of the slave; though neither jurist nor philosopher attempted to give him his full measure of rights, and a ruler as thoughtful, philosophical, conscientious, as Marcus Aurelius, left the ancient legal position of the bondman substantially unchanged.

But when that renowned Emperor died, A.D. 180, there was a force rapidly extending throughout the empire, which he had recognized only with contempt, and had blindly combated with persecution, which was to do in this direction what he had not conceived to be possible; which was to accelerate, widen, multiply, all the forces that had been slowly and partially working toward a future of liberty and hope for the slave, and was to add to them others, more powerful, to make that secure. This force was Christianity. From the first, slaves were welcomed in Christian congregations, on a level of equality with others. By the church, in the third century, the liberation of slaves was put on the same level of privilege with the rescue of martyrs. Lac-

tantius portrayed emancipation as a principal duty of Christian righteousness. Prayers for slaves were early inserted among the solemn petitions of the Litanies. The oblations of harsh masters were refused, as bearing upon them the odor of a temper not acceptable to God. Bond and free were on the same footing in the houses and in the offices of worship. Gladiatorial fights, as a matter of course, were forborne and forbidden; and the royal worth of a soul redeemed unto God by Christ was joyfully recognized, by prelates like Chrysostom, in the poorest disciple. The laws of Constantine, though scarcely consistent among themselves, helped on the powerful movement toward freedom; manumission under him was largely facilitated, and the practice of branding was finally forbidden. Under Theodosius the separation of families was prohibited. The laws of Justinian moved more strongly and steadily in the interest of humanity. By them emancipation was still further encouraged. Slaves were admitted as witnesses in court, and recognized as having certain rights to be guarded. They were required to work but five days in the week, and had the privilege of the church-festivals. That they were under a higher law than the will of the master, obedience to which law brought perfect freedom, was eloquently taught from metropolitan pulpits. Influential teachers early and emphatically condemned all slavery, and declared the liberation of those in bondage the duty of Christians. The Council of Orange, A.D. 441, forbade the reducing of Christians to bondage. The Council of Rheims, A.D. 625, prohibited Bishops from breaking up sacred vessels *except* for the redemption of captives.* Gregory the Great only expressed the growing, at last the governing feeling of the Christendom which he ruled, when he based his own manumission of slaves on the fact that the Lord had come from heaven to redeem all men, without distinction, from the bondage of sin.

Of course the process was a long one. Of course it was arrested by pauses and reactions: especially when the ascetic spirit hardened men's sympathies, and made them almost indifferent to suffering, their own or others'; still more, when the deluge of

* See Guizot: "Hist. of Civilization": New York ed., 1882; Vol. III. pp. 250, 279.

northern hordes, pouring in turbulent torrents into Italy, set back for a time all Christian advance; or, later, when wealth and luxury in the church rivaled those of the previous empire. It is not often, in this world, that great ideals get realized in a day. The very cloud is slowly dispersed; and the stony glacier has to be dissolved, an ounce at a time, into the brook that runs musically from it. But the progress was sure, although it was slow. If, as has been said, the water of baptism fell upon the brow of the poor 'to sanctify its sweats,' it fell upon the slave to loosen into liberty first the spirit and afterward the body. Before the religion which streamed upon the world through the coming of Jesus, as before nothing else ever known on the earth in the form of religion, the immemorial system of human bondage at last gave way all over Europe.

It had disappeared in Italy by the fifteenth century; in parts of Germany before the end of the thirteenth; and though it lingered longer—to our shame!—in our own country, it must be remembered that here it seemed to many to be justified on the ground of essential diversities of race, and of its alleged tendency to civilize, and in the end to christianize, the imported barbarian. I do not defend, or accept for myself, any such line of argument; but it is by no means to be forgotten that slavery continued here as long as it did only because humane men, desiring for themselves to be faithful to Christ, earnestly believed that it was harmonized by what they esteemed its beneficent effects with the spirit of the law of the Master. In spite of that, the ever-growing moral resistance which hated and fought it at last became so general and determined that when the great opportunity came it swept the system from the land as the breaking of an ice-dam sweeps timbers and trees, ice-blocks and boulders, before the sudden and terrible rush of the liberated waters. The ethics of the New Testament then marched behind bayonets. The roll of a thunder as awful as that which spake from Sinai was heard beneath the roar of artillery; and it was the irresistible force of Christianity, which could not be baffled and could not be bribed, overruling politics, governing battle, and finding a voice in the great Proclamation, which in our time erased from the statute book the last vestige of Slavery. The North and the

South both suffered in the struggle, and both alike see God in its issue!

It is not needful, the time would not permit, that I follow further, with equal minuteness, the effect of Christianity in changing the relation of human societies toward the poor, the uncultured, and the dependent. We are surrounded, on every hand, by its illustrations. But the thing to be observed is, that this immense change, full of benefit, full of prophecy, has come by virtue of the organic structure of this religion, and not because of any side-forces accidentally or occasionally associated with it. This has wrought it, as the sun brings the loveliness of summer; as the chemistries of nature elaborate the gold, which man's art can only mimic. There had been no suggestion in heathenism of right behavior between man and man, as demanded by the prevalent religions. The thought of Humanity, as a vital organism, each part related to every other, and all capable of being pervaded by one supreme spirit,—this was not a thought of the highest philosophy, or of the subtlest and most delicate song. It came by him who surpassed philosophers, as far as he surpassed the rigorous limitations of Hebrew sympathy. The local religions had tended always to isolate states; while individual liberties shrank, in each, in precise proportion to such isolation. The individual existed for the interest of the state; and classes thus inevitably arose, with rights varying according to their fortunate fitness to serve it. So came the great number of the free poor at Athens; who might hear Demosthenes from the Bema, or see Pericles in the Pnyx, but who had no part in public affairs. So came the almost unending struggle between plebeians and patricians at Rome, with the final practical disappearance from Italy of the middle class of small proprietors. And so came the sentiment, repeated by Plautus with brutal frankness, that 'a man is a wolf to another man whom he does not know'; the more terrible maxim of one nobler than Plautus—whose writings have given to the name of Plato a lustre which neither Propylæa nor Parthenon could equally give to that of Pericles—that the poor and hungry, being condemned by their appeals for assistance, should be expelled from market-place and city, and 'the country be cleared of that sort of animal.'

How exactly Christianity reversed all this, I need not say. It knew no distinctions of State or race, but was utterly cosmopolitan. It was preached to the poor, and the common people heard it gladly. In this universality of its address it honored each man to whom it came. In its presentation of its own great Teacher—whatever may be our precise conception of his unique and superlative person—it exalted human nature, and showed it near and dear to God, if it did not put—as most of the early Christians surely felt that it did put—Divine honors upon it. In its exhibition of the final just Judgment, waiting for each, where destinies should be determined according to character, it made every man free in the court of Heaven, whether with or without any personal standing before human tribunals. Upon present benefits conferred on the poor, in the name of the Master, and for his sake, the very decisions of that tribunal were foreshown as depending, by him who unrolled, according to the record, before the appalled apprehension of men that tremendous panorama. So, every way—by fact and precept, and lurid forewarning, by the cross and the throne, by lowly advent, and astonishing work, and the most majestic Sermon of time—the new religion wrought through the circles of human life, wherever it touched them, to make the humblest an object of solicitude, to bind upon the haughtiest a new sense of obligation; and when men met 'around a table, not a tomb,' where all alike were the guests of one Lord, Jew and Gentile, master and slave, barbarian and Greek, the lines which had divided them wholly disappeared, in their common privilege, their common love, and their common expectation.

With all the energy of its command, and with the force of its exuberant life, the new religion taught whoever became its disciple his incessant personal responsibility for power; and so it made faith in the unseen Lord the most effective ethical, social, political force ever known on the earth. It required any so-called 'consecration' to him to be manifested toward those with whose class he had principally dwelt in the world, and for whose salvation he was declared to have specially come. And its influence, of necessity, showed itself widely, and has shown itself long. Even as the springs in distant hills fling up the

waters which have silently flowed from their far fountains in the glittering sheaf which flashes in the sun above garden or park or city square, or in the great reservoirs from whose abundance populations are supplied, so these remote and unseen forces, from Galilee and Jewry, still break forth in Christendom into more humane laws and more just institutions. The secret of the whole is in the Christian law of the obligation of man to man.

Stuart Mill, in one of his essays,* criticises the Christian scheme as dwelling too little on public duties and public virtues. It is characteristic of the school of thought represented by him, which expects sometime to regenerate man by improving his conditions, rather than to improve his conditions by regenerating the man. But I read in face of his critical words the words of St. Paul—the manliest, most intrepid and high-minded person whom the age of Seneca presents to our view—"I am debtor, both to the Greeks and to the Barbarians; both to the wise and to the unwise":† and there I see not merely the temper which made that trained and converted Cilician a master-builder in civilization, but the temper which afterward shot forth its missions on every side, and which enabled the early Fathers, in the midst of the fearful oppressions of the empire, to see slavery, with its pagan theory of two races, falling at last before the holy word of Jesus that all men are brothers, as the children of God. No debtor to any man, on any human accounting of benefits, was the unwearied and ardent apostle. The Greek had laughed at him; the Barbarian had stoned him; the Roman sword was shaking in its scabbard, seeking his life. But because they were men, for whom the religion which he preached was designed, and whom he knew it had power to bless, he was under incessant obligation to preach it, to the most remote, the most obscure, for whom the Master had come from heaven, for whom the great Immortality waited.

Beside this, the splendid picture in the 'Ethics,' of the magnanimous man, becomes cold and hard, sterile as a marble statue. The maxims of Cicero upon the duties of man to man, or those of Seneca, are feeble beside it: wanting authority, wanting fire,

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* On "Liberty": Boston ed., 1863, pp. 95–98. † Romans i. 14.

and wanting above all the unsearchable energy of personal example. Self-sacrifice for another cannot be shown to be a duty of man, unless upon the Christian basis. It is upon the law of moral obligation in this religion, not upon any personal sensibilities, or any dictates of scientific altruism, that whatever has been humane and beneficent in the public life of Christendom has rested; and the history of this is also a promise.

We sharply object to the vast Church-establishment which ruled Europe for centuries; but it is, at least, to be remembered to its honor, that obscurity of birth, poverty of resources, weakness of frame, were not barriers to eminence in it, and that some of its chief prelates and princes came from the classes from which in Athens slaves were supplied, which in Rome were content with bread and the games. The one English Pope, Adrian Fourth, who held himself lord of Barbarossa and who fought him with relentless severity, while he claimed to bestow the sovereignty of Ireland on the English monarch, was so ignorant at the outset that the monks of St. Albans would not receive him, and he became a servant in a monastery at Avignon. Alexander Third, who followed him in the Papacy, from an origin hardly less humble, who conquered Barbarossa, and nearly laid England under an interdict, subduing the stubborn Henry Second and forcing him to an ignominious penance, was the same who asserted the general principle that nature has made no man to be a slave, and who has been credited with that scheme of universal liberation which Voltaire declared should make his name dear to the world.

It is the same power working with us, under other polities, but with a force unchanged and unwasting, upon which democratic institutions are based, with educational, philanthropic, and missionary enterprise. The hospitals for the sick, the asylums for the aged, the homeless, and the orphan; the consecrated ministry of skill and genius to the blind and the deaf, as the fruit of which the blind become readers by their fingers, while the old miracle of the Lord seems repeated as the dumb are taught to articulate; the ministry to the insane and the imbecile, which began among the monks of German forests and of the Pyrenees, and which has been carried in our time to su-

perb consummation; the ministry to even the criminal classes, who might seem severed by their offences from further claim upon society, but for whom the plans of prison-reform are incessantly at work:—all these illustrate the new era introduced by Christianity: the new conception which it brought and has taught of man's duty to man. Communism itself is only the refracted image of a supreme truth—the truth of the indebtedness of the strong to the weak: as that, however, is dimly discerned, by intoxicated brains, through bloodshot eyes.

I submit to you, then, Ladies and Gentlemen, that it was a novel and astonishing force which came to the world when Christianity first was preached. If conduct be, as has been said, three-quarters of human life, that which has changed so materially the conduct of men, in great organized societies, has at least enormous power and value. It seemed wholly impossible that the frail, obscure, and scattered societies of the early disciples should do any such thing. Renan has said, not untruly, "at first sight the work of Jesus did not seem likely to survive; his congregation appeared to have nothing before it but to dissolve into anarchy." * But the religion which was in those societies not only survived, it accomplished this change, showing itself as vast in energy, as it was certainly singular in beneficence; checking passionate adverse opinion with its breath, and trampling tempestuous social waves into a plain; exalting itself to a moral supremacy which grows only more illustrious as the centuries advance. We wonder still, in mute admiration, before some triumphs of ancient art. But we certainly may say, without hesitation, that no marbles or mosaics of the days before Christ had ever such moral glory on them as has that old and dim mosaic in the city of Rome, of the thirteenth century, which represents the Master sitting between captives white and black, and liberating both; † as has that picture before which the world has for centuries been pausing, radiant, more than with Raphael's genius, with the Divine infancy and the holy motherhood of the Sistine Madonna.

The final work of this religion we do not yet see. It will not

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* Hibbert Lectures: London ed., 1880, p. 156.

† On the Cœlian, near the arch of Dolabella and Silanus.

be accomplished till a perfect society, various and complex, yet harmonious and free, is universal on the earth, under the sovereign rule of him who chose the poor for his friends, and peasants for his apostles, who honored Woman, loosened the fetters of despair from the Slave, and set the unfading celestial aureole on the head of the Child. And that ultimate society—it will not carry the race back to any primitive innocence, with a primeval simplicity of relations; it will accept, complete, and bless all civilization; it will be rich in lordly arts, vocal in literatures, abundant in garnered wealths from the Past; but it will also, as moulded by Christ, be like himself—sweet in sympathy, pure in holiness, vital with love; a City, not a Garden, but the City of God, coming down out of Heaven, "having her light like a stone most precious, even like a jasper-stone, clear as crystal."

LECTURE VI.

THE NEW CONCEPTION OF THE DUTIES OF NATIONS TOWARD EACH OTHER.

LECTURE VI.

Two things are to be observed in considering Christianity in connection with the subject which confronts us this evening. The first is, that in its own contemplation it is particularly a system of religion, taught with reference to a practical and specific effect upon persons. The second is, that its benefits, whatever they may be, are designed to be preëminently moral and spiritual, rather than secular, social, or political. Its first design is to lift men toward God, not to make them, or the communities which they form, more prosperous, energetic, or secure upon the earth. Whatever it may accomplish in the latter direction is to be looked upon as done, not reluctantly, but in a secondary way, as incidental to the bestowal of higher good, even the highest, upon the mind and life of the disciple. It is the spiritual fitness of individuals for fellowship with the Heavenly Father, and for the Immortality to come, which Christianity professes to promote: not any general civilization of nations, except as this may be consequent on the other.

Yet it is also to be observed that a powerful impression on the public life of organized states may properly be looked for through the developing energy of the system, if it have really a Divine place in the world's economy. To make a man freer, wiser than he was, more sensitive to the claims of justice upon him, more clearly aware of what is needful to his ultimate welfare, and only more consciously interested in men because in more intimate relationship to God—this is to benefit not himself alone, but every community which he affects; and what sets any people forward, in the path of righteous and wise advancement, in the end must instruct, stimulate, and assist others around it. If therefore Christianity be a religion coming from God, and designed for the world, it must have it for its final magnificent

function to benefit peoples, as well as persons; not merely to sequester from barbarous wastes occasional gardens, bright in bloom and delightful in fragrance, but to re-fashion continents; not merely to instruct and purify households, but to make the entire race, in the end, a household of God.

It must, of course, have time conceded, and long periods of time, in which to do this. But it must accept this sovereign mission. And if it be said, 'That is too vast a thing to expect it to accomplish'; the answer is immediate: 'Then it must not claim, in any transcendent or superlative sense, to be an enduring cosmical religion, sent from God.' It may charm many minds by pleasing narratives, or comfort individual hearts by animating hopes; but it has not the power which a Divine Faith should have, and must have, to conquer, quicken, and regulate nations.

That Christianity has done something in this direction, and that it is vivid and rich with promise of doing much more as it widens in the world, appears to me almost as evident as the billowy seas seen from a headland; that to it, as the moral and inexhaustible source, is primarily due the amelioration which already has taken place in the relation of nations to each other; and that on it must depend the further and fruitful changes for which we hope. To illustrate this, in a few particulars, though rapidly, briefly, and with great imperfection, is my purpose this evening. Let us first get the change which has certainly occurred in this direction, by an instance or two, distinctly before us.

That armed combatants, taken in battle, might either be killed, enslaved, or sold, at the pleasure of the captor, was simply an elementary rule in ancient war; and by both Greek and Roman usage the principal officers of the hostile army, being captured, might properly at once be put to death: as were, for example, the Athenian generals, captured at Syracuse; as was probably Regulus, by the Carthaginians; as Hannibal would have been, —the most illustrious general of his time, who had scattered the Roman armies like chaff, and in the face of icy precipices and fierce mountaineers had lifted elephants over the Alps—if he had not preferred to anticipate by poison the death prepared for him by the Roman Republic. The object of war, in the sim

plicity of antique custom, was the utter destruction of the inimical power. The awful maxim literally obtained, that the laws of war know no limitations: 'Jus belli infinitum.' And while in practice, in wars in which Romans or Greeks were engaged on both sides, it was common to give quarter if it were asked, and to allow subsequent ransom, any degree of injury to the enemy was permitted and sanctioned by the recognized rules. The Romans regarded their own citizens, captured by the enemy, as losing thereby their status of freedom. All their rights remained in abeyance until they had escaped from bondage, or had been ransomed. The Jus Postliminii was based on the principle that while the Roman citizen remained a captive of the enemy he was their slave. Nor was any duty violated, any right overborne, if all the captured and all the wounded were despatched on the field after the engagement: as when the Romans were slaughtered at Cannæ, or the Samnites by the Romans when the latter retrieved their previous disaster at the Caudine forks; as in the terrible examples at Melos and Platea; as when even Germanicus exhorted his soldiers to prosecute the slaughter till the people should be exterminated against whom they were fighting.

This was in the ancient time. On the other hand, one passing through Europe in the early summer of A.D. 1871, saw the numerous railway-trains in Germany and in France crowded with troops captured by the victorious armies which had swept across France from Forbach to Sedan, and thence to the famous and fascinating capital which they had girt with lines of steel, and on which they had poured destroying fire till they forced its surrender. The troops thus captured, and now returning, had been carefully tended in their captivity. They had been treated as friends, from the moment of their surrender; had been skillfully, patiently, and effectively cared for, in hospitals and in camps, cured of sickness, healed of wounds, fed and clothed, and ministered to by the kindness of woman as well as the trained dexterity of man; and they were now returning to their homes, to civil rights which had suffered no suspense in their absence, and with no bitter recollections, with only those gentle and suave, of even the country whose military foresight, its skillful leader-

ship, and its arms of precision, had broken in pieces their organized strength. It had made their enforced residence in it, if not pleasant, yet not destructive, or intolerably severe. And the Emperor who had provoked the war, and on whose head it might reasonably be felt lay the dreadful responsibility for scores of thousands of German lives as well as of French sacrificed in it, when he was caught in the terrible ring of iron and fire in the town on the Meuse, was sent to be lodged, with safety and honor, in a princely castle, which was also a palace.

These are not exceptional facts. They are paralleled so often, so usually indeed, after a war as at present conducted, that they have ceased to excite surprise; and whereas Bajazet, in A.D. 1396, after his victory at Nicopolis over French and Hungarians, impelled by the spirit of his religion, slaughtered all save a few held for enormous ransom — killing mercilessly the defenceless captives, till the sharpened scimetar's edge was blunted, or the arm was too weary to wield the mace—when the chief soldier of Bajazet's successor, Osman Pasha, surrendered at Plevna after terrible fighting, he was treated almost as a son of the Czar; was conducted in state to his transient captivity, and surrounded with all attainable luxury. Something or other has changed and relieved the aspect of war, even along the banks of the Danube.

Take another illustration. Heralds and public legates have always possessed special immunities, being reckoned not so much inimical persons, even amid the stress of war, as necessary representatives and messengers of nations, without effective guaranties for whose safety public intercourse must be suspended. This lies level with the commonest practical sense of men. It takes no fine philosophy to discern it, and no quick sense of moral obligation. From early times, therefore, the function of herald had had the attribute of inviolability; and the sanctions of religion had been invoked to support and perfect this.

Yet when the Persian king sent to Spartans and Athenians a demand for their submission, in the fifth century before Christ, not only was the demand rejected, but the heralds who had brought it were savagely put to death. And when, at a later day, Sparta, then in the presidency of Greece, sent ambassadors

to Susa, asking Persian intervention to protect her against the hostility of Athens, two of these, being seized in Thrace, were not even immediately killed—for which the excuse of a sudden fierce impulse might have been pleaded—but were taken to Athens, and there deliberately executed. Such instances are not singular in history; but they are significant, as showing how the most advanced state of Pagan antiquity, rich in arts and preëminent in philosophy, disregarded even a primary rule, if any primary rule existed, for the intercourse of nations, when its passions were aroused and its interests imperilled.

Recall then a suggestive contrast with this in our recent history. On the eighth of November, A.D. 1861, an American war-steamer took from a British merchant-vessel, in the Bahama Channel, two men who had held high office in our Government, who were then in its view simply private persons conspiring against it, but who had been sent by the powerful confederacy in armed and active resistance to the nation, to represent its cause at the courts respectively of Great Britain and France. The men were taken, with their secretaries. It was in the early and threatening days of the struggle to maintain the unity of the nation, and to overthrow the tremendous insurrection which had risen against it. No force was used in capturing the envoys, other than that which was indispensable to remove them from the ship. Their protest, written the following day, was respectfully received by the captain of the steamer by which and to which they had been taken. They were conveyed, with all personal consideration, to the national fortress in the harbor of Boston, for transient detention. Upon the subsequent demand of the British Government that they be surrendered, they were "cheerfully liberated," upon the sole ground, as affirmed by our Government, that the right of capture had not been exercised in the manner properly prescribed by the controlling law of nations. The excited nation was satisfied with the answer. Being released, and placed again on an English steamer, they went their way, otherwise unhindered, to do whatever mischief they might to the nation which had sheltered, advanced, and honored them, but which then had reason to dread their influence, and if it lawfully could, to detain and to punish them.

If the example of Athens had been recognized, as containing any suggestion of right, such dangerous plotters against national life, wherever captured, would assuredly have forfeited their life. Some force or other has wrought a change.

There is no need to multiply illustrations. An additional one, recent and signal, compels our attention: the tribunal convened at Geneva, A.D. 1871–2, for investigating and adjusting the claims of this country against Great Britain, on account of the damage done to our commerce by rebel cruisers, especially by the Alabama, a steamer built but not equipped in British territory, whose arrest had been ordered by the English authorities, on reasonable suspicion, but which had escaped from one of their ports before such orders, being late in their issue, could be enforced. Remembering the immense number of wars which have broken into frightful explosion on occasions far less irritating than this, remembering the vast excitements of feeling which preceded the arbitration, both in this country and in England, the peaceful submission of such gigantic and intricate claims, on the part of two proud and powerful nations, to a tribunal composed of five persons, only two of whom had been directly named by those representing the interested nations, whose decision was reached under formulated rules carefully and liberally defining the law as understood between the parties—this must continue among the significant and memorable facts of modern diplomacy: a majestic illustration of the extent to which the public law of equity and comity governing nations has come to be recognized as of sovereign authority; a most animating prophecy of the power and scope which it may reasonably be expected to gain in after-time.

'Geneva!'—it was once said, when it was proposed to hold there a religious convocation: 'why always at Geneva? It is only a speck of sand on the map of Europe'! 'Nay,'—was the answer: 'say rather a speck of musk, which has perfumed the Continent'! The fine pervasive odor of the action which was taken there in A.D. 1872, ought to fill with its perfume long passages of history.

That an immense change has certainly occurred in the relation of nations to each other since Christianity was preached in the

world, will not then be disputed. But the question remains—and it is for us, the important question—how far has the religion introduced to the world by Jesus of Nazareth contributed to this change? Looking at the matter without prejudice in either direction, can we say that it has been, in any true sense, either its parent or its effective promoter?

That it alone has wrought directly the remarkable change, without side-forces, often themselves originating with it, but working in distinct though parallel lines, I should be the last to affirm. Commerce, the arts, the rapid advances in popular education, a better social and political spirit—even a spirit which has sometimes antagonized Christianity, as in the French Encyclopédistes—all these have had their part in the progress, the recognition of which must be ample and hearty. But that the energetic and surprising religion whose effects in other spheres we have considered gave primary impulse to this movement, and has ever since sustained and advanced it, appears to me plain: almost too much so to admit of dispute: and the general consent of the wisest and most learned of the commentators and students of the Law International confirms the judgment.

I have said already, in the previous lecture, that in the ancient thoughtful and cultivated world the state was recognized as of an importance so paramount that individual liberty could scarcely be maintained, in fulness and security, in connection with an organism so imperative and exacting. The same influences which wrought to this effect wrought also to the estrangement of one state from another, and the consequent relative isolation of each. The nations were divided by their local religions, more than by any lack of commerce, or of enterprise in travelling, or of a common medium of language. There was commerce enough between Tyre and the Ionian isles, between Carthage, Alexandria, Antioch, and Rome. But the jealous instinct for self-advancement seemed reinforced with religious sanctions in the ancient states, as a duty due to the local gods; and relations of inherited and suspicious aversion, flaming easily into active hostility, were thus natural to them. International Law, therefore, as representing the moral and jural relations of independent peoples, was simply impossible, in any organized development

in that state of society. The noble declaration of Burke, that "Justice is the common concern of mankind," which a distinguished English writer on International Law* has made a motto for his volumes—represented a fact beyond the horizon of ancient life.

The Greek states, small and contiguous, speaking the same language, having apparently common interests, having substantially a common descent and a common religion—these were almost constrained to recognize some reciprocal rights, and correlative duties: the allowance of quarter to the captured, for example, and of subsequent ransom; the sacredness of truces, for the burial of the dead; the security from death of those taking refuge in particular temples on the capture of a city; the inexpediency of erecting permanent trophies after victory; the propriety even, on occasion, of common action, to resist invasion, or to maintain among themselves the balance of power.

Thus occasional Hellenic confederacies arose; and thus the Amphictyonic assembly, which met at Delphi in the spring, and at Thermopylæ in the autumn, and in which twelve of the Hellenic communities were represented, though originally constituted for religious purposes, to watch over the interests of the Delphian temple, had a covenant at the outset not to destroy an Amphictyonic town, or to cut it off from running water; and it afterward, at times, took cognizance of social and political matters. It was never, however, a federal Hellenic congress, as some have conceived it, as Cicero himself would seem to have imagined. It had no extended or permanent power. Thucydides makes no mention of it, though the times of which he left his unsurpassed record preëminently needed its intervention, if such had been possible. Xenophon is equally silent concerning it. For many generations the very fact of its existence hardly appears; and at length, when it sought to assume more authority, instead of contributing to unite and protect the Hellenic peoples, it became the source of fierce and wasting sacred wars, and led directly to the fatal battle of Chæroneia, and the supremacy over Greece of Philip of Macedon.

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* Phillimore: "Comm. on International Law."

But while the Greek states were so composed and so located as to make intermittent arrangements among them for public welfare almost inevitable, and while one of the lost books of Aristotle is said to have treated of the rules of war, they recognized no obligation whatever toward "Barbarians," under which class were reckoned all external peoples; and the term International-law is not as pertinent to what existed among themselves as would be the name Inter-state, or, to take the phrase of Mr. Grote, Inter-political regulations.

The Romans declared war with elaborate ceremony, and had a college of heralds for the purpose, said to have been borrowed from the Etruscans; but they contemplated the subjection of the world to their own power, not the peaceful confederation of its separated kingdoms, and their Jus Gentium denoted therefore merely the common principles of law observed by all peoples, in distinction from the Jus Civile, or the Law peculiar to the people of Rome. When the empire was broken into separated divisions, occupied by populations part of which had been, in various measure, under the dominion of Roman Law, and which came subsequently to be affected by a common Christianity—then was presented the first real opportunity in history for developing a Law, marked by equity, common to severed and distant kingdoms, and regulating the relations of each to the rest. To that point, therefore, we always turn to find the beginnings of what has been since a distinguished progress. The earliest definition of a Law between nations has been said to be that of Isidore of Seville, in the early part of the seventh century.*

It is of course to be recognized as true, what is now and then scornfully said—sometimes with that superciliousness of tone which hardly impresses one as among the graces of unbelief—that the influence upon the customs of nations thus attributed to Christianity, and referred for its incipient development to that period in history, was exceedingly slow in operation; and that for centuries, especially through what a subsequent fashion designates as the 'Ages of Faith,' the effect which it produced in curbing barbarism, and establishing peoples in relations of amity

* See Kennedy's "Hulsean Essay": Cambridge ed., 1856, p. 59.

was not very perceptible. Yet it is to be observed that the statement as thus made, without limitation, appears to be exaggerated. The reference of questions in dispute between princes to councils or to the Pope, the combination of princes in the Crusades, these with other facts show tendencies somewhat early and vigorous toward another condition than that of constant armed hostility. And it is certainly in fairness to be remembered on what a confused and unmanageable mass of fierce and turbulent human life —full of savage impulses, inherited animosities, implacable passions, and the rudest superstitions—the influence of the religion had to be exerted.

We know nothing by experience, we hardly can picture to ourselves by any effort of an active imagination, the awful wildness of rapacity and lust, the ignorance of any moral restraint, the terrific and fermenting ferocity of spirit, amid which the Western empire fell, and which seemed only to become more portentous when that last centre of social organization and of political order had been destroyed. It was, as Guizot has said, and others before him, "a veritable deluge of divers nations, forced one upon another, from Asia into Europe, by wars and migrations in mass, which inundated the empire, and gave the decisive signal for its fall."* The Western Germans and the Gauls had begun to be lifted, in a degree, from their recent barbarism. But the hordes of Vandals, Goths, Huns, who poured over western and southern Europe, forced with violence enormous elements of all that was most brutal and savage into the countries which they overran, and with whose peoples they were commingled. War was their pastime, murder their luxury, rapine their industry. To any who had knowledge of better things, it not unnaturally seemed as if the nether abysses had been opened, and demoniac powers had assumed a swift and frightful supremacy. In fact, it was in the sixth century that the fearful belief in magic and witchcraft, which is general in savage life, which paganism had done little to dispel and much to cultivate, and which Christianity found in the world as one of the worst legacies from the Past, took fullest and strongest possession of men's minds. The

* Guizot, "History of France": Boston ed., Vol. I., p. 133.

proximate and palpable diabolism of men seemed to image an energetic and an almost ubiquitous diabolism above, beating in upon the earth from unseen spheres. Satanic inspirations appeared to give the readiest account of the fierce and pitiless complex of iniquities in which happiness, hope, and human life were fatally immeshed. When malignity and perfidy became so portentous, when cruelty, rapacity, drunkenness, lust, came leaping out of Hercynian woods or sweeping in irresistible fury from Scythian wastes, it is not strange that they should have seemed to men's horrified hearts to have infernal energies behind them; that fear should interpret the air itself as swarming with ministers of fiendish passion, and of a more than mortal power. It is not strange that the shadow of that lurid and terrifying impression should have lain for centuries on the lands which then as never before it smote and filled.

The marvel is that out of such a horrible chaos, of roaming banditti, devastated provinces, sacked cities, fighting nations, bewildered minds, the modern Europe could be evolved; and although by the time of Charlemagne moral forces, emanating from the centres of Christian control, had begun to operate on these barbaric populations, after his reign was over the old chaos seemed reëstablished. To recognize this, one has only to remember that at the end of the ninth century his extended empire had already been broken up into seven separated kingdoms; and that at the end of the tenth century there were fifty-five duchies, lordships, or other feudal fiefs, each with its proper and permanent sovereignty, established in France. Florus said, without exaggeration, 'The general good is annulled; each occupies himself with his own interests; God is forgotten.' But in spite of all that was weak, ignominious, and morally disgraceful in these centuries and in those which followed, the undestroyed power of the Christian religion continued to operate. The European celebrity, and the unrivalled influence, of a man at once so eloquent and so saintly as Bernard of Clairvaux, show what immense progress had been made in his time. The doctrine which he preached may not in all respects command our acceptance, as the true interpretation of the Christian religion. But no one doubts that it was that religion, as he conceived and labored to spread it,

which gave to him his unsurpassed power. It was that religion which at last wrought the wonder in history of civilized states emerging from the indescribable disorder, of grossness, fierceness, clashing passions, and slaughtering battle, of which the earlier time had been full. To have done the work which Christianity then did, is one of the grandest of its victories. To imagine that any other force known to history, conceivable by man—any stately ethics or fine philosophy, any military prudence, or sagacious legislation—could have done it more rapidly could have done it at all, is simply to cut loose from the teachings of experience, and to do small honor to common-sense.

Still, after the progress of the Law International had thus been initiated, it continued of course for long periods of time to be very slow. It was resisted by a thousand fierce forces, and by establishments crafty, capricious, jealous of rivals, and inveterately attached to earlier traditions. It was of course long antagonized by that system of Feudalism the spread of which I have indicated: whose tendency was to localize law, and to sever from each other detached communities, over which the several feudal superiors presided in almost unchecked control. In France, for example, or in Germany, the nation was not for a long time as distinct and self-conscious, as compact in power, as imperative in will, as was the feudal district or province; and it could not be until national existence became fully developed, and expectant of permanence, that the respective rights and obligations of such slowly-organized incorporeal Persons could be defined. Riparian rights can only be settled, with the connected easements and privileges, where rivers themselves already exist, with occupied banks. There can be no settled law of commerce till that elastic and indomitable interest has got itself established. The Hanseatic League could only exist because Hamburg and Lübeck, Cologne, Dantzic, Brunswick, and the other cities confederated in it, were already populous and wealthy, and were interested in common to protect trade and to punish piracy. In the same way, there could be, in the nature of the case, no Law for Nations till nations themselves had been evolved into a definite, abiding, and self-conscious personality; as the English was, gradually, after the Norman conquest; as the French was, after the time of St. Louis.

Even then the overshadowing Papal autocracy, though in various ways it had prepared the way for it, long delayed the development of a great voluntary secular law, regulating the relations of nations to each other; and the advanced state of moral and of mental training, which is an essential condition of such a law, did not widely exist in Europe until later centuries. International Law, as we term the rules which regulate the intercourse of nations with each other, is a voluntary thing, in a sense and measure in which other laws are not. Within the state enactments are imposed, by established authority, on subjects or citizens. But states themselves, according to the premise of this larger law, are independent and self-controlling They come under its limitations, if at all, only by their affirmative consent. The very existence of it, therefore, is conditioned on the prevalence of just and governing moral ideas. It can be extended only as the range of the authority of these widens in the world; and its ultimate triumph is to come, if ever, when such controlling moral ideas have supremacy among men. When nations feel, if ever they do feel, that they have common moral interests to consult and subserve, and that the principles of equity and humanity are as binding on them as on private persons—are, in fact, a rule for them, coming from Him concerning whom Hooker said that 'our safest eloquence is our silence,' and of whose rule he also said that 'no less can be acknowledged than that her seat is the bosom of God, and her voice the harmony of the world'*—when this is practically acknowledged and seriously felt, then will the reign of this modern, voluntary, and sovereign Law, which seeks strictly and justly to govern nations in their relations with each other, be everywhere established. It can come only as the consummate flower of a deeply-rooted and slowly-maturing historical civilization: not sudden, or short-lived, like the terminal bud of the Talipat-palm of Ceylon, with its fragrant golden bloom, but like that breaking from the summit of a stem a hundred feet high, with the growth of many successive years behind and beneath it.

But how is it that Christianity has contributed to form or to

* B. I: ch. 2, § 2 · ch. 16, § 8.

advance this Law between nations? We may see that the ancient ethnic religions were of course unfriendly to it. We may know that the Koran actually forbids it: enjoining its disciples to contract no friendships with those of another faith, commanding war to the end against infidels, and ordering, when they have been overcome, to strike off their heads with a great slaughter, and to bind the remnant in bonds. But has the religion brought by Jesus shown positive power in the opposite direction? Has it influenced the Law to which it may be admitted to have given possibility? Is there any traceable connection between parables and treaties? between the Beatitudes and recent war-usages? between the Sermon on the Mount, or him who preached it, and the rules which make a neutral ship safe from assault, or which tend to substitute courts of arbitration for the undiscerning arbitrament of battle? The question is a just one; and the answer to it appears to me in no degree difficult.

Christianity certainly presents no code, according to which the affairs of nations shall be conducted. Less than any other religion is it a legal or rubrical system, even in relation to its personal disciples. Wherever it affects nations, it can do so only by its principles and spirit, not by ecumenical rules formulated in it. But through these principles, and by this spirit, it does affect peoples, even powerfully; and its energy is exerted in that precise line of development in which they have now for centuries been advancing, since the Western Empire broke apart into separated states, and the time came for a new code exhibiting national duties and rights. A few moments' thought will make this apparent.

As I have said, in the contemplation of Christianity the individual is confessedly supreme, as the conscious, spiritual, responsible person, to whom instructions and precepts are given, for whom Divine provisions are arranged, and before whom opens the waiting Immortality. By the fact that it is a religion for persons, it gives to each soul a glory from what is transcendent in itself, and exalts the humblest by presenting him as the object of Divine solicitude.

But from this comes, in immediate sequence, the constant im

pulse to social improvement; and, especially, the doctrine of the sacredness of the state, as a Divine institute for the protection and culture of individuals. This is not an indulgence to public selfishness. It is not a tradition, derived from the Hebrew or the Roman commonwealth. It rests on the same general basis with the right of the family, or of the church, though the special offices to be accomplished by the state are diverse from theirs. So long as it shelters in just security of property and of life the individual citizen, and gives opportunity for his mental and moral development and activity, this has an authority from the Infinite Governor. It is practically irreligious, in the contemplation of Christianity, to fight against its life. And even if the state does not fully accomplish its ends, or does not at once seek to secure them with conscious purpose, still, as an organism for man's well-being, it is part of the Divine economy for the world, and takes a fresh permanence from the teachings of Jesus. Christianity reverses, in other words, the ancient tendency: and instead of working downward from the state to the person, it works upward and outward from the person to the state, making the latter more important because of the surpassing and eternal importance which it attributes to the humblest individual.

No better illustration of this can be given than that which is presented by the example of St. Paul. The Master had taught that his disciples were to render to Cæsar the things which were his; and Paul but amplifies and enforces the lesson when he writes to those in the splendid and haughty capital of the empire, under the shadow of Capitoline temples, and of that superb Palatine on which Nero was soon to build and defile his Golden House, "Let every soul be in subjection to the higher powers; for there is no power but of God; and the powers that be are ordained of God. . . . . For this cause ye pay tribute, also; for they are ministers of God's service, attending continually upon this very thing." *

In this he expresses no personal approbation of the character or the action of men like Tiberius, Caligula, or Nero. It is impossible that he should have felt anything but abhorrence for

* Romans xiii. 1, 6.

either of the men who in his time ruled from the Tiber—each one, as Gibbon tersely expressed it, 'at once a priest, an atheist, and a God.' He must, indeed, have felt, in sure anticipation, how savagely the power which was lodged in such hands would soon and long be used to the utmost against Christianity; of what fierce cruelties it would give exhibition, when once its passion was let loose; how long it must be before the religion whose antagonism it suspected, and whose purity it hated, could gain security, to say nothing of supremacy, against such destroying violence of rulers. But the state, as such, a continuing and controlling political organization, was to him as important as it ever had been to Aristotle or to Plato. Rulers, as such, because essential to the state, had a Divine function. This was true even of the empire which had conquered his particular people, which now held that people in reluctant submission, and which ere long was to light its fires, and make bare its sword, and to summon dogs, leopards, and Libyan lions, to sweep from the earth, if so it might, his consecrated Faith.

In spite of all, he pleaded his cause, before Felix first—the infamous procurator, born in bondage, and who exercised in Judea, according to Tacitus, in every form of cruelty and lust, the prerogative of a king in the temper of the slave *—and afterward before Festus: not denying their authority, and saying, with the manliness which always belonged to him, "If I be a wrong-doer, and have committed anything worthy of death, I refuse not to die"! † He appealed from the lower tribunal to the higher, and carried his case to that very Nero whose name was already fast becoming a synonym for infamy; and when he was led for the last time along the thronged Ostian road to the scene of his martyrdom, he uttered no denunciation of the government whose sword was sharpened for his life. That government had been his protector before, in cities and in wildernesses, in the far interior and out upon the sea. It was necessary to Christianity that such public governments should exist; and vicious and vile

* "Per omnem saevitiam ac libidinem, jus regium servili ingenio exercuit." Histor. v. 9.

† Acts xxv. 11.

as might be the passing imperial rulers, the state itself was a Divine ordinance, necessary to all those interests of man on which the Gospel was to pour benediction. Politics, as well as ethics, were founded with the apostle on a Christian base, or sprang up from a Christian root. The nation was God's providential creature. It had its rightful powers, as such; and sometime or other it would find out its duties. The moral ends which it was to serve imparted to it of their own sacredness.

The same controlling and interpreting idea has prevailed in the world from that day to this, wherever the power of Christianity has gone. Justin Martyr could honestly say, in his first Apology: "To God alone we render worship; but in other things we gladly serve you, acknowledging you as kings and rulers of men, while praying"—he adds, with noble frankness—"that with your kingly power ye may also be found to possess a sound judgment."* So it has been ever since. Territorial lines have been constantly changing. Forms of government have undergone frequent and vast amendment; and the energy of Christianity has been never inactive in enforcing such changes. It cannot, by its nature, be indifferent to the forms which governments successively take; and it often has pleaded, prayed, and fought, in the persons of its most faithful adherents, for those which were freest and most benign. But all the time, the idea of the state as a part of God's plan, necessary to the moral training of man, indispensable to the spread of Christianity on the earth, has been maintained; and they who have felt the hand of its power most oppressively—as the Huguenots of France, or the Puritans of England—have still recognized the nation in its own sphere as a lawful and distinctly Divine institution.

Governments themselves, so long as they serve their proper ends, do not oppress the personal conscience, and do not antagonize the advance of Christianity, have now, therefore, a permanence which in earlier times they did not equally command. That permanence depends, more and more obviously, on their coincidence with the deep impulse of the prevalent religion. If they collide with this, they have to go down, not always as the walls

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* Ch. XVII.

of Athens were said to go down, before the music of Dorian flutes, but sometimes with resounding clamor and crash. But as long as they serve the public welfare, and give free course to the training of men by the teaching of Christianity, governments are now more secure than of old. The religion which has impressed the institutions and invigorated the life of Europe and America conserves and consecrates, it does not assail, the benefi cent commonwealth.

But because it thus recognizes the state as existing in the Di vine plan, for moral purposes, and for highest welfare in the persons who compose it, this religion also, and of necessity, regards each state as under moral obligations toward others, correlative to its rights. It starts with that majestic truth, never more impressively announced than by Paul, in the face of Hellenic pride, and in front of the monuments of Hellenic genius, that God hath "made of one blood every nation of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth, having determined their appointed times, and the bounds of their habitation." * It sets forth God, as exhibited by Jesus, universal Father, Sovereign, and Judge: whose law no lapse of time changes or wastes; whose omniscience no stratagem eludes; against whose power rebellions vainly and fruitlessly break; who cares for the obscure as well as the distinguished; who has a plan concerning the history of mankind on the earth, and against the majesty of whose spiritual Kingdom the 'gates of Hell' shall not prevail. In all its essential radical teaching, as well as by its special precepts, it exalts before men that 'moral order of the Universe' which Heffter declares to constitute finally the guaranty and the sanction of International Law.

The very conception of such a Law could not have existed in the pre-Christian ages. It does not now exist outside of Christendom, or of the regions which Christendom affects; any more than does the English oak on the arid Arabian plains, or the date-palm of the tropics in the climate of Labrador. The European countries and colonies, with the nations which have sprung from them, and which remain affiliated with them in blood and

* Acts xvii. 26.

in religion,—these are the home of International Law; and if the religion which has educated and ruled these had not appeared, it is possible, perhaps, that cathedrals might still have been builded, and chivalries have been organized, and rituals of worship have been elaborated; but there is no sign on the pages of history that this modern, voluntary, and beneficent Law would have been developed, as we see it to have been in human society

It is a fact of obvious significance, in connection with this, that the first great and enduring text-book of this branch of juridical science, long used as such in courts and universities, and still referred to with constant respect, was written by Grotius: that 'Miracle of learning,' in his earlier years; that illustrious sufferer for his convictions, in his maturity; who, as historian, philosopher, theologian, ambassador, and as an eager and lucid Christian apologist, has held the admiration of two centuries and a half; whose study of the Scriptures was wide and exact, and the purity of whose life corresponded with the lessons which thence he derived. More than two hundred and seventy years ago, A.D. 1609, his "Mare Liberum" was published; sixteen years after, during his exile in France, his greater work, "De Jure Belli ac Pacis." The public conscience of the world may almost be said to have been awakened, it was certainly immensely instructed and stimulated, by this profound Christian jurist, who fitly leads the lengthening series of those who have given to the same surpassing and fascinating theme their accurate learning, their vigor and perspicacity of thought, their clear perception of governing principles, and their careful judgment of ethical rules. He wrote in the midst of the eighty years' war which his countrymen waged for their independence; and others who have followed him have written in the midst of plenty and peace, and not unfrequently in the cloistered air of great universities. But they and he have alike derived their substantive principles from the facts and the spiritual truths declared in Christianity, and have more and more distinctly measured their cumulative precepts against its governing Golden Rule. And the Law which they have articulated and illustrated—it has survived many resistances, it has been elaborated by many discussions, it is now more widely dominant than ever; even

non-Christian peoples feel its attraction, while acknowledging its pressure; it bids fair to become the omnipresent law of the World.

It is instructive to observe what and how much has already been done, under such leadership, to make the nations, as moral persons, responsive to him who stood among the humblest of his time, but who claimed for himself transcendent prerogatives, and whose impress upon history has certainly been unique. Certainly, no ideal attainment has yet been realized. The structure of universal and beneficent Law, for which the philanthropist fondly looks, has hardly risen, even now, above its foundations or lower stories. But it has accurately kept its level with the general Christian education of mankind; and some advances have plainly been made toward those finest and highest relationships of nations in which centuries to come, we may surely hope, will be bright and benign. This has been accomplished, against whatever obstacles, precisely as the Christian doctrine of states has gained power in the world; as they have been more distinctly recognized as constituted by a Divine purpose, as having moral functions to fulfil, and as thus under a constant obligation to respect each other, while conserving their particular powers and rights; and the peaceful victories of this new civilization can hardly be misconceived when interpreted as having prophecies in them.

The whole aim of the Law is in harmony with the religion to which its genesis is due, and it but applies to organized states those essential principles of equity and humanity which the Master showed as God's rule for mankind. It seeks to make the mutual relations of nations kindly and cordial; to diminish the risks, or facilitate the termination, of collisions between them; to make the peculiar treasures of each accessible to all; and to give to each the amplest opportunity for fulfilling the Divine and beneficent office intrusted to it. Of course it is not an extemporized structure, this Law of Nations, or one built in the air. It rests on foundations of historic jurisprudence, while expressing the larger and better judgment now prevailing in civilized states as their intellectual and moral life has been quickened and enriched, and applying the governing principles

of justice in new relations, as society becomes extended and complex. But its constant aspiration is perhaps not too boldly stated by Savigny, when he speaks of it as 'by its very nature aiming at confounding national distinctions in a recognized community of different nations.'

It begins with recognizing the right to exist, in every state, with the independence and sovereignty of each in its own sphere, and its equality of privilege with others: admitting here no difference between the larger and the smaller, the older or the more recent states. It recognizes the right of each to preserve its existence, to maintain its repute, to protect its citizens, and, as far as it may without injury to others, to confirm and increase all its resources. It treats every state as under obligation to care for those whom its government affects, to conduct toward other nations with justice and good faith, to assist the weaker when they are imperilled, perhaps, in an extreme case, to interpose forcibly for maintaining the general interests of humanity, or for punishing unrighteous aggression: as the English, French, and Russian fleets combined to destroy the Turkish navy, in the battle of Navarino, A.D. 1827, and to secure the autonomy of Greece; as five principal European powers acted together in the treaty of A.D. 1831, to separate Belgium from the Netherlands, and to give it independence; as Russia lately singly interposed on behalf of the Bulgarians, cognate in religion, though not in race, and affiliated with it by many sympathies. How far this right of armed intervention on the part of strong nations, to secure the existence of one endangered, to erect a new one, or to inflict chastisement for wrongs—how far this may be carried is undoubtedly a question not yet fully answered. The ground is one on which precedents conflict, and where lines of definition have hardly hitherto been sharply drawn. Much here remains to be done by those who accept, and by those who formulate, International Law; of whose judicious and influential expositors it is a boast of this country that she has produced her full proportion, and among them some of the most distinguished.

But plainly the tendency is constant and strong—it is like the silent but powerful current of an ever-full river—toward holding each state, in the tribunal of nations, as subject to the

sovereign rule of justice and reciprocity, which the teaching of Christianity constantly emphasizes. Moral obligations are always recognized as resting upon it, which time does not impair, nor distance limit, nor strength surpass—which bind it in its relations to other states, and to the citizens of those states, and which cannot be set aside by even an adverse immemorial usage: as the diplomatic agents of our Government have been formally instructed that such usages are not to be recognized as of controlling obligation.

Each nation, of course, must accept for itself the rule over it of International Law; there is no exterior authority to compel this; but when accepted, it becomes a part of the law of the land, and binds alike the most absolute despotism, the most liberal monarchy, the most freely-organized democratic republic. The power which is manifested in its rapid development, and its growing authority, is simply the changed spirit of society in the regions of Christendom; and the steady extension of those prevalent sentiments of equity and humanity which Christianity has made familiar to men appears illustrated nowhere else, to the historical student, with finer precision, or on a level more exalted. The permanent and powerful states of the world are giving constantly clearer witness to the salutary power, regulative and inspiring, which resides in this religion.

A few illustrations will mark sufficiently the steadiness and strength of this beneficent advance.

The sacredness of treaties—that is, of national contracts for the future—where these have been constitutionally made, by those having authority for the purpose, where they rest upon no false representations, and involve no so-called obligation to acts of essential injustice: this is now recognized, as a matter of course, among Christian states. Any nation denying it would be unanimously excluded by others from fellowship with them, while such denial should be maintained. Undoubtedly there are methods by which even this imperative obligation can be more or less successfully evaded; and a considerable part of the history of diplomacy is occupied and disgraced by the records of the efforts of skillful men thus to limit or escape the binding force of an assumed obligation. But as hypocrisy was well de-

scribed, in the terse maxim of Rochefoucauld,* as 'an homage which vice pays to virtue,' so these endeavors, with all their ingenuity, and their occasional success, only emphasize the fact that each Christian state now regards a treaty as sacredly controlling until it is terminated in accordance with its provisions.

So in the interpretation of treaties, the rules formulated by Grotius, and afterward passing into general acceptance, are moral and liberal: applying to the terms employed established customs of language; interpreting strictly whatever clauses impose hard conditions; interpreting with a large liberality whatever favors justice and humanity; where treaties have been made with different parties, the later of which conflict with the earlier, giving the right of precedence to the earlier, in moral obligation, as in the order of time. No treaty is maintainable, in the forum of nations, which binds the parties to acts of injustice or bad faith. If they shelter themselves, in accomplishing such acts, behind the alleged obligations of their contract, their crime but becomes the more detestable, and the moral indignation of civilized states is hotter against them.

Contrast this, then, with the preceding condition of things, not among barbarians, but among the civilized states of antiquity, where the occasional truces were brief, where hostages were taken, on either side, to secure the fulfilment of the agreement, and where the agreement almost invariably only held until it was convenient for one party to break it: contrast the state of things which now is, among nations vastly larger, stronger, and more self-conscious, with that which obtained in mediæval Europe, where again hostages were exchanged,† where the oath in support of a treaty was taken upon sacred relics, or in the name of the Holy Trinity, in the hope of deepening thereby the fear of breaking it, as well as the sense of its binding obligation, and where power and opportunity were still commonly conceived to give license to escape from even such reinforced obligations—and the difference is immense. It has been

* "Maximes Morales": CCXVIII.; Paris ed., 1868.

† This continued as late as the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, A.D. 1748. See Pres. Woolsey, "Introd. to Int. Law," New York ed., 1879: p. 177.

wrought in part, no doubt, by the impulse of a wiser political sagacity; but it rests, fundamentally, on the quicker and more commanding sense of a moral obligation for faithfulness and veracity, abiding on states as well as on persons: and that has come from the broadening range, and the more distinct and controlling impression, of the principles and spirit of the Christian religion. Because the God whom Jesus declared to mankind is recognized now as the God of all men, and as a God who judges peoples at least 'in the earth,' because the laws of public and private morality are seen to be the same, immortal and universal in Divine obligation, nations more surely keep their promises, and consult equity in their dealings.

The business of an ambassador, representing his state at a foreign court, was formerly defined as that of lying for his country. It has often been said of diplomatists that they fulfilled the sarcastic description given of men by Voltaire's capon, in his famous dialogue, 'using language to conceal their thoughts'; and to many of them might certainly have been applied, in more than one sense, the Spanish proverb, "The mouth that says Yes says No." An intentionally false statement now made by any accredited envoy of a Christian state would discredit him at home even more than abroad, and would put a stigma on the name of his nation which would burn to the bone, if he were not disgraced. Indeed, the very residence of ambassadors at foreign courts, which is itself of recent origin, with the inviolability which is recognized as of right belonging to them, shows the changed relations of nations to each other: not only the freer intercourse between them, which is in large part the result of the commerce to which Christianity has given expansion, but their growing disposition to fulfil justice, to exercise courtesy, to promote reciprocities of feeling as of trade, and to regard each other, while equally sovereign in their own spheres, as in essential permanent fellowship, and equally amenable to the paramount claims of moral obligation.

It is another natural result of the new influence which has breathed upon men—since the severing force of local religions passed away, which had given the consecration of ancestral worships to the sharp separations between different peoples, and

since one religion, with celestial characteristics, overlooking all distinctions of race, has been commonly accepted as given of God for the guidance of mankind—that the former restrictions on the entrance, transit, or residence of foreigners in modern states have almost wholly disappeared. They may now be naturalized, after a little, on easy conditions, in nearly every principal state, unless they prefer to continue to dwell there as domiciliated strangers. Yet we need not go back to the days before the shepherds of Bethlehem thought they saw the midnight light, or Nazareth heard the voice of the Teacher, to find strangers regarded outside of Palestine as natural enemies, liable to be treated, wherever found, with capricious, often with a destroying violence. The doctrine of Aristotle, that Greeks might make war on peoples who were unwilling to be enslaved as readily as hunters chased wild beasts, being under no higher obligation to them—this doctrine, as interpreted by the kindred Roman feeling that the stranger was naturally an enemy, held equal place where Hellenic philosophy was not known, but where the Roman spirit survived. For many centuries, oppressive usages toward strangers were as common and severe in Western Europe as they ever had been in the South or East. The parable of the Good Samaritan was long in making its just impression upon the hearts and minds of men. It has not wholly done it yet. But though, at the time when it was spoken, it was almost as great a miracle, of wisdom and grace, as the opening of the eyes of the blind was of power, by degrees the subtile transforming energy which had it for one of its instruments has worked upon nations, as well as on persons, to produce the results in which we rejoice. Christianity has made the stranger a friend, and opened the gates of the nations' hospitalities.

Very marked is this in the treatment of exiles: who have no country, and for any injury done to whom it is known beforehand that the nation which has deprived them of inherited rights will make no remonstrance, and will seek no redress. In the liberal hospitality now proffered to such, and the careful protection extended by the laws over their persons, properties, and new homes, we see illustrated the beneficence inculcated by the Master of Christianity toward those who are only connected with

us by the common human relationship to God. At the same time, the provisions, now so general, for the extradition of criminals escaped, and their surrender to the country whose laws they have violated, shows as well, from the opposite side, the ever-extending recognition among states of the primacy of justice over local self-assertion, and of the obligation which rests upon each to maintain the laws which that justice ordains. The provision which commonly appears in such treaties, that no person shall be surrendered on account of purely political offences, shows how wholly subordinate, in the widening moral consciousness of the World, are political rules, rulers, and institutions, when matched against social and moral interests, or when set side by side with the unseen equities which make forgery, outrage, murder punishable, in all tribunals.

Many other instances might be presented, illustrating the progress of the governing moral sentiment of mankind, under the influence of Christianity, and the fresh impression which this always is making on the rules which obtain between separated nations. Some of them are more signal than those which I have cited: the combination of states to crush piracy, for example, and its actual extinction on the ocean in our own time; the combination of such states to suppress the slave-trade, and the vast success which has attended their continued and costly efforts; the positive refusal of the Law of Nations to legitimize slavery —whose basis and protection are remitted wholly to local law; the consequent refusal of Christian states to give up the bondman escaped from his bondage, and the general application of the sharp French rule, which in effect is also the English, that 'the air makes free,' and that a cargo of slaves stranded on the shore is liberated by touching it; the ever advancing opening of streams to peaceful commerce, so that now, according to a recent authority, 'there is scarcely a river, in the Christian portions of the world, the dwellers on whose upper waters have not the right of free communication, by God's channels, with the rest of mankind,'*—so that even the principal straits of the world, long jealously guarded by the nations whose control of them seemed

* Pres. Woolsey: "Introd. to Int. Law": New York ed., 1879: pp. 85-6.

vital to their security, are now opened to peaceful navigation these, with other like examples, show the progress of the humanity and the liberal justice which took their amazing impulse in the world, and have taken since their constant support, from the religion taught by Jesus.

I understand perfectly that commerce has wrought in the same direction, under the new temper impressed on it; and that many arts, and physical mechanisms, unknown to antiquity, have furnished the wheels on which the more generous and ethical civilization of our time has been carried toward its throne, as Roman generals were borne in chariots along shouting streets toward the gates of the Capitol. But the vital force which commerce and invention have had to serve, from which they have drawn their own silent yet constant incentive—it came at the outset from the religion taught in Judea: among a people as narrow in their sympathies, and as rude in their arts, as the world then saw; who had sent out no colonies, who sought no alliances which were not for their immediate interest, and transient at that, and who had, perhaps, in the time of the Master, no single sail or keel of their own on any sea in all the world outside of Palestine.

If any say, therefore, 'You are simply recounting the successive steps of our advancing civilization,' I answer, Yes! but whence does this 'civilization' come? Not from letters, and beautiful arts; else, why was it wanting in the Hellenic states, to which the world turns at this hour for their unsurpassed models? Not from accumulating wealth, and power; else, why was Rome, mistress of the world and centre of its riches, so destitute of the moral culture which now makes Christendom a great confederacy of social commonwealths? Not from commerce; or Carthage and Alexandria should have anticipated New York and London in their aspiration for the peace, prosperity, and progress of mankind. It has not come from democratic institutions; for they coëxisted with piracies on the seas, and with fiercest feuds and slaveries on the land; and the modifications which they since have received have been the effect of a power working on them from outside themselves. It certainly has not come from improved mechanisms; for looms and steam-engines, while they may be the ministers, are never the authors

of spiritual lessons, and the fact that men travel at forty miles an hour, or send messages by lightning, would only make collisions between them more frequent and destroying if some unseen energy had not wrought on their minds to change, in a measure at least, the temper out of which such collisions in other days incessantly sprang.

There is no such radical force, peculiar and eminent in the modern world as it was not in the ancient, other than Christianity. This makes the difference, when we trace that difference to its source, between states of our time and those of the day of Themistocles, or of Trajan. And if this were now universally prevalent, over persons and peoples, the evils which remain, and whose gloom seems sometimes portentous to us, would disappear, as clouds are scattered from the sky, or are fused into colors of amethyst and opal, before the conquering radiance of the sun. Lord Bacon was certainly right in affirming that "there never has been in any age any philosophy, sect, religion, law, or other discipline, which did so highly exalt the good which is communicative, and depress the good which is private and particular, as the holy Christian Faith." *

But passing these and other particulars, there is still a branch of the subject to be noticed, of vast importance, and set against a lurid background: the amelioration introduced under Christianity in the customary laws and usages of War.

Whether war, under any circumstances, can be brought into interior harmony with the spirit and the teachings of the Christian religion, is a question, as I need not remind you, which has been largely and long discussed, and on which earnest and eloquent writers have taken with emphasis the negative side. By none, perhaps, has it been more persuasively treated than by that eminent Christian philanthropist the centennial anniversary of whose birth was recently observed both here and in Europe, and of whom it may be said, as he said of another distinguished teacher, that "so imbued was he with the spirit of Peace, that it spread itself around him, like the fragrance of sweet flowers." †

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* De Augmentis: VII.: 1.

† Dr. Channing, on Noah Worcester: Works: Vol. 5: p. 115.

Into this question it is not my province now to enter. It is enough to say, what is obvious to all, that the books in which Christianity is presented contain no precept against war which is mandatory in terms, and in range universal; that the cases of the centurions at Capernaum and Cesarea, both of whom are mentioned with special approbation, would have seemingly given occasion for such, if such had lain in the intent of the Master, or of his minister; that the frequent references made by the apostles to the armor, weapons, and discipline of soldiers, are unaccompanied by any denunciation of the military service in its own nature; that the saying of the Lord to Pilate, 'if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight,' *may* imply that the forcible defence of secular rights was not regarded by him as otherwise than appropriate, as it certainly was usual; and that most of the earlier, with many of the later expositors of Christianity, agree with Augustine in the maxim that 'to fight is not necessarily a sin, though the object of war should always be the recovery of peace': while it is obviously difficult to see how one is at liberty to defend his own household, or his own life, from a violence which assails it, how any state can properly punish a flagrant offender against its laws, if such a state may not equally protect, by war if necessary, its life and honor against unjust assault. It would seem that chaos must come in society, that the civilized must be always at the mercy of the barbarous, that the fiercest and most unsparing robber must in the end be master of the world, if this right were denied.

But while this is true—and while it is true that war sometimes gives occasion, and even incitement, to the nobler sentiments of courage, patience, fidelity to conviction, patriotic devotion, and that out of it has come, as among the Dutch or the English fighting against Spain, a more superb and shining temper as well as an augumented power—it is true also, with equal certainty, that Christianity seeks, and naturally contributes, to limit sharply the number of wars, confining them to those which have the amplest justifying grounds; and that by its teaching, and by the whole strain of its influence in the world, it tends to make war in the end unnecessary, putting all peoples which faithfully receive it into relations of cordial and helpful mutual charity

It alone, with a governing beneficence, can put a period to wars on the earth. And while it must sadly be admitted that its influence as yet in this direction has not been as general or as effective as might have been hoped, it is certain that if ever it comes to universal practical sovereignty, war will have passed, with piracy and with slavery, into the class of things abolished. Offensive wars will then be impossible, while wars of defence will no more be needful. The real and final "Truce of God" will then have come; and the sentence against war contained in the song of the herald-angels will at last be fulfilled.

But while Christianity has not as yet abolished war, it has done much, which we gratefully may recognize, to mitigate its usages, and to make what are commonly called its 'laws' less savagely severe. This is certain; and the distinct influence of the religion can be accurately traced on the rules which obtain in this department among separated states. The personal action and temper of men are first affected, and then, as Sir James Mackintosh said, "as the mitigated practice has received the sanction of time, it is raised from the rank of mere usage, and becomes a part of the Law of Nations." *

Thus the law of reprisals, if not wholly abrogated, is yet softened and restrained in modern times, and the principle tends to be established that 'rights ought not to be violated by one nation because they have been by another'; † especially, that all injury done to private subjects of a belligerent power by a nation at war with that should be reduced to the narrowest limits. The line is drawn, ever more distinctly, between combatants and non-combatants; and the theory that each subject of one hostile power is at war with every subject of the other, drifts continually out of sight. The effect is to confine the inevitable injuries of war, as far as possible, to persons and properties within the range of organized warfare; and the burning of unoffending villages, the slaughter of peasants, the sweeping off of spoils from homes and churches, are now regarded as belonging to a sav-

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* Misc. Works; London ed., 1846, Vol. I.: p. 360.

† Pres. Woolsey: "Introduction to Int. Law"; New York ed., 1879: p 188.

agery which the whole spirit of modern national culture hates and rebukes. Even the common coast-wise fishing was allowed by our Government to go on undisturbed in our war with Mexico; and similar instructions were given by their government to the French naval officers in the war with Russia, A.D. 1854. The exchange of fish, provisions, and the common utensils, between the Russian and Norwegian coasts, was then forbidden to be interrupted in the White Sea.

In the same line of advance, the practice of privateering falls more and more into discredit under the Christianized law of nations, and it is not far, we may reasonably hope, from being forbidden by all civilized states. The argument in defence of it has naturally been that it assures the power to a smaller state, possessing a large commercial marine, to contend with a larger, equipped with a more effective fleet. But so many are the evils connected with it, so stimulating is it to cruelty and rapacity, so vast and incessant are its risks of abuse, that in countries morally advanced energetic influences have long been at work to secure its abolition. The powers which concluded the Treaty of Paris, A.D. 1856, declared it abolished. Our government declined to accede to that proposal, on the ground that with it ought to be connected another provision by which private property of all subjects or citizens of a belligerent power should be exempted from seizure, even by public armed vessels of the enemy, unless the same were contraband of war. It was affirmed, in other words, by our government, as the just and humane policy, and the policy was approved by many nations, not only to abolish the evil of privateering, but to secure entire immunity to merchant-vessels engaged in lawful pacific trade. In a treaty of the United States with Italy, A.D. 1871, a provision to this effect was incorporated.

In general it may be said that peace is now recognized among Christian states as their normal condition, war as the exceptional and sad interruption; that the redress or prevention of injuries is the only motive allowed to justify the appeal of battle, instead of conquest or of plunder; that war is required to be waged only between governments, not against the passive inhabitants of the countries involved; that the smallest amount of inflicted injury

consistent with effective prosecution of the war, is a growing demand; and that the law of retaliation, if not wholly repudiated, is in practice reduced to its lowest terms. The doctrine of Burke is now the real doctrine of Christian states: that 'wars are not massacres or confusions, but the highest trials of right'; that 'the blood of man should never be shed but to redeem the blood of man. It is well shed for our family, for our friends, for our God, for our country, for our kind. The rest is vanity; the rest is crime.' * A sense of accountableness to history and to God more and more attends the proclamation of wars. The employment of barbarian allies, formerly unquestioned, is now expressly and generally discountenanced. The poisoning of springs, the employment of assassins, the use even of weapons whose chief effect is the infliction of pain, are explicitly condemned. The obligation to adhere to the common civilized customs of war in a contest with savages is distinctly accepted; the plunder of a town after assault is stigmatized as criminal by high military authority; while, as I have said, the tendency to humane treatment of prisoners grows always more commanding.

The ladies of highest position in England who went out to the hospitals at Scutari, under the heroic lead of Miss Nightingale, and many of whom sacrificed life in the distant and deadly philanthropical service, designed their mission for the special relief of British soldiers; but the example was so lofty and inspiring that like all such examples it has sent its force forward, over other lands, into other years. The Sanitary and the Christian Commissions, in our civil war, applied their ministries of aid and relief to the sick and wounded on either side. The Rules of War prepared by Dr. Lieber, at the request of our government, A.D. 1863, simply affirmed and clothed with authority what the Christian judgment of the country demanded, even amid the strain and agony of that vast struggle for national unity. In their spirit of wise practical humanity they may almost be said to have marked an era in the history of war, especially of civil war—formerly the most bitter and bloody of all.

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* First Letter on a Regicide Peace; Works; Boston ed., 1839; Vol. IV.; p. 388.

The Convention at Geneva, in August A.D. 1864, in which the plenipotentiaries of twelve European states took part, was assembled to make more careful provision for the treatment of soldiers wounded in battle, and for the neutrality of sanitary supplies, surgeons, nurses, and ambulances. The subsequent Convention, at the same city, A.D. 1868, besides amending the previous articles, extended similar provisions to wounded or shipwrecked marines. The laws of war were not changed, but full security was sought to be given to those engaged, under its conditions, in the work of attending on the wounded and sick. Thirty-one governments, on both hemispheres, have now adopted the articles of the treaty—our own, to its shame, not being among them; and the red-cross of those engaged in the beneficent service has since been seen, far to the front, on many hard-fought and bloody fields. At another Convention, held in the same interest of humanity, at St. Petersburg, A.D. 1868, representatives of even Turkey and Persia appeared, among the delegates from seventeen states; and at that held in Brussels, A.D. 1874, at the invitation of the Emperor of Russia, all European states of importance were represented, and an attempt at least was made, though certainly with no very signal success, to lay down 'rules practically humane and progressive' for the conduct of all international wars.

Of course war has not ceased to be attended with terrible severities. What Burke said of the temper of insurrection is still more true of the temper of war: "the little catechism of the rights of man is soon learned, and the inferences are in the passions."* The ancient boast of the Huns has not yet ceased to be heard, that 'where villages and cities stood, horses may run.'† But remembering the former times—the denial of quarter, the merciless killing of the captured, the enslaving of prisoners, the fearfully savage guerilla strifes, the unrebuked sack of cities where every vilest passion of man had its free ferocious exercise—remembering the sack and conflagration of Seleucia, under the generals of Marcus Aurelius the illustrious Stoic, with the

* "Thoughts on French Affairs": Works: Boston ed., 1839, Vol. IV. p. 28.

† Gibbon: Boston ed., 1854, Vol. 4: p. 202.

slaughter of three hundred thousand inhabitants—remembering Magdeburg or Haarlem, or in our century Badajos and St. Sebastian—it may surely be said that the moral sense of the world has advanced, as concerning even the usages of war. The great recent armed struggles in Europe have aimed to secure such a balance of power as would preclude their repetition; and the best results for liberty and progress, as well as for national honor and security, are now sought to be snatched from the bloody hand of public strife: as emancipation of the slaves came from our prolonged civil war; as the autonomy of new Christian states, in the fairest portions of eastern Europe, was the fruitful result of the recent war between Russia and Turkey. The time may not be as distant as it has seemed when courts of Arbitration shall be established—as proposed by Henry Fourth, by St. Pierre, by Leibnitz, Kant, Bentham, and others—to which questions between nations shall be submitted, and by which wars shall be precluded. This is one of the 'dreams of good men,' many of which have already been realized in the progress of this illustrious branch of juridical science. This one waits longer to be accomplished. But the drift of civilization is steadily toward it, so far as that is affected by Christianity; and even Japan, in A.D. 1875, under the light which has freshly dawned on those 'Islands of the morning,' submitted a question between itself and Peru to be determined by arbitration.

The definition of the maxims, the extension of the sway, of this most voluntary, spiritual, and general of human laws can only be secured by the prevalence of the sentiments of equity and humanity, the impression of the sacredness of inter-state duties, and the common sense of obligation to God, all of which Christianity inculcates. So far as it has gone, it has simply illustrated, while it also has helped, that moral civilization which is rooted in what has been scornfully called 'the sweet Galilee vision Its future must depend on the general progress of the peoples of the earth in that peculiar moral development and spiritual culture to which the first cosmical impulse was given by Jesus. A distinguished English commentator upon it, Mr. Ward, has temperately said that Christianity 'has gone furthest of all causes to introduce notions of humanity and true justice into the max

ims of the world': while, looking at what has been achieved, it certainly is not vain to expect that such public moral and Christian progress is still to go on, till Peace shall be everywhere, and Milton's majestic but not fanciful vision of the Christian commonwealth shall be fulfilled in the experience of states. If that time comes, it will come only when, in his imperial phrase, 'the forces of united excellence shall meet in one globe of brightness and efficacy,' and wisdom shall at last 'begirt itself with majesty.'

When such states are formed and compacted, as incorporeal complex persons, under the governing Christian law of justice and of charity, then shall be accomplished what the Roman Empire grossly prefigured, when, in the amazing development of its force—as under some brooding Providence above—it flung forth its avenues toward the ends of the earth, and sought to bind all peoples together under the power which ruled from the Tiber: what Charlemagne perhaps dimly contemplated, in the splendid rashness of his colossal and impracticable plan, when he sought to reëstablish the Western Empire with more august sanctions and in a richer religious life, over the Europe which had replaced the old: what Napoleon the First sketched in a sort of lurid caricature on the canvas of history, when he rushed abroad, with what appeared irresistible legions, for the conquest of the Continent, and the combination of its several kingdoms under the sovereign leadership of France. A plan surpassing all of these, as the bending sky surpasses the clouds which drift across it—even that will have been realized, when the different nations, each on its untroubled territory, each with its idioms of custom, law, as well as language, and each with its peculiar life, shall be united in the bonds of a peace which knows no suspicion and admits no suspension, because it results from the voluntary subjection of each and all to a Law universal: whose authority is conceded because a Divine majesty and charm are recognized in it.

Our eyes may not see it; they probably will not. But the coming centuries, which will look back upon ours as mechanical and rude, shall rejoice in its advent. And whenever it comes, it will be surely attested by history, as already it is predicted, that

not to statesman, philosopher, scholar, has it chiefly been due; not to the imperial Stoic, declaring in lofty but frigid phrase that 'the nature of man is rational and social, and that so far as Antoninus is a man, the world is his city'; not to inventor, harnessing the lightnings, channeling the hills, overruling the resistance of wind and wave; not to merchant, or bold explorer, making men familiar with other climes; and not to jurist, formulating codes for conservation of interests, and seeking to apply the principles of justice, as reason discovers them, to the infinite variety of human concerns. All these, and others, will have done their work and borne their part for the great consummation.

But another than they will have made one enlightening and reconciling religion universal in the world; another than they will have shown the rule and the judgments of Him in serving whom states find their glory; another than they will have built up the ultimate Christian opinion, omnipresent with mankind, by which treaties will be tested, policies measured, strifes condemned; another than they will have given universal value and effect to every sentiment of equity and of charity of which the rare illuminated souls, under his inspiration, will have felt the authority. It will be he who said of old, amid the fierce and fighting confusions of which the world in his time was full, in words as simple as those of a child, but kinglier than Augustus ever had spoken, "All things, whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them": and who said later, in front of the cross whose shadow already was falling upon him, "And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me"! He expected the race to receive his religion. He died that it might. And the renewed earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness, will bear on all the illustrious pages of its resplendent final history, the impress of his thought—who had studied in no Rabbinic school, who had heard no word from Platonist or from Stoic, who wrote no sentence unless in the sand, who wore no crown save one of thorns, but who spoke of himself as the Judge of all nations; who first on earth announced the idea of a universal spiritual Kingdom, wide as the race and continuing forever; and of whom even the officers said, with their insolence rebuked and their spirit subdued, "Never Man spake like this Man"!

LECTURE VII.

THE EFFECT OF CHRISTIANITY ON THE MENTAL CULTURE OF MANKIND.

LECTURE VII.

In considering the effect produced by Christianity on the intellectual power and culture of mankind, we are faced by three indisputable facts which seem perhaps to contradict the reality, or certainly the principal and permanent importance, of any such effect. The first is, that in some respects the most signal examples of mental faculty and intellectual attainment of which history keeps the record preceded the preaching of Christianity in the earth, and occurred among those Hellenic peoples whose polytheism was most various and fantastic. The second is, that there have been, by admission of all, long intervals of time in which Christianity, or what was held to represent it in the world, has had particular prominence and control, but during which the aspiring intellectual spirit has been sharply restrained from its legitimate plans and efforts; has been, indeed, so suspected and disesteemed, in the ecclesiastical conception of its worth, that the impulse to free and various action was not so much shackled as nearly fatally stifled. The third fact is, that many men, within Christendom, of noble powers and remarkable attainments, of learning like Gibbon's, of a speculative genius like that of Spinoza, of a culture like Goethe's, have seemed to others, perhaps to themselves, in no degree indebted to the Christian Faith for the mental energy born, quickened, and cultivated in them. Indeed, such men have often been specially prompt and positive in denying the tendency of the religion, as they understood it, to expand or inspire the high faculties of man. They have looked upon it as naturally discrediting the finer tastes and the nobler forces which give to the soul its delicacy and dignity; and have repeated the old accusation, old as Celsus, probably older, that Christianity attributes the errors of the world to its

cultivated wisdom, and whatever is good in thought and character to a silly simplicity.

These facts must be recognized; and certainly at first they appear formidable, as against the idea that Christianity has done, or is fitted to do, anything distinguished, or of secular importance, in the direction in which we now follow it. Yet some things should be said, on each of these facts, which may in a measure limit the force with which they controvert such an idea.

In regard, for example, to the illustrious minds appearing in Christendom, but admitting no personal indebtedness to the animating religion by which that is pervaded, it is fairly to be said that many others, at least as eminent in their various departments, have gladly and reverently ascribed to this religion the primal light and invigorating force by which their splendid powers were cherished; that they have even found an argument for it in its fitness and tendency to affect each noblest force of the mind with beneficent effect; and that those who have denied this may have been unaware how much they owed to the atmosphere of society, which was richly stimulating or nobly exalting because it had for centuries been vitalized by the subtile power of this religion. The California pine, or the tropical palm, the graceful elm of the New England meadows, or the lignum-vitæ of the South, may seem independent, each in its own height and strength, of the influences around it. But take away the shining and the shower of which it daily illustrates the blessing, transport it to more stubborn soils and bleaker airs, and the elegant grace or the stately strength is dwarfed and enfeebled; the tough fibre, the stimulating juices, or the flavorous nut, are no more found. In like manner, it is not easy to analyze the influences, invisible, elusive, but omnipresent and of spiritual efficacy, which pervade society as Christianly organized, and which act more or less on every soul born to the inheritance of its diffused and undefined energy. Even the minds which have set themselves deliberately or fought fiercely against Christianity have sometimes shown, therefore, with unconscious emphasis, how much they owed to that religion which they repelled. Indeed it seems not extravagant to say that the very abundance of the ingenious and eloquent attacks made on Christianity in the

lands over which its influence extends is itself an indication of its exuberant stimulating force. Intensity of light is measured by the depth of shadows; and the variety and energy of 'free-thinking' have a natural relation to the invigorating intellectual force of the religion which that assails.

In regard to the fact that Christianity, or what was accepted as such, has at times been unfriendly to genial and large intellectual progress, it must be observed that it is by no means to be taken for granted that it was Christianity, in its essential original life, and not some human substitute for it, which loaded with weights or fettered with chains the excursive and daring intellectual spirit. It may have been a quite different system, which had taken the name without inheriting the sweetness or the majesty of the religion; which had really forgotten precept and parable, with all lofty and various instruction, in its zeal for a hierarchy, or for dogmatic human Confessions; which was sensitive, therefore, because uncertain of interior soundness, its jealousy of the inquisitive mind increasing with its consciousness of exposure to attack. History will attest, I think, if carefully questioned, that it has not been the religion of the New Testament, freely distributed among reading peoples, which has menaced or cursed intellectual freedom; that it has been something of human origin, which feared the sharp edge of analysis, or the slower erosion of a searching reflection, and which so has sought to silence discussion, and to shelter itself from the reach of debate, behind arbitrary bulwarks. And surely no system should be held accountable for what another may have done, masquerading in its name.

Finally it must be remembered that genius is always the gift of God, which comes as it is sent, and is not humanly commanded. It is possible that the diamond may sometime or other become an article of human manufacture; though chemists and lapidaries are by no means expectant of that. But the jewel of genius, which no diamonds can buy, is not explained in its production by any sociology, and no facts of environment serve either to ensure or to forbid its appearance. The cottage is its birthplace, oftener than the palace. It is found by travellers among barbarous tribes. The history of peoples widely differing from

each other is at points illustrated by it. The times which had seemed least likely to develop it, have sometimes been most prolific in it. It comes only from those supreme and mystical processes in which the Almighty energy works; and the sudden revelation of it may not unnaturally have anticipated Christendom, or may now lie wholly outside its lines. If therefore we look, as certainly we do, to Homer for the great example of native supremacy in epic song, to Æschylus as the father of tragedy, to Plato and the Stagirite as the masters of philosophical speculation and method, to the eminent orators and historians of Greece as unsurpassed in all the elements which constitute power and which confer intellectual renown—if we marvel before the men whose writings, like those of the three great tragedians, were preserved by law in the archives of the state—there is nothing in this to cast a shade on Christianity.

It is still apparent that the religion of these men contributed little to their development: that skies and seas, the liberties and the commerce of Greece, its games and contests and historic associations, are enough to explain, if not the genesis of phenomenal genius, the swift and splendid ripening of its powers, in that active, aspiring, and in many respects most fortunate people. It is also to be observed that the period of various and splendid intellectual activity in Greece was relatively brief, covering a time, from the archonship of Solon to the battle of Chæroneia, about as long as that embraced in the rapid records of either of several American cities. That inspiring activity had passed into history, and had ceased to be a present force in society, centuries before Christianity was heard of. This want of prolonged and continuing force, and of reproductive power, in the Attic development, may be variously explained; but it cannot properly fail to be recognized in connection with the unsurpassed gifts and gains which confessedly belong to the great age of Athenian letters.

If now we turn, released for the time from these primary objections, to consider Christianity in its relation to a powerful, wide, and salutary effect on the mind of mankind, it is not, I think, extravagant to say that it appears constitutionally adapted, in its structure, spirit, and even in the instruments by which its

teaching is conveyed to the world, to produce precisely such an effect; while the fact that it has accomplished such, to an extent unequalled by other religions, appears as certain as that summer-time is warmer than winter, or that the continent on which we stand is not built and braced of fluctuating waters. It has educated peoples, and not merely individuals. It has at the same time stimulated and nourished the higher minds, into which it had entered with their acceptance. Its effect in this specific direction has been not transient but enduring; and where its power has been most largely and vitally exerted it has laid most deeply the essential foundations for intellectual progress, and provided most amply its instruments and incentives. These are facts which seem to me evident in the structure of Christianity, and in its recorded career in the world; and if we are not mistaken about them, the inference certainly cannot be a rash one that a system adapted to such rich effects, on the cosmical scale, and for centuries of time, must at least have the sympathy of the mind of God; that so far, certainly, it is worthy to have had —whether in fact it did have or not—its lofty origin in His wisdom for the world.

A tendency to such effects is inherent in Christianity: this is the point first to be considered.

That its effect on its earliest disciples was intellectually remarkable, as well as immense in the moral transformation which was accomplished, no one, I think, who admits the even partial correctness of the primitive accounts of them and of their labors, will hesitate to concede. If Peter wrote either of the epistles attributed to him—and that he wrote the first, nearly all will agree—he certainly had not been dwarfed in mind by the Faith which he confessed and taught. On the other hand, a more notable change can hardly be imagined, in the sphere of simply intellectual development, than that which becomes apparent in him between the time when first he meets us, the rude and untaught fisherman of Galilee, and the time when he wrote, perhaps thirty years after, that memorable letter. So he would surely be a bold man, unless a blind one, who should question that the native faculty of Paul—one of the most engaging and forcible of all the reasoners who have made language the instrument of

logic, and have moulded civilizations by their intrepid and hardy discussions—had been spurred and ennobled, instead of being any way enfeebled or hindered, by the energetic force of Christianity upon him; that he had gained more from the searching reflection which it required, on themes which allure yet transcend man's thought, than all the schools of the rabbis could have given, or the broader schools for which Tarsus was famous. Whether John the apostle wrote or not the gospel which adds a beautiful renown even to his preëminent name—though we should adopt the extreme opinion of the latest Dutch writers in the interest of doubt, and say that 'the name of the author remains unknown,' only he could not have been the man whom they are pleased to designate as 'the narrow and violent apostle' John*—the fact remains that somebody wrote it: the supremest work of human genius, if it were not produced by Divine inspiration. Whoever attributes this to John must see how the Faith which he loved and declared had enriched and illumined his mental nature. Whoever attributes it to any one else—to some one writing on behalf of an opinion, in a century from which any creative literary energy seemed wholly to have fled—must stand amazed, if he be thoughtful, before the impenetrating intellectual influence of that religion which enabled an unknown Roman, Greek, or Jew, to pen a book so lofty and harmonious, so picturesque and profound, so immense in reach, so spiritual in suggestion, so rich in inspiration for other minds, before which all poetry or philosophy of the time becomes utterly petty and commonplace. The writings of the earliest witnesses to Christianity certainly attest the force which it had generously delivered on their receptive and answering minds.

But this may have been, we shall doubtless be told, the effect of a sudden enthusiasm in them: a transient impulse of the novelty of their Faith, which could not be prolonged into after-generations, and which cannot be expected to reäppear. So the question comes back: Is there anything in the constitution of Christianity which involves such an influence, and which presents

* Oort and Hooykaas: "Bible for Learners": Boston ed., 1879: pp. 691, 668.

an essential promise that that influence will be permanent, and wide in its reach? And on this question some facts may cast light.

It is to be observed, for example, at the outset, that Christianity is peculiarly a Book-religion, a lettered Faith. It has documents, annals, prophetical admonitions, recorded discourses, lofty hymns, careful biographies, extended letters, which are the very means of transmitting it to us, and all which are carefully included in the volume which is recognized as its permanent text-book. It thus addresses directly, forcibly, and with manifold energy, the mental faculty in its disciples.

Of course, it is not the only religion known in the world which presents itself in a Book. The Hindus, Egyptians, Persians, have their sacred books; Mohammedanism makes its boast of the Koran; and the religions of Confucius and Lao-tse in China rest upon ancient venerated writings. But in most of these cases it is to be observed that the original documents are comparatively brief; and that, in the judgment of those who have studied them most minutely and largely, with sincerest desire to discover whatever is valuable in them, they furnish no basis, contribute no impulse, to a diversified and fruitful general literature. The hymns of the Rig-Veda, which are recognized as constituting 'the real Bible of the ancient Vedic faith,' are only a thousand and twenty-eight, containing in all a little more than ten thousand verses. It is the subsequent commentary on these hymns which spreads out into large proportions; though, for the fullest understanding of the system, the three minor Vedas are also to be studied, with perhaps the Brâhmanas, or later scholastic treatises. The text, with the commentaries, of the Thibetan canon, are almost immeasurable, but the original Buddhist teaching is contained in the narrowest compass; while the writings of Confucius are of no large extent, and the principal work of Lao-tse, which represents the true Scripture of his followers, is said to consist of only five thousand words, and to fill not more than thirty pages.* Almost everywhere, in these ethnic sacred books, the nucleus was a small one. The subsequent

* Max Müller: "Science of Religion": New York ed., 1872: p. 36.

additions by disciples constitute the mass of the so-called sacred literatures; and these additions—though they might be expected to answer somewhat to the expositions, homilies, canons, histories, commentaries, sermons, allegories, poems, theological treatises, missionary chronicles, religious biographies, of the Christian Church—are in fact only hard gradual incrustations upon the original teachings of the masters, not the fruit of inspired activities and personal researches in related departments of inquiry and thought.

The Avesta, attributed to Zoroaster, was probably more extensive. It is said to have contained twenty-one books, of 815 chapters, until revised under Shapur II., and the parts remaining comprised in 348 chapters. The language of the books had then long ceased to be spoken. The only remains of them are preserved in fragments still existing, in another language, among the Parsees in India. These consist of rubrics for purification, and for repelling evil spirits, with invocations and prayers of a monotonous character, for interminable repetition. The very priests of the religion cannot read its original sacred books. The Koran, as we know, though held to have been dictated word by word to Mohammed, in the Arabic language, by the tongue of the angel Gabriel, contains nothing beyond the knowledge and thought of a semi-barbarous Arab of the seventh century; and as it deals in precepts rather than principles, is considered incapable of alteration in any particular without impiety, and ceases to be inspired when translated, it contemplates no wide distribution in other tongues, and fastens the entire Mohammedan world to the level and the circle of the attainment already reached by the Prophet. Its 114 suras, or chapters, are in fact so many fetters on the mental progress of those who receive it.

The Greeks had in effect no sacred books. Neither the early Orphic writings, hymns, poems, or oracles, nor the later philosophies, ever aspired to take this place. The Romans had none; unless we count such the Sibylline Books, which were said to have been purchased by Tarquin from a woman who suddenly disappeared, which were kept in the temple of Jupiter in the Capitol, were consulted for oracular direction in public emergencies, and which finally were burned, eighty years before

Christ. No sacred literature enriched the libraries of scholars in Republican or Imperial times. The Roman Law, believed to be founded in a sovereign justice, was an educating force to the Roman mind. The religion which attended it never was: and the last efforts to make it such, when its end was drawing near, were wholly futile. After Christianity had long been preached, and the attraction and power of the books which contained it had come widely to be felt, attempts were made by some of its more learned and discerning antagonists to supply a parallel heathen literature, a sort of counterpart from the pagan side to the precepts and doctrines of the Gospel, and to its touching and marvellous records. So the sophist Philostratus, in the early part of the third century, at the request of Julia Domna, empress of Severus, wrote, and as he says embellished, the life of Apollonius of Tyana, to offset apparently the history of Jesus as related by the evangelists; and so, later in the century, Porphyry is said to have collected what were represented as the answers of Oracles, especially concerning Christianity itself, to support the existing religious system by responses from the unseen world.* But efforts like these were wholly too late, and the popular mind was never generally or powerfully affected by them. Heathenism in Rome had no affinities with an affirmative literature. It presented no instruction. It sought for no proofs in philosophy or in history.

In contrast then with all these religions it is to be observed that Christianity comes to us through a Book, of great extent, of immense variety, written in different times and tongues, during a period of certainly more than a thousand years, and by the pens of many writers; that this Book is internally and organically connected, part with part, so that each section must be surveyed for the perfect and assured understanding of the whole; and that while the vital substance of Christianity may be properly said to be here and there concisely presented in a single sentence, the whole is still urged on men's attention, and the various, complex, and interlinked scheme draws to itself the reverent thought of those who accept the final religion. There is really not a single portion, from the first sentence 'In the be-

* See Augustine: "City of God," XIX.: 23.

ginning God created the heaven and the earth,' to the last 'The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all,' which has not some radical connection with what anticipates or what follows. 'What is latent in the Old Testament, becomes patent in the New'; and Christianity is essentially the religion of the Bible—its life inhering in all the parts, as the life of the tulip is essentially present both in bulb and in flower, at first rough in its earthy coat, and afterward waving and shining in the sun in the splendid beauty of the *parterre*. The Babylonian captivity has its connection with the subsequent missions of Christian apostles. Whoever arranged the Temple-worship finds an expositor in him who wrote the Epistle to the Hebrews. And the first lifeless chaos, out of which the world is said to have arisen, has constant relations to the final promise of the heavenly Jerusalem.

At once, then, it appears what careful and long-continued attention is sought by this religion from those who would know its intimate and ultimate secrets of meaning. It is, in fact, the supreme encomium pronounced in the world on the human intelligence, that this religion, which purports at least to have come from God, and to have within it the thoughts of His mind, yet asks men, impels them, to examine carefully many books in order completely to apprehend it. It challenges investigation, solicits study, that they may see how one part fits and finishes another, and how the whole converges on the Faith to be at last joyfully received. This seems an evident part of the preärranged plan of him, whoever he may have been, who ushered Christianity into the world. Its whole scope, as I have suggested, may properly be said to be presented in sentences like this: "For God so loved the world, that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life." That 'little Bible' may be said, with truth, to contain the spiritual substance of all. Yet while such sayings are microcosmic, embracing realms of truth in few words, the entire series of the writings is preserved, the most ancient among them are endorsed and commended by later teachers, and by him whom all revere as their Head, and all are presented in the unity and complexity of their manifold parts to the intellectual mastery of mankind.

It makes not the slightest conceivable difference, in regard to the point now before us, where or by whom these writings are supposed to have been composed, or to have been combined in one collection. If it be alleged, for instance, that Moses was not the author of the Pentateuch, the denial may affect our impression of the lawgiver, perhaps even of the Lord to whom he seems prophetically pointing, and by whom his writings appear to be accredited. But so far as concerns the intellectual activity stimulated by the religion known as Christianity, that is only quickened by such denial, and directed to new paths, as men are pushed to the inquiry: 'but if not Moses, who was the author?' as they are moved to search not only the primitive text, but Egyptian records, Babylonian bricks, the story entombed in the figures of hieroglyphics upon the oldest monuments of the world, to find the proofs of the authorship of some one in this majestic and venerable record of origins and of progress. So with the Psalms. That many of them were not written by David, as we in early life very likely supposed that all of them were, only incites and maintains the effort in after years to ascertain to whom to ascribe them. So with the later prophecies of Isaiah, the book of Esther, the book of Job, and with some of the epistles, the second of Peter, the pastoral epistles, or that to the Hebrews.

The authorship of those to whom these were early and widely ascribed being disputed, a hundred questions are started at once, a hundred lines of inquiry are opened, to ascertain facts which are not indeed of cardinal importance, but which must be of perennial interest to the careful student of this religion. It would seem, sometimes, as if questions of this sort had been on purpose left undecided, that each generation might come afresh with keenest interest to the study of the Word, especially in the mastery of these fascinating problems. Partly, indeed, by reason of this fact, the mind of Christendom can never detach itself from the most intent and thorough inquiry concerning the original documents of its Faith. In our own time, amid the rush of invention and commerce, while questions of politics engage with a continual grasp multitudes of minds, while exploration of unknown continents, distant worlds

or of microscopic forms of life, is incessantly going on, and while the knowledges open to man are more numerous, various, alluring and rewarding, than ever before, the thoughts of those who are leaders in thought are continually busy on questions started by the scriptures; ascertaining how far, to what an almost complete extent the evangelical narratives, in their principal facts, can be reconstructed from the four unquestioned epistles of St. Paul; scrutinizing them on the one hand with searching minuteness, and the records of the second century on the other, to ascertain what traces, if any, of incipient controversies can be detected in the Synoptists or in John.

I do not for myself hesitate to accept it as a part of the plan of the author of Christianity—whoever we conceive him to have been—to leave these questions, and others like them, so far undecided that new discussion should be always in order, and that the most exact and wide investigation should be never superseded. It is by such discussion and such investigation that the discerning intelligence of Christendom is constantly trained; and libraries have been built, we may almost say literatures created, the inquisitive, discursive, analytical spirit of mankind has been educated, by the arguments and researches so called forth. The doubts which men have at some time entertained concerning the authorship of one part or another of the Christian scriptures have been more instructive in their final effect than many certainties on common-place themes.

But then, this preliminary work being done, when men come into instant responsive contact with these scriptures, how manifest and how permanent is their fitness, as an instrument of merely intellectual education, to the minds which they address!

It is remarkable, for one thing, how apt they are to all periods of life: to the youngest child, who can understand words; to the most mature and experienced man, disciplined by work, and cultured by study; to even the aged, who look inward with intent introspection, or onward and up with desiring hope. They are adapted to the rude and mentally uninstructed, as well as to the man of churches and universities, whom a developed and furnished society has assiduously trained. And it is a fact of indisputable significance that while all other "Sacred Books"

are essentially uninviting to those not taught to consider them Divine—so that, except as curiosities of letters, they would scarcely be noticed unless by some indefatigable student—the Christian scriptures, in both the Testaments, have an equal attraction for every people into whose language they are carried. They may not always be accepted, but they uniformly are read, in all regions of the world, with an interest which poetry does not rival, or romance surpass; and those who, under the continuing impression of their preëxisting cultus, decline to accept them as specially from God, confess the immense attraction and impulse of which their vital pages are full. There are many languages into which it would be evidently impossible to translate either Homer or Shakespeare, Dante or Goethe. But no tribe of men has yet been found whose dialect could not be renewed and enriched, refined and expanded, so as at length to take into itself these surprising Christian scriptures.

Not only do they thus engage and impress men upon the lower levels of intelligence. They tend, constitutionally, to exalt and reinforce the mental faculty which they address, and to build up by degrees a middle-class mind, widely-distributed, sagacious, energetic, strong in conviction, yet free and active in intellectual sympathy, a source of strength to society and the state.

So much as this it seems difficult to doubt, if we look either at Christianity itself, or at what as a specifically literary religion it has done in the world. Men may perhaps say that under it no rarer genius has been developed than has elsewhere been shown, no finer power for intuitive discernment, no spirit more capable of illuminating the canvas or moulding the marble into exquisite grace, of convincing men's judgment and stirring to impetuous motion their passion, or of putting high thought and delicate fancy into noblest rhythm and melody of verse. But few will deny that there has been a power in the Christian religion, such as never was shown by any other, to develop and train a self-respecting middle-class, in England, for example, in Germany, in this country; measurably, indeed, though less completely, in Roman Catholic countries, as in France or in Italy. And wherever the mind of such a class has been pervaded and

stimulated by the Christian scriptures, there intelligence has been general, thought enterprising, while moral forces have had peculiar and wide control. The school and the college have there come into existence, as naturally as harvests rise from the soil on which seed has been scattered; presses have found a power more steadfast than that of any human muscle to be the support of their constant activity; and an energetic and various training of the force native, even if latent, in human minds, has been successfully sought and secured.

There was no such commanding middle-class, permanent, progressive, ever multiplying in numbers, under the ancient ethnic religions. Egyptian priests, soldiers, tradesmen, peasants, and the riff-raff of the populace, were as sharply separated in the days of Herodotus as they afterward continued to be.* It was the absence of power for self-development in the Athenian democracy which compelled Mr. Grote to say, in the conclusion of his history: "When such begging missions are the deeds for which Athens employed and recompensed her most eminent citizens, a historian accustomed to the Grecian world as described by Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon, feels that the life has departed from his subject, and with sadness and humiliation brings his narrative to a close."† So the tendency at Rome always was to the dizzy height or the abject debasement, to the palace or the hovel, the many accomplishments or the absence of any intellectual spirit. It was so, largely, because the religion there prevailing was not a religion of doctrines, histories, or moral precepts, of written records or a formulated Faith, but was rather one of mechanical arts and preördained ceremonies, of external service, and interpreted augury. Only a religion which has scriptures and teachers, and which thus addresses with appropriate force the thought-power in man, as well as his moral sensibility—only such a religion can vitally raise or thoroughly train the free, intrepid, and thoughtful populations which are becoming the glory of the world. It alone can effectively resist whatever forces, social or commercial, tend to repeat the ancient

* Herodotus: I: 164.

† "History of Greece": London ed., 1872, Vol. X.: p. 328.

results in modern society. It shuns or slurs no class in society; but it tends always to lift the ruder into fellowship with those whose mental alertness, expanding information, and practical skill, are a governing power in civilization.

But now to the finer and higher spirits which meet Christianity in its primitive documents, and in the continuing impulse of its life, what is its relation? Does it limit and discourage them? does it fetter their freedom, lower their aims, and impose upon them, by an arbitrary rule, unwelcome restraints? or is it adapted, by its nature, to make upon them impressions salutary and strong? does it load them, or lift them? has it for them supreme inspirations, or does it simply present certain confining and mandatory instructions, to hamper and harass them? Such questions have been answered, as I have suggested, in opposite ways. They are questions of the gravest interest and importance.

In connection with them there are some things to be noticed in the peculiar internal constitution of the concurring scriptures through which Christianity comes to the world. Many minds are in these presented to us; and those minds are often to an extraordinary degree replete with abounding and animating energy, prepared by it for effective operation on the spirit of students. Whether we accept or not the idea that a transcendent inspiring force was exerted upon them from above, it is certain that some energy operated within them to give them peculiar fulness of life, an unmatched exuberance of inspiriting force, so that they are still as personal to mankind, and almost as proximate to the thought of their readers, as if living to-day. Their expressed faculty, to say the least of it, was often surpassing, if not superlative. Certainly no more expert and splendid dialectical energy than that of Paul is known to have wrought in even the abundant and delicate Greek tongue. No more intuitive and interpreting spirit than that which penned the Gospel of John has ever subdued to its sublime purpose the mystery of speech; while in all the writers of the New Testament there is a freshness of perception, a vigor of conviction, an essential undecaying modernness of tone, which makes them singular among the writers of their time. Their eager force in what they wrote makes us almost sensible of a personal conference between their

minds and ours when we read. Even the prophets, the psalmists, and the lawgiver, in the earlier stage of the development of Christianity, tower before us in the vividness and dignity of an unsurpassed strength, and sometimes touch and thrill our souls as if they spoke with us, face to face.

Different languages must be mastered, too, that we may come into most direct and intimate contact with these intense and awakening minds. Long courses of history must be investigated, that we may place them precisely before our thought in their circumstances and times. The earliest annals of the race must be sought, stamped on the clays of the Euphrates valley, or cut into alabaster slabs of Ninevite palaces, that light may be cast, if they have it to give, on the primitive documents of our Faith. And when we come to the latest and the amplest scriptures—while it is true that the affectionate disciple may find his whole religion expressed in brief sentences, as one may wear in a ring a jewel which shall cover the value of palaces or of provinces, it is true also that by the attentive, who would compass the whole, great arguments must be mastered; that many knowledges are requisite even to set the Gospels distinctly and fully under our view; and that there is no form of attainment, no sound and useful force of the mind, which does not find its legitimate office in the conquest and illustration of these manifold scriptures. They are as simple and tranquil in their appeal to the meditative spirit as the morning star glittering above the brightening hills in its challenge to the eye. But with them, as with that, long and minute processes of thought are needed for the analysis of that serene splendor, and the determination of the proper height and weight in the heavens of that from which it streams upon us.

It must also be noticed, it goes without saying, that the student of Christianity is always, by that fact, in contact with the themes most majestic and vital which can be presented to the human intelligence. Whatever his particular interpretation may be of the instruction which Christianity gives on these supreme themes, their dignity and vastness must be recognized by all. Here are the great gnomic sayings of the Master himself, as marvellous in the fullness of their unwaning wisdom as

any works attributed to him: the profoundest truths conveyed to the world in the most gracious, lucid, and memorable phrase. Here are the alleged discoveries of transcendent facts, such as must be embraced in any scheme of religion to give it enduring hold upon the race: of facts which pass the reach of our thought as do unsounded seas the outstretch of the hand. The incessant and eager discussion of such facts never fails among men. It has highest charm for the loftiest spirits; and it holds within it the clear prediction of larger scope, a more exact and interpreting vision, to be expected in the Hereafter. He who meditates upon God, Duty, Immortality, as the Christian writings present them to him, feels kinship with whatever is royal in the universe, and has a sovereign sense in the soul of relation to essences primordial and eternal.

In these Scriptures the supernatural element—professedly at least, whether really or not, I do not now ask—is continually presented, with simplicity, dignity, and a tone of authority; is treated as familiarly, with as little attempt at startling expression as if it lay level with the commonest experience, yet with astonishing harmony and majesty in the outlines and vast adumbrations of its glory. No greater mistake can possibly be made than to suppose this amazing supernatural element—whose recognized presence in the Scriptures leads some to repel them—depressing or harassing to the stimulated mind. Above all things else, it is the one power which exalts, inspires, and reinforces. It is so everywhere, and not merely in the Scriptures. We are conscious sometimes of a strange exhilaration in watching the storm, when the burst of the thunder-crash, the terrible and incessant illumination of lightnings in midnight skies, make the earth the evident arena for the time of forces which man cannot check or compute: when it is as if the heavens were opened, and we saw forth-coming supernal energies. There is at such times an intensity of life in which, as has been said, the mind feels itself 'akin to elder forces that wrought out existence before the birth of pleasure and pain.' So, sometimes, when looking from deck or headland on the sweep of the ocean in its immeasurable majesty of wrath, or when the infinite cope of heaven is hung as with banners of crimson and gold in the sud-

den and universal flash of meteoric phenomena, there is something above all that is visible which then strikes down its gleam of glory on the over-awed and up-looking spirit. It is the 'something infinite and immense,' surpassing imitation, surpassing conception, which arrests and uplifts it.

But then we stand only, after all, upon the higher levels of nature. It is but a distant approach which we recognize to what is really transcendent and supernal. Whenever the soul does fairly face that—if ever it does—in which eternity, with its incomparable splendors and terrors, touches time, in which God is manifest in His august life, in which the life of multitudinous spheres superior to ours becomes the object of contemplation—if the soul be in any measure responsive, it must be supremely exalted by it. The great discoveries, the magisterial thoughts, will then lie nearest to its vision. In such a mood it will be, if ever, that the falling apple or the pendulous dew-drop will lift the mind to Sirius on his throne, or carry it out to the nebulous whirls which God is moulding into worlds. In such a mood it certainly has been that celestial panoramas have unrolled themselves to a spirit like Dante's, or that voices have been found for what else were unspeakable in the harping symphonies and majestic hallelujahs of the Paradise Lost. The veriest material ist, who will not believe what he cannot take up in metallic tweezers, or weigh in bulk on Fairbanks' scales, can hardly be so foolish, if he ever reads history, as to question the power, in a merely intellectual system of training, of that apprehension of things supernatural to which the Scriptures always profess and claim to minister. Above ethics, philosophies, arts of men, they rise through the immeasurable blue, and purport, at least, to open to thought celestial gates. One stands amid them beneath skies that outreach the ring of suns, in the midst of eternities by which the briefest anticipating life is made measureless in sublimity.

But by the side of these astonishing discoveries, or what are certainly affirmed to be such, one cannot but be struck by the surprising and the apparently preärranged silences, which mark as well the Christian scriptures: silences, upon themes which with constant force attract our attention ; silences, which seem as

clearly a part of the marvellous purpose and plan of the scriptures as are the vacant spaces in walls through which the households dwelling behind them look out on landscapes or distant skies. On the physical appearance of the Master, for example, or of either of his apostles; on the appearance, the manner, or even the personal history of his Mother, of whom such astonishing stories were told at a time very early, and to whom was attributed such an unsurpassed song; on the origin, the occupations and the powers of angels; on the special constitution of the spiritual body; on the place, if there be a place, for celestial experiences, and on the possible recognition of friends amid its unattained and superlative wonders,—on these, and other similar matters, concerning which the mind receiving Christianity is incessantly busy, the plan of this religion leaves it to be busy, as if on purpose to incite it to unlimited thought, and to keep its questioning temper and habit in fullest activity; while on matters graver, and even momentous, but still not essential to its practical aim, it preserves the same intent attitude of silence,—not seeking to explain, if that be possible, the relations of the human and the Divine in its own constitution, or in the preëminent person of its Lord; not seeking to interpret the intimate coincidence of the human will with the Divine in what it calls the 'second birth,' or to solve the problem of the origin of evil, or of the harmony of Divine pre-vision with the unconstrained activities of men.

Concerning all these questions, and others, on which philosophy loves to speculate, which the mind of each century strikes at afresh as if they had never before been mooted, Christianity preserves a studious silence. It leads men up to the edge of them, often, and leaves them to do what they may for themselves, to search and sound the untracked deeps.

This is a fact, it seems to me, as striking and significant as any other in the whole remarkable constitution of Christianity, as addressed to the mental power in man. It has been said of La Place that in that immense work, the "Mécanique Céleste," which has given to his name its splendid lustre, he purposely omitted many demonstrations, cancelling them after they had been completed, and simply saying in place of them, 'Thus it ap-

pears,' 'So it is evident': that nobody might be able, unless through a labor like his own, to go with him to his conclusions, except by simple faith in himself. He opened, in other words, enormous crevasses in the pathway of his immense calculations, in the confident expectation that these could not be bridged; and it is the renown of his American translator, Dr. Bowditch, not that he turned French into English, which others might have equally done, but that, with skill and stubborn patience, and an unwearied labor, he crossed and bridged these separating chasms by his own calculations, so that others could follow where he had led.

So, and in a yet higher sense, the Christian scriptures, while setting before us in every part the spiritual attainment which they declare to be possible for man, and bringing all possible instruments of impression to impel us to seek that—extensive histories, delightful biographies, great arguments of doctrine, profound maxims of duty and of truth, exulting hymns, apocalyptic forewarnings of destiny—yet leave these inter-stellar spaces of a supreme silence, into which if one is moved to adventure he must go alone, to sound as he may along the dim and perilous way. There seems here an echo, from the domain of spiritual truth, to that first record of the Bible, that 'thus the heavens and the earth were finished, and all the host of them, and on the seventh day God rested from His work.'* In somewhat the same way Christianity presents to the world which receives it an orb of truth, or what it declares such, and lifts it to its place amid the immensities: and then whoever gave it rests, leaving man thenceforth to work upon it, to measure its mountains, unearth its mines, to cross for himself its unbridged oceans, and to set it if he can in just relations with the universe of truth. This is part of a strange and mighty method. We sometimes speak of authors as 'suggestive,' because they conduct to more than they teach; because our minds, in passing from them, are conscious of impulse to a fresh and keen activity in many new directions of thought, and have almost arrived at many truths which we must afterward search out for ourselves. Such au-

* Genesis ii. 1, 2.

thors are most of all rewarding and inspiring. And the one book, in all the world, which seems to me, here at least, preëminent in literature, is that brief book in the faith of which so many of the best have loftily lived and triumphantly died, and which either of us may carry in his pocket—the New Testament of the Lord Jesus Christ.

It is not true, therefore, it cannot be, under Christianity, as has sometimes been scornfully said, that 'he who has science and art has no religion.' In individual instances that may sadly be true. But in general it is true that he who has most fully accepted and deeply studied the Christian scriptures, provided his faculty be equipped for the work, is the one who has the finest and most delicate feeling for truth in art, the most exhilarating pleasure in philosophical thought, the deepest delight in the real and final achievements of science. Take out from modern civilization what has been done for it, in physical research, in historical exploration, in philosophical construction, speculative criticism, or æsthetic endeavor, by Christian scholars, inspired to their work by Christian faith, and pursuing it with powers which that faith had trained, and it would be left almost as devoid of what is most enriching and memorable as the glacier is of trees, or Sahara of blossoming shrubs. The variety of the intellectual work thus prompted by Christianity is one thing remarkable. Its practical fruitfulness is another. And the permanence and the widening energy of the impulse which still flows from it upon the minds which it reaches, is as striking as either. Our own times are full of it; but it did not begin with our times. It is as old as the religion to which it brings its constant illustration.

In spite of the heathenism with which that was saturated, some of the more eminent of the early Fathers, especially in the East, earnestly advocated the careful study of the Greek literature: among them Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Gregory Thaumaturgus, and, later, the great Basil, who wrote a discourse in favor of it,* Gregory Nazianzen, the sainted Chrysostom. Platonism

* Sermo de legendis Libris Gentilium: "Opera": Paris ed., 1722 Tom. II., pp. 173–185.

was honored by St. Augustine. Justin Martyr attributed a Divine inspiration to certain parts of the ancient philosophy. Jerome quoted Virgil familiarly in his correspondence. Seneca was claimed as a correspondent of St. Paul, and in the time of Jerome letters purporting to have passed between them were in general circulation. Even the harsh and vehement Tertullian, who regarded Plato as the 'caterer to a host of heretics,' speaks of Seneca as often found on the Christian side.

A single generation after Constantine, when the schools of grammar and rhetoric had been opened to the Christians, Julian found it needful to his plans for reviving paganism, not only to exclude the Christian children from such schools, but to make strenuous efforts to displace the many instructors of the same faith, who, by reason of superior fitness, had already taken position in them. The famous Greek copyists, of whom Alexandria had been long the resort, were reproduced, more numerously than ever, as soon as Christianity came to power; and the utmost faithfulness, patience, skill, of those who had transcribed tragedy and epic, oration and history, were surpassed in those who afterward, with a higher enthusiasm, devoted their lives to multiplying copies of the Christian scriptures. To the later monks, of the mediæval scriptorium, we owe the preservation of pagan literature, of Virgil and Homer, as of David and Moses, of Æschylus and Demosthenes, as of John and Paul. And when the pen doing its utmost, with practiced skill and diligent celerity, could not meet the demands upon it, the movable type came to replace it, pushed to discovery by the incessant desire for something to multiply, without ceasing or wearying, the records of faith, and the productions of Christian thought; and it was but appropriate that the sacred and large Book of our religion, partly by blocks, fully by separate interchangeable types, should be offered to the world as its earliest gift, by the novel invention.

The Christian Faith, in certain austere forms, has sometimes appeared unfriendly to art. But art began to be cherished in the Catacombs, by the church there imprisoned; and on the walls of the Callixtine cemetery, or of that of Domitilla, symbolic paintings are found, some not improbably of the second century:

of Moses, smiting the rock with his rod; of the fish, bearing a basket of bread; of the branching vine; of the story of Jonah;—of one scene, which had then a terrific significance, of Elijah ascending in his chariot of fire. The final glimmer of the Greek technical skill, which was slowly dying long before in its enforced transfer to Rome, is still preserved in these primitive pictures: where the Good Shepherd replaces the poetic Apollo, where Orpheus appears as in some sort the type and forerunner of Christ, where the crowns and palms of Olympian games become the symbols of Christian triumph, and the ship, beating against turbulent seas, but at last nearing the harbor-gates, is the obvious sign for the Christian life. Even there was shown the subtile and strong æsthetic tendency, combined with a consecrating spiritual conviction, which afterward broke into light more splendidly in the dexterous carvings and capitals of Ravenna, or its superb and shining mosaics; in the rude bronze gates of the Veronese Church of San Zenone—anticipating those more famous at Florence; in many features and ornaments of churches which have not ceased to attract and charm the eyes of travellers.

When technical skill had again been mastered by those whose genius impelled them to it, and to whom leisure gave opportunity, and when Christianity had at length had time, amid the terrific confusions and destructions of almost uninterrupted war, to work the sense of its majestic and tender stories, and of its revelations of realms above sight, into the general consciousness of peoples, then came the wonderful new birth of poetry and art, the true Renaissance, in all southern and central Europe. We apply this name, in a limited sense, to the movement of the fifteenth century and after, which took its impulse from a renewed study of the antique monuments and life. In an equally just and a larger sense it applies to all that continuing and astonishing development of culture which sprang from deeper and broader forces, as early as the thirteenth century. Its prophecies, at least, are to be traced in the more active political life, the acquisition of Latin authors, the development of universities, as well as in the beginning of mediæval art, in picture and church, in liturgy and music. The arts of design, in color or in marble, came later to ampler development, but the

strong impress of religion was on them. Who has not felt the prodigious change which passed upon painting, and which left its records in sculptured stone, when a real rapture or a real agony, of a Person believed to be superhuman in essence and in relations, began to take the place of the self-conscious fancy which had sought to portray the Juno or the Diana, the Hercules or the Faun? Freedom, variety, naturalness, dignity, a new ethical tone, a larger and sweeter inspiration, came with the impulse of the new Faith into the arts which heathenism had cherished and yet had dishonored. The stimulated soul endued with fresh grace and a more eager force the animated hand; and so, and not otherwise, were born at last the world's masterpieces, the Assumption of the Virgin, the Last Communion of St. Jerome, the Sistine Madonna, the Transfiguration.

Into the brain of builder and architect streamed, even earlier, the same surpassing and stimulating effluence from the august religion; and rock rose as in modulated psalms, fortress and palace being humbled and dwarfed by the temple for worship, when the solid quarry broke forth before genius into Gloria and Te Deum. Certainly, by consent of all, there has been thus far no art in the world like the Christian art. Its temples arose on a soil still quaking with tread of armies, and hot with the unextinct fires of war; and the singular combination which the Christian records everywhere present of the most minute touches of human biography with the vast, overshadowing, unsearchable reach of the realms supernatural—of the Lord who was a babe in Bethlehem, and afterward Redeemer and King of the world—this is the key alone sufficient, when applied to such art, to unlock the secret of its harmonies and its heights. Lofty columns, daintiest capitals, darkling shadows, glancing colors, the gleam of sunshine smiting through translucent gold, the crimson splashes spattering pavements, scutcheon and banner effulgent with glow of royal purple, the dome that seems purposed to roof the world—they are not a medley, they are a marvel, by which the dullest are impressed; and they could not have been, in their mysterious and astonishing combinations, except for the religion which the timid have trusted, by which genius has been profoundly searched and supremely exalted, and from whose power Christendom has sprung.

Even the sensitive enjoyment of nature stands connected at its root with the rich and majestic monotheistic conception. It has finer expression in Hebrew literature than in all the Greek or Roman classics. Humboldt notices the fact that a single Psalm—the 104th—'represents the image of the whole cosmos'; and Goethe spoke of the book of Ruth, with its simple and charming pictures of nature, as 'the loveliest specimen of epic and idyl poetry which we possess.'* The love of noble or gentle landscape, which has come to be a source of such keen and wide pleasure among western peoples in more recent times, is in harmony with, as it seems plainly to have sprung from, the picturesque and exalting instructions of the Gospel; and nothing else so links the earth, in lily and mountain, and winding waters, with blooms above and rivers of life, as does the astonishing record of the Christ.

Indeed, to whichever side we turn, a similar impulse to free and various mental activity is always before us, along the paths of the Christian advance. The religion which brings so much of literature, so much of history associated with it, which presents such practical yet imperial themes for human contemplation, and which naturally calls for such prolonged and vigorous exercise of all powers of the mind, such a religion cannot but send the intellect forth, equipped and strengthened, into every field on which it may enter. What Milton said of any good book may certainly be said, with preëminent emphasis, of the book of our religion: "The precious life-blood of a master-spirit, embalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life."† It deals with great principles, and so stimulates the spirit whose business it is to ascertain and apply these. It seeks illustration from every side of physical nature, of human life. It stirs the enthusiasms which are as the fiery heart of the engine, under whose impulse wheels revolve, and ponderous arms play back and forth. It liberates the higher intellectual nature, so far as its influence is accepted, from binding appetites and mis-interpreting passions. And it affirms, whether truly or not, that the

* "Cosmos": London ed., 1870; Vol. II.: pp. 413, 415.

† Prose Works: London ed., 1753; Vol. I.: p. 151.

word which it presents is in harmony with God's works, and that nothing which is true can contradict or displace it. At once tender and commanding, connecting our little life on earth with life unending in other spheres, it challenges alike the largest reflection and the most acute and unrelaxing research from the world of mankind. I expect, therefore, to find fresh studies and sciences springing in its path, as flowers and grasses beneath the benignant touch of spring.

The theologian: it may be first the heart which makes him, according to the loved maxim of Neander; but the discerning and reconciling brain is surely as needful, as has often been shown, in Augustine, Anselm, Aquinas, in the English Butler, in our own Edwards, pronounced by eminent Europeans among the first of metaphysicians, and in multitudes of others. Their whole large endeavor in life has expressed, better than any words, their sound and strong sense of the rightful prerogative of the human mind, interpreting the ways of the Almighty to man. However sharply they have censured man's character, they have not been insensible to the indefeasible magistracy which belongs to his intellect; and however diverse their theories may have been of the profound philosophy of religion, however we may possibly dissent from all of them, they have been witnesses, as surely none will dispute, to the energizing force which the Christian scheme, whose mysteries they have sought to elucidate, delivers upon the mind.

So have been, equally, the great preachers, from Chrysostom onward—before him, indeed—and in all regions or sects of the church. There were none such, there could be none, in the ethnic religions. Heathenism concerned itself scarcely at all with moral teaching, still less with any systematic exhibition of spiritual truth. But, from the beginning, Christendom has been resonant with earnest teaching, because the religion which has had command in it has been doctrinal, historical, preceptive in its character, requiring to be commended to men by earnest and careful intellectual processes; and the greatest of these preachers, whether Catholic or Protestant, have addressed with their eager and quickening thought, and with the almost magical force of spiritual enthusiasm, the humblest minds—precisely those which

the ancient philosophy would have deemed itself dishonored by touching.

So expositors have come, in numbers almost countless, students of the word, and learned and lucid interpreters of its contents; and libraries have been gathered, when once formed they have rapidly been enlarged, to supply the instruments for defining or expounding the sacred text. The labor expended upon that text, to assure its correctness, since the earliest time, but especially since the days of Erasmus, has made centuries celebrated in the merely literary history of mankind. It is a work prosecuted as eagerly at this hour as ever before, and the last thirty years have only done more for it than many preceding equal periods.

Historians, too, have arisen, rich in learning, broad in survey, careful in detail, with minds discerning and intuitive, and with the fine detective insight of spiritual sympathy, to unfold the progress of Christianity in the world: to show how it fought with alien powers, and overcame them in 'the unsubduable might of weakness'; and how the subsequent advancing consciousness of the ever-unfolding Christian society, in all its periods, has found its various, but on the whole its grand expression; how men and institutions have illustrated this, and then have reäcted with energy upon it; and how the present unseen activity of that Lord of this religion in whom, as Pascal said, 'all contradictions are reconciled,' has been revealing itself afresh through controversy and mission, in councils and in cottages, making individuals its servants and champions, making the nations reflect its lustre.

All history, to be vital and rich, implies that moral sympathy with man which Christianity nurtures: implies the recognition of that Divine order in the progress of the world of which Christianity alone supplies either the conditions or the discovery. Max Müller has said that the worship of the Semitic nations 'is preëminently the worship of God in History.'* But Christ in History has been always the inspiration to largest thought, to richest and most illuminating study, in Latin or in

* "Science of Religion": New York ed., 1872: p. 62.

Gothic Christendom. I conceive that no grander single monument was ever erected to the comprehensive reach and the interpreting insight of the human intelligence—though it was meant for anything but that!—than the marvellous history of the Christian religion which has made familiar to all the world the chosen new name of Neander: who wrought with such prodigal patience and labor, such intuitive skill, and such sustaining enthusiasm of love, to show the living witness in Christendom to the Divine power of that religion which his ancestors had hated; whose motto, 'Theologia crucis, non gloriæ,' expressed his whole spirit;* of whom the Roman Catholic theologian Moehler said that he embraced everything, even the most profound, and apportioned to every man his place with undeviating justice; whose lectures have been happily described, by one who felt and who still reproduces both his diligence and his sympathy, as an uninterrupted flow of learning and thought from the deep and pure fountains of the inner life; and who at last, after almost incredible achievements in study, simply said, 'I am weary—let us go home,' and was carried to his grave followed by thousands of students and of citizens, with the king among them, and with his own copies of the Christian scriptures borne upon his bier. I match against his Gibbon's history, or any other which a haughty and sceptical temper has wrought, and the power of Christianity in inspiring the intellect, as well as in subduing and transforming the heart, appears to me beyond dispute.

I need not speak—I cannot, of course, in the minutes which remain—of the great Christian jurists, who have surpassed, not in learning only, or in scientific merit, but in ultimate judicial wisdom, Paulus or Papinian, Ulpian or Tribonian, because following in their path with a nobler juristic spirit, a sweeter and sounder ethical insight, taught by Christianity; nor of the authors, various, multitudinous, who in all forms of letters, poetry, philosophy, scientific discussion, narrative, romance, have shown the force of inspirations around them, whether or not they

* Dr. Schaff: "Germany, its Universities, etc." New York ed., 1857 p. 273.

were equally within them, prompting to finest and highest thought, and giving grander moral meanings to what language became ennobled in expressing; nor of the diligent travelers and explorers, who have made the ancient streets of Jerusalem as evident to our thought as these are to our eyes along which we familiarly walk, who have followed each step of the Lord in his journeys, and have traced and mapped the journeys of his apostles with a care and fullness surpassing that of any Itinerary of Antoninus; nor of the inventors who, under the practical impulse of Christianity, catching its enthusiasm for peaceful arts, and in inward accord with its benign bent, have put so many novel instruments into the disciplined hands of men,—working sometimes with a positive purpose of consecration, and always in an air electric with aspiration because quickened by the Master. It is not possible to even indicate the forms in which the vast new mental inspiration which came by Jesus has been exhibited. To enumerate and describe them were the labor of many life-times.

The common familiarity with many languages in modern times is itself to be ascribed, in large measure, to this religion which came out of Galilee. The mere labor of translating the Christian scriptures into other tongues than those which first held them has been continuous and immense. It has been prompted and sustained by the sense of the superlative importance of these scriptures, to persons and to peoples, and by the enthusiasm kindled toward them in those who receive them. The age which saw their translation into the Syriac, the Æthiopic, or the Gothic, is linked indissolubly by the sublime labor with that which has witnessed in our own day the regeneration of savage dialects, that into them might enter the word of him who spake to the world from Nazareth. The work is one peculiar to Christianity. The Koran contemplates no version of itself out of the sacred Arabic words into the jargon of external dialects. Its inspiration must evaporate in the process. No Chinaman puts Confucius into English. Even Gibbon remarked that Chinese grammars were written in Paris, and doubted if the mandarins knew their own language as well as the Frenchman.* No Buddhist

* Misc. Works: London ed., 1796: Vol. II.: p. 237.

transports the three Pitakas, or even the Dhammapada, into Italian or German forms. But the Gospels and Epistles—the whole Bible, indeed—under the impulse which inheres in themselves, are constantly pushed into translation by their disciples, into every known or accessible language. Linguistic studies become thus each year more thorough and wide, in the lands ruled by this religion; and Christendom is characterized as the circle of nations in which most numerous languages find readers. It is so because the religion which moulds it comes to men in a Book, and claims for itself universal supremacy. If the dialects of mankind were once divided by any catastrophe, it is certain that this reconciling religion means to make the sovereign contents of all at last identical. The name of its founder is already at home in Oceanica or in Africa, as it is in our churches; and the documents teaching of his character and his life have created their own alphabetical forms in the most uncultured tongues of the earth.

Of course popular education has been incessantly stimulated, wherever this religion has gone, by the effort to bring the general mind into immediate and quickening contact with the doctrines and precepts set forth in its books, and with the studies which these inspire. The Greek education, especially at Athens, was noble in its aim, caring for morals as well as for learning, full of that fine paramount instinct of proportion and harmony which appears in all the greater Greek work, and seeking to give equal and elaborate culture to every force of mind and body, by the grammar, music, and gymnastics associated in it. Teachers from other lands were attracted to the city whose intellectual life was a glory of the world. The grand works of Hellenic genius were themselves a liberal education; and the presence of eminent men, in a population as limited as that of Athens, was a constant stimulant to all rare forces of talent or genius. But no public institutions for education were erected or maintained at the general expense, though the age of tutors, and the number of their scholars, were under a certain regulation by law. The chief object of education was to make good citizens, and to give an ampler enjoyment in life and the poor, in respect to it, were at vast disadvan

tage, as compared with the prosperous. The Roman spirit, more strict and imperious, for long periods of time limited its instruction to such departments as should conduce most to military success and public aggrandizement; and Cato only expressed the feeling in the midst of which he had grown up when he denounced the philosophy of Greece, and resisted the sudden passion for it on the part of the young. He no doubt felt at the time, as he said, that the state would perish, if it should come to be infected with the Greek literature. In the great days of Rome only agriculture and war were held in general esteem, and literary employments were largely left to the servile class. Even in the imperial time, the preceptor and the pedagogue, the reader and the scribe, the clerk, the singer, and the keeper of the books, were commonly slaves. And though within the century and a half after the capture of Corinth, to the time of Augustus, the eminent Greek authors had come to be familiar at Rome, and Latin literature had attained a brief and splendid consummation, in which the language was enriched, while poetry, history, philosophy, jurisprudence, in eminent instances the natural sciences, were carefully cultivated, the period was short, the decline was inevitable, because there were no towering truths behind these liberal arts and 'fair humanities.' Contests of rhetorical skill, public recitals, were adopted from the Greeks, and literary feasts became a temporary fashion. But the system of education had then for its end the adding more of luxury to life, as it had before had it for its special purpose to fit men more perfectly for the haughty game of politics and of war. It was closely limited, also, to the wealthier classes.

Christianity alone, with instinctive impulse, seeks to quicken and expand the minds of the humblest, that they may apprehend what she affirms to be truths of the universe, and may be lifted to contemplate His incomparable plans on the word of whose power the worlds are hung. It is at least a great aspiration. We see its effect in the millions of schools with which continents are alive, and in which are laid the sure foundations of the world's ultimate civilization. These are not special to our times. They had their origin far back, in the depths of the darkness which followed the crash of the Western Empire. Before that,

indeed, they had already begun to be established; and the forces manifested in their erection have never since failed in Christian communities. It is noticeable, too, that wherever such schools have once been established, their tendency has been to enlargement and expansion, under Christianity; till the "Schola" has become as of course the "Universitas," and that which started with teaching men only the contents of the Scripture, and the general laws of Christian living, has gone back over history, has gone abroad over nature, has pierced the rocks and searched the suns, has taken learning from all languages, and discipline from all acute dialectics, and has gathered in its enormous libraries the aggregate treasures of the mind of the world.

So the University of Paris grew up from the theological teachings of William of Champeaux, of Abélard, and of Peter Lombard; the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford from obscure conventual schools. And whereas the famous Arabic seminaries in Spain, of the mediæval period, teaching a religion of dominating will and predestinating force, have left no successors, and have to-day no vital relation to the mind of the world, these Christian universities, springing up as by magic all over the continent, are as sure of continuance as are the cities and countries which they make famous, and are being reproduced on our recent shores. The university, as truly as chapel or cathedral, is the offspring of the Faith which was preached in Judea. Hadrian planted one, after his fashion, amid the opulence of Rome. It was like his attempt to represent the majestic or delightful sceneries of countries at his Villa at Tivoli; a superficial attempt, which scarcely survived his own frail life. Our Fathers started one in their utmost poverty, on shores barren of beauty, and under a sky black with tempests, and we know to what already it has grown; how many others have taken from it impulse, instruction, and large aspiration.

With one swift glance, then, notice the contrast of other religions, even those which at first seem most intellectual. There have been, as I have said, Sacred Books beside the Christian: the Hindu Vedas, Brâhmanas, Upanishads, Sûtras; the Buddhist Pitakas, Vinaya, Sutta, and Abhidhamma; the Chinese books; the Persian Avesta, the Koran. These have been made familiar in Chris-

tendom by the labor of Christian scholars, often of devout Christian missionaries; and it is a point of honor to-day, among these scholars, to find in such books whatever can be anywhere discovered of wisdom, beauty, and moral force. Undoubtedly there is much; for the Light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world was not left without witness in the often high and sensitive spirits from which they came. Religions differ more widely in their principles than in the particular precepts which they inculcate; and the precepts may seem in formal agreement, while the effects of the systems with which they are connected shall be wholly diverse—as the same botanical order which embraces the deadly night-shade embraces plants nutritious and tonic. So a Roman Catholic Bishop has affirmed that Buddhism teaches in its scriptures 'a surprising number of the finest precepts and purest moral truths,'* though the peculiar religion of those books culminates, he affirms, in atheism and nihilism. But laying aside all special comparisons, what have these religions done, either or all, for the general, liberal, and progressive education of the ardent, ingenious, and capable peoples, among whom they had ancient place, and have had since continued power? What strong, steady, effective impulse has gone from them into the recipient public mind? What sciences, arts, poetries, have sprung from them, which the world at large will not surrender? Of what beneficent and fruitful civilizations have they been the unwasting source?

I think of Hindustan, inhabited for ages by our own kindred, whose ornaments were sought by Solomon for his palace, whose gold brocades were in the courts of imperial Rome, whose poetry, ante-dating the Christian era, is still read and admired in Europe—without present science, history, poetry, or any recent mechanical arts, except as these have pressed in from abroad, with no geography, even, of native production, and no philosophy which asserts itself valid to the mind of the world; constrained to import its very arguments against the religion of the New Testament from the countries in which men have been stimulated and trained by that religion:—I think of China, where it is said that the seat of the understanding is assigned to the

* Bp. Bigandet: "Legend of Gaudama": (Preface). London ed., 1880.

stomach, but where respect for learning is almost a religion, and where the assiduous cultivation of such learning is the pride of the people, and the glory of the throne—without epic or art, with the old-time classics still in their place, but with no living literature to enlighten and discipline the mind of the people; whatever they attain marked, as Frederick Schlegel said, 'with unnatural stiffness, childish vanity, exaggerated refinement, in the most important provinces of thought, and the language itself chiefly characterized by jejuneness and poverty';*—and then I turn to the lands which Christianity has filled with its scriptures, and with their unwasting indefinable impulse, and how vast is the contrast!

No matter, now, by whom or when these scriptures were written; how far they deserve the faith which they challenge from the mind of mankind. No student of the past can dispute their enduring and astonishing effects on the minds, not of persons only, but of peoples.

I see the rough and savage strain of Gothic, Slavic, Turanian blood, pouring upon the Roman Empire, apparently insusceptible to culture, and ruthlessly destructive of all ancient monuments; I see the ages of what seemed a hopeless disorder following, when learning must hide itself in convent or palace to keep itself alive, when languages themselves went out of existence, when the naked sabre, which the Alani are said to have worshipped, with its hilt in the earth and its point toward heaven, appeared the only worthy symbol of the forces which presided in the barbaric chaos:—and then I trace the grip and scope of this most spiritual but most masterful religion which comes to its fullness in the New Testament; I see its ministers compelled to know something of history, ethics, the thought of the past, as well as of rubrics and of tithes; I see its cloisters coming to be crowded with diligent writers, until the presses take their place; I see languages reduced to order and form that they may receive the immortal evangel; I see schools and universities rising before it, education expanding, no learning discredited, all forms of true knowledge at last welcomed and honored—till the entire air of society is full of subtile intellectual stimulation, till the

* "Philosophy of History": New York ed., 1841, Vol. I.: p. 155.

new ages rise into the manifold fullness of light in which we are embosomed, till the more inviting realms of the world, earlier in their culture, now turn to Christendom as having in that their only hope for even a secondary mental progress; I see the great discoveries coming in this circle of nations which barbarism so lately ruled, to enrich and empower human society; I hear there the poems, tender or triumphing, which are the timbrels and the trumpets to which the race is marching forward; I see the ages of intelligent faith fruitful and quickening, while those of unbelief are barren in contrast; I see the vast amphitheatre filled with the light of the Book, as Raphael's picture of Peter in prison with the light of the angel, subduing the light of torch or of moon:—and I say with absolute certainty, for myself, that the power here shown is *like* a power coming for the race, and coming from God!

Whatever else is true or not, the superlative educational force of the world appears embodied in this system of Faith which came by peasants as its ministers, and the son of a carpenter as its mysterious sovereign Teacher. It lays its hand of supreme benediction on countries and centuries at the furthest remove from its first proclamation. It furnishes the matrix out of which genius may be expected plenteously to spring. And sceptics themselves, with whatever learning, eloquence, or wit, appear to me but involuntary witnesses to the underlying and impenetrating impulse of this religion, which has given possibility to even their hostile culture and force.

LECTURE VIII.

THE EFFECT OF CHRISTIANITY ON THE MORAL LIFE OF MANKIND.

LECTURE VIII.

The picture of the moral life of antiquity at the time when Christianity presented its imperative commands to the world—of that life as exhibited not in remote and uncivilized districts, exceptional in barbarous wickedness, but in the chief centres of culture and of commerce—this is presented, in rapid and incidental touches, but yet with precise and impressive distinctness, in the letters of St. Paul; and probably no one will be tempted to regard his portraiture of it as fanciful or unjust. He was no scholastic recluse, brought suddenly face to face with the actual spirit and conduct of mankind. He was a man of robust nature, experienced in affairs, conversant with the customs of different peoples, by no means insensible to the manifold elements of grace and of grandeur in the ancient civilizations: a man of clear-sighted practical sense, who was prompt to recognize each point of support for the religion which he preached in the history, the letters, or the moral education, of those whom he addressed; who was even regarded by some fastidious disciples as ready to interpret Christianity too largely, and to be too tolerant of the errors of his hearers, that he might fulfil more completely his vast and fruitful mission to the Gentiles.

What this observant and practiced man, of keen intelligence, large experience, and wide observation, incidentally or directly tells us of those whose acceptance of the Faith which he taught he is eager to win, we may without demur accept. At least we may be sure that he has not forgotten his own common-sense so far as to outrage the hearts of his readers, and to instantly repulse their judgment, by painting themselves, or society around them, in colors too sombre. Read then, in the light of this, his unquestioned letters to the Corinthians, who had been withdrawn,

largely through the influence of his eager eloquence, from the vices of the heathenism in which most of them had been trained, and see in that vivid ancient silhouette how fierce and flagrant the old wickedness was!

Remember that Corinth was at that time an intellectual capital of Greece, as well as its dependent political centre; that in it stood the grandest temples of that luxurious and decorated order which had taken its name from the famous city; that the Isthmian games were there still celebrated; and that not only particular schools, or eminent teachers, had distinction in and around it, but the city itself was renowned in the world for its polished learning, and its cultivated fondness for instruction and research. Among those, then, in this city, who have distinctly, with revolutionary action, come out from the defilements, whatever they may have been, of ancestral religions, what is the present moral attainment? how much, if anything, of the earlier dross still clings to the very image of the Lord, as formed amid the heats of conviction and consecration in their softened and stimulated souls? what indications are thus given of the previous character of their custom and spirit?

I need not remind you what witness is borne, or with what emphasis it is borne, on either of these points, by the earliest of these letters. The old sensuality, which had in other times had religious consecration by its intimate connection with the temple-rites of Aphrodite, had so infected the nature of the converts that Christ himself, the Lord of purity, had not wholly delivered them from it. Profligacy was defended, on the ground of Christian liberty. The orgiastic feasts of the heathen still drew to themselves Christian disciples, in temples defiled with every lust. The solemn and pathetic Supper of the Lord was degraded into a drunken carousal, or at best a secular feast. The spirit of faction raged with such violence as to despoil worship of significance and of order. Finally, a man who had done what paganism itself could not but reprobate, in contracting an incestuous marriage, was tolerated in the Christian society, and had the passionate support of many of its members.

These facts are not recited by the apostle as things alleged, of which proof may be needed. They are referred to as familiarly

known, as constituting the very occasion of his writing from the distant Ephesus, amid the fertile Asian meadows; and his second letter shows the fear which he had had lest his rebuke should prove ineffective. The question then inevitably comes: 'If this were the condition of those who had actively come out from heathenism, because a something higher in their nature had been reached by the startling appeals of Christianity, what must have been the preceding life from which they had emerged? what must have continued to be the life of those who clung with unshaken tenacity to the ancient cultus, and to the attractive and canonized vices which it sanctioned and garnished?' The answer to these questions involves the whole terrific story of ancient manners.

But if we wish this set before us, not incidentally, but in a definite face to face portrait, we turn of course to the letter to the Romans, and read again the awful words in which the apostle, in the first three chapters, but especially in the first, depicts, as with pencil tipped with fire, the terrible scene on which he looked. The simplicity and thorough fidelity to truth in his lurid delineations would scarcely impress us as they ought—these would surely, I think, seem over-charged—if the parallel accounts of secular historians did not sustain them; did not add, indeed, emphatic illustration to each principal point in his sad and stern indictment. This was what the old civilization had come to, in its ultimate fruitage! Here was the result of what philosophy had inculcated, of what religion had enjoined, of what art, commerce, and government had done, to restrain and refine, to ennoble and invigorate the nature of man. Let us draw near, and see what it is, this ancient life: not now as depicted by Paul, but as illustrated by the men themselves born in it, and who could not be its unfriendly critics; by men who no more thought at the time of the apostle, or for many years after, of coming out from it, through the acceptance of any new Faith, than they thought of jumping from the planet. Let Seneca, Tacitus, Suetonius, and the others, be our teachers. Then we may see, through their eyes, in a measure at least, what was the festering and feculent morass, poisonous, malefic, rank with corruption, into which the new religion burst, and through which

it poured its sudden current of quickening and transforming life. If it did not wholly purify, it at least did something toward sweetening and cleansing, the foul habit of society. And if it was the teaching of a mere Jewish peasant which accomplished this effect, it is surely the most remarkable phenomenon in the moral history of mankind.

The Roman nature, it must be remembered, if hard and coarse in comparison with the Greek, was also relatively vigorous and simple. It had more of self-restraint, and of moral vigilance. Less picturesque, it was more practical, resolute, and robust; less addicted to delicate thought, it was more devoted to public affairs, and to the justice which guarantees welfare. In a measure this moral tendency survived, through changes of manners and vicissitudes of history; so that, down to the last, there were those in Rome who amid the pageants of imperial pomp delighted to recall the time when the founders of the Republic had dressed in rough raiment, and had taken counsel, not under marble porticoes and roofs, but in green meadows, beneath the open and lucid heavens; or when one who had been twice a consul, as Augustine long after was glad to remember, had been expelled from the Senate by the Censor, for undue luxury, because he was found to possess ten pounds weight of silver-ware.* The reed-thatched hut of Romulus, or what passed for such, was still preserved on the Palatine hill, while gorgeous structures rose around it; and Augustus himself had only bought there the house of Hortensius, and lived in a simple and manly dignity. There was no very sensitive instinct of righteousness in the empire. The Latin "conscientia" had not meant what we call the moral sense, until a late period, any more than had the Greek "suneidēsis." Each represented, primarily, only conscious intelligence of anything. But the patriotic virtues were naturally in high estimation in Rome. The ideal of character, in the day of Cato or of Cicero, was caught from the hardy Stoical conception. Indeed, the dominant tone of philosophical thought in the imperial city, when Christianity first was preached there, was peculiarly Stoical; and the doctrines and precepts of Zeno and Cleanthes had an accept

* "Civit. Dei"; V.: 18.

ance among the stalwart and self-contained Romans wider and readier than they ever had reached among the vivacious and pleasure-loving Greeks. There was to the end a 'party of virtue,' represented by Burrhus, Helvidius, Priscus, Thrasea and others, represented in his writings most memorably by Seneca, which resisted and would restrain the fierce currents of profligacy, swift and swelling, amid which they stood.

Seneca wrote in a strain so lofty, so morally wise, so nearly Christian, that it was afterward commonly thought, as I have intimated before, that he must have gathered his maxims from the Scriptures, and have had correspondence with St. Paul. Some of the illustrious Christian Fathers, as Tertullian, Lactantius, St. Augustine, quote his words with approbation. Jerome speaks of him as 'our own Seneca.'* He is said to have been quoted, as one of the Fathers, at the Council of Trent. He was certainly so referred to in the Council of Tours, in the sixth century. And whoever carefully reads the precepts, of which he presents so many, so tersely, will be often surprised at their almost verbal agreement with the New Testament. The natural impression certainly is of one who had heard, from slaves or others, Christian teachings. So Cicero declared that no one had attained the true philosophy who had not learned that all wickedness should be shunned, though hidden from the eyes of gods and men; and the younger Pliny, in his subsequent time, eulogized a friend as one who did nothing for exhibition, all for conscience' sake, seeking the reward of virtue in itself, not at all in the praise of men. He teaches the duty of forbearance and forgiveness; as Cicero had recognized the beauty of humanity, and forbidden the severe resenting of injuries. Even Horace, the practiced and dainty man of society, describes, you remember, the just and steadfast man, with his firm mind undaunted amid the crash of worlds, and calls him alone happy, not who possesses much, but who knows how to use the gifts of the gods, who can suffer poverty with patience, who dreads a wrong deed more than death, who would die without fear for friends or country.†

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* "Noster Seneca": Adv. Jovin. I.: 30.

† L. III.: Car. 3: 1–7. L. IV.: Car. 9: 45–52.

The subsequent teaching of Plutarch, that virtue is the health of the soul—answering to the earlier teaching of Plato, that justice is in the mind what physical health and strength are in the body, and that injustice is analogous to sickness and impotence—this was in perfect harmony with the teachings which were honored at Rome by the elect spirits at the time when the first Christian congregations hid in the shadows of lanes or of catacombs. Philosophy, in fact, was fast becoming absorbed in ethics. The house-philosopher, to train in virtue, became an attendant on a family of wealth as commonly as the slave-physician; and, at the last, philosophical lectures were almost as prominent in Roman society as they have been in any later community, while the cynics—'the monks of Stoicism,' as they have been called—pervaded the empire, in evident rags, and in presumed wisdom.

It was not, therefore, by reason of any peculiar rottenness of nature that Roman civilization had come to be what it certainly was in the day of St. Paul, nor by reason of any want of such precepts and rules, and moral incentives, tending toward virtue, as philosophy could supply. Yet what had that civilization become, in the moral habit of the society which it trained, and in spite of all elaborate and strenuous conservative forces? We know what the only answer is, though one naturally shrinks from telling the story.

The gluttony practiced, and the fantastic indulgence of appetite, were simply staggering to the modern imagination. Juvenal might well say that men devoured patrimonies at a meal.* Not only were hundreds of dollars sometimes paid for a fish; dishes were served of the brains of peacocks, and of nightingales' tongues. All regions were ransacked for strange luxuries for the table. Vitellius was credited in the rumor of his time with having consumed between thirty and forty millions of dollars in our money, in eating and entertaining, in about seven months. Apicius was said to have dissolved pearls in his wine, to make it more costly; and he is also said by Seneca to have killed himself, after consuming in eating an immense property, together with

* Sat I.: 138.

revenues, and presents of princes, because he was afraid that, having only $400,000 left, he should die of hunger.* Seneca wrote: 'You may not wonder that diseases are numberless: count the cooks! All study is at an end. There is solitude in the schools of rhetoric and philosophy; but how famous are the kitchens!' Buffoons, and dancing girls, attended on the feasts. They closed in the most licentious revelry; and whoever would have the image of one of them distinctly before him may find it in the fearful picture by Couture of the Roman Decadence, still, I think, in the gallery of the Luxembourg, and reproduced in occasional prints.

But gluttony, or eccentric extravagance at the table, was a vice so feeble in comparison with others that it might have passed almost without notice. The fiercer and fouler sensual passions associated with it made simple gluttony nearly respectable. In the thirst for incessant change and zest of licentious pleasures marriage was despised, and was so often avoided that Augustus sought to arrest the tendency, destructive to the state, by imposing taxes and pecuniary disabilities on those unmarried. Yet the marriage-bonds were as easy to be loosed as they were tardy in being assumed. A form of marriage became common whose sanctions were so slight that divorce was easy, on any impulse: so that Seneca could speak of the women who reckoned the years by the number of their husbands; and Juvenal, of those who were divorced before the nuptial garlands had faded, and whose chief distinction it was to have had eight husbands in five autumns; while Martial founds one of his epigrams on the almost incredible story of one who had married within a month her tenth husband. Even Martial himself, who was certainly troubled with few scruples, had to speak of her as an outright adulteress, under cover of the law, and to confess that an undisguised prostitute would be to him less offensive. Men married dissolute women for the purpose of divorcing them, while securing the dowry which would be forfeited by their unchastity. Wives were even interchanged be-

* Consol. ad Helv. X.

tween friends. The punctilious Marcus Cato, of Cæsar's time, gave his wife to Hortensius, himself assisting at the marriage, and, after the death of the latter, married her again as a wealthy widow; while Plutarch only intimates that it might be a subject for discussion whether he did quite right in the matter.* Women of high rank even sought to be enrolled as common prostitutes, that they might be unhindered in their lusts. The very temples became the resorts of lust. Minucius Felix indicates that in his time the chambers of the temple-keepers saw more licentiousness than the brothels themselves; and such enormous excesses of sensuality were familiar in life as had had no precedent, as have had—thank God!—no repetition. The gods themselves were appealed to as supreme examples of licentious appetite, giving authority to the like among men; and many who loved their wives and daughters might have repeated the outcry said by Plutarch to have been made by a spectator in the Athenian theatre, after a song in honor of Diana: 'May you be cursed with a daughter like her'! No frightfullest periods of licentiousness in Europe, in profligate courts, or in loose and promiscuous sea-faring populations, have approached in utter and shameless sensuality the period of the empire when the new religion, by apostle, evangelist, and devoted disciple, began to be preached in it. The records of the Court of Catharine Second, or the Russian Elizabeth—one might almost say of the Papal Court of Alexander Sixth—would look nearly white beside the memorials of the wives of Claudius. The very climax would seem to have been reached when Hadrian built a city, erected temples, set up statues, and instituted games, in honor of Antinous, for whom he was generally reputed to have had an unnatural passion; when a star was named for him, and he was enrolled among the gods.

Meantime, of course, home-life, as it had existed, among large classes ceased to be; and most distinctly among those who had seemed most fortunately placed. The magnificent mansions, built and furnished at a cost which strikes modern lavishness dumb—filled with bronzes, mosaics, costliest marbles, Babylonian

* Lives: "Cato the Younger": Boston ed., 1859, Vol. IV.: pp. 395, 423.

tapestries, carved ivories, chairs and couches of ebony and pearl, ornaments of gold, vessels of amber, murrhine vases, Alexandrian glass, wanton pictures—these were not for domestic pleasure, or for individual study or labor, but for ostentation, and the fullest indulgence of ambition or lust. Slaves were ready for any service, however detestable, or however atrocious; and the most extravagant expedients were adopted to give some relish of vivacity and distinction to the sated and monotonous life of luxury: as when Nero's Poppæa led about a train of asses in foal whose milk should give her cosmetic baths, and had the mules drawing her carriage shod with gold. All life with the wealthier had become a glaring show and revel. The men of moral feeling, of intellectual desires, or of a generous public spirit, of whom there were still many in Rome, could only stand aside, watching with bitterness this infernal procession of all the lusts—always in peril of being caught in it, or of being hurled by it into the unexplored abysm of Death.

As with patricians, so equally with the people. To feast and to be amused had come to be their final ambition. The desire for artificial excitement incessantly increased, as all impulse of noble purpose passed more completely out of life; and that desire sought and found its Roman answer in exhibitions which Christendom shudders to remember, which it hardly indeed can clearly recognize as having ever been possible in the world. Pantomimes and buffoonery of course took the place of the delicate comedy or the serious tragedy of the earlier time. The scenes presented were full of adulteries, and amorous intrigues. The pimp and the courtesan in Plautus' plays had a popularity which Terence could not rival. The most frightful obscenities added relish to the performance; and the ballet-dancers danced nearly or wholly naked upon the stage.

Not even thus, however, were thoroughly to be stirred or fully to be sated the dulled sensibilities of those who then ruled the Roman world. Public games, and chariot races, into which entered the element of danger, were more nearly on a level with their intense thirst for savage stimulation; and so these, introduced two centuries before Christ, rapidly became a popular passion. Augustus surpassed all before him in the frequency

variety, and magnificence of his spectacles.* Titus gave a festival extending over a hundred days; and Trajan one of more than four months. Domitian crowded a hundred races into a day, and introduced young girls as contestants.† The attendant crowds were so enormous that lives were not unfrequently sacrificed in the crush.

Of course, however, no games or races of the old Greek type could meet that demand for inordinate excitement which grows always by what it consumes, and is more insatiate after every indulgence; and so the awful gladiatorial exhibitions became the really eminent feature in the social and popular life of Rome. The Colosseum, which contained eighty thousand spectators, is even now, as has been said, 'the most imposing and the most characteristic relic of Pagan Rome.' But the Colosseum was small, compared with the Great Circus, which in Pliny's time contained two hundred and sixty thousand seats,‡ and which finally is said to have been made to accommodate nearly half a million. There were gathered the representatives of illustrious families, senators, judges, philosophers, poets, ladies of highest rank and breeding in magnificent apparel, vestal virgins, in their sacred dress, in seats of honor—while around were gay tapestries covering the stone benches and balustrades, with festooned flowers, and shining metallic statues of the gods, while above parti-colored awnings sheltered from the sun, and while below went on the hideous unimaginable work of cruelty and death.

In each of twelve spectacles, given by one of the Ædiles, from a hundred and fifty to five hundred pairs of gladiators appeared, to fight to the death with net, dagger, lance, and trident, or with straight or curved blades, ground to the finest edge and point. At the triumph of Aurelian, later, eight hundred pairs of gladiators fought; ten thousand men during the games of Trajan. Sometimes female gladiators fought, sometimes dwarfs, as under Domitian;§ and the condemned, not always if Christians, as by Nero, were sometimes burned in shirts of pitch to illuminate

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* Suetonius: Oct. August:. XLIII.

† Suetonius: Domit.: IV. ‡ Nat. Hist.: L. XXXVI.: 24.

§ Statius: Silva.; I.: Car. 6: 57–64, "Audax ordo pumilonum."

the gardens, or were hung upon crosses, and left to be torn by famished bears before the populace. The combats of animals, with each other or with men, were always refreshing to this horrible thirst for cruel excitement. Criminals, dressed in the skins of wild beasts, were exposed to tortured and maddened bulls. Under Nero, four hundred tigers fought with elephants and bulls. At the dedication of the Colosseum, by Titus, five thousand animals were killed. The rhinoceros, the hippopotamus, the stag, the giraffe, even the crocodile and the serpent, were introduced in what Tertullian fitly named 'this Devil's pomp';* and there is scarcely one element of horror, which can be conceived in man's wildest dreams, which was not presented as a matter of luxury to make complete the 'Roman holiday,' at the time when Christianity entered the capital. Friedlaender declares that the people were seized with an actual mania, in all ranks, of either sex, for these terrific and ghastly spectacles.

A man representing Hercules was burned alive. Platforms were constructed to drop in pieces at a signal, and launch those upon them into cages of devouring wild beasts. Naked women were bound by their hair to the horns of wild bulls, that the lust and cruelty of the savage spectators might be gratified together.† When even such unspeakable horrors were not enough, great sea-battles were arranged, as by Cæsar, by Augustus, memorably by Claudius, who sent two fleets, with nineteen thousand men upon them, to a desperate contest on the Lake Fucinus, for the mere amusement of the throngs of spectators covering the surrounding shores. Domitian, as Suetonius tells us, tried hard to surpass even this. The terrible influence extended widely over the provinces. Men admired and envied the incomparable horrors of the Roman Colosseum, and sought in a humbler way to repeat them. Remains of amphitheatres still confront us, distributed in the regions then subjected to the Empire: as at Arles and Nismes in France, at Trèves on the Moselle, at the Istrian Pola, at Syracuse and other cities in Sicily, at Pompeii, Pæstum, Capua, Verona, and elsewhere in Italy. Yet only

* De Spectaculis, IV.

† See Renan: "Hibbert Lectures": London ed., 1880: pp. 86-9

those built of stone, or quarried out of hills, have survived the turbulent changes of the centuries. Friedlaender gives a detailed list of nearly a hundred and twenty amphitheatres known to have existed in Europe, besides those in Asia, or in Africa;* and indications are said to remain at Caerleon, Bath, Dorchester, and elsewhere in England, that the spectacles, if not the vast buildings for their exhibition, had been carried by the Roman legions into Britain. At the amphitheatre in Trèves Constantine himself, in his earlier career, at the impulse of those still surviving and terrible passions which Christianity had to encounter, twice exhibited vast spectacles: exposing unarmed Frankish chieftains and soldiers to the fury of wild beasts, till these were so utterly glutted with blood as to refuse longer to devour, and then commanding the prisoners to fight with weapons of battle, and to kill each other as gladiators.

I cannot further unroll before you the infamous and almost incredible history. You would feel as if I were asking you to look into the present and palpable circles of Dante's Inferno. But the thing to be carefully noted is this: that all this was a development, unique and awful, but entirely natural, in the society then foremost in the world. The absence of any moral purpose, the failure of even political opportunity after the Empire was established, the rush upon Rome of mingled populations from all parts of the earth, the vast and sudden accumulations of wealth from the conquest of ancient and cultured nations, the want of any clear sense of a coming existence, and the consequent desire to crowd the present with all possible pleasures—these conspired to give to the savage and sensual passions which there broke loose the most tremendous exhibition which the world has yet seen. And philosophy stood before the outburst, not speechless altogether, but certainly wholly ineffective for its restraint. Indeed, philosophy hardly condemned, save with bated breath, these scenes in the arena. Cicero admits, in the Tusculan Questions, that by some, as in his time conducted, they were regarded as inhuman, but he adds his own opinion that 'when the condemned fight with the sword, no better disci-

* "Mœurs Romaines": Paris ed., 1867. Tom. II.: pp. 303–311.

pline against suffering and death could possibly be presented to the eye.'* The younger Pliny, cultivated and humane, distinctly praised them, as tending to inspire an honorable courage, to make men regard wounds as glorious, and to hold death in disdain.† Seneca reproved them, to his honor be it said, with all the energy that Stoicism permitted; ‡ but Juvenal hints no disapproval, caustic and unsparing as his satire is; and neither Tacitus nor Suetonius enters any protest against what of such facts they were called to record. Suetonius distinctly ranks the atrocities against Christians among the more praiseworthy acts of Nero. Ovid, you know, gives instruction to those who are present at the spectacles, women as well as men, to improve any temporary intervals of the games in amorous converse, so naturally was an utter sensuality of spirit associated with the cruelty expressed and nurtured by these astounding and significant spectacles. It had become only literally true, what Livy said, who died while Jesus still tarried at Nazareth, that Rome, which had become great by her virtues, 'had at last reached a point where men could neither bear their vices nor the remedies for them.' As the elder Pliny said, 'all liberal arts had fallen to decay, and only those of avarice were cultivated; servility alone conducted to profit, and men preferred to foster the vices of others rather than their own good qualities; a large part of mankind had come to think drunkenness the one prize of life, and to feel that the purpose for which they had been begotten was to drain vast draughts of stupefying wines from lascivious goblets.'§ Juvenal bore his terrible testimony in words which have since been famous and familiar, that 'there will be nothing further which posterity may add to our evil manners; those coming after can only reproduce our desires and deeds. Every vice stands already at its topmost summit.'**

The dreadful demoralization was not among the rich alone; it was in all classes, and the very philosophers were sneered at by the people as only more greedy and licentious than themselves on a fit opportunity. Troplong says, not too strongly,

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* Tuscul. Quæst.: II.: 17. † Panegyr.: Cap. XXXIII.

‡ Ep. ad Lucil VII. § Nat. Hist., XIV.: 1, 28. ** Sat. I.: 147–9.

that "society was profoundly gangrened."* It was not a transient debasement of manners. It was, as sceptical scholars have admitted, a radical and permanent degradation of the spirit, from which Mr. Lecky earnestly affirms that the distinctive Roman people have never recovered. He does not paint the fact too strongly when he speaks of the pages of Suetonius as remaining 'an eternal witness of the abysses of depravity, the hideous and intolerable cruelty, the hitherto unimagined extravagances of nameless lust, that were then manifested on the Palatine.' † The people were simply on fire of hell, with all lust for whatever would gratify an insatiable craving for viciousness and for blood; while the character of the emperors was often such that the dreadful words in which Tacitus sums up the spirit of their reigns from Nero forward, is the truest picture: 'Virtue was a sentence of Death.' Even Renan testifies that 'in Rome every vice flaunted itself with revolting cynicism,' and that 'the public games, especially, had introduced a frightful corruption'; though he maintains, and no doubt correctly, that domestic virtue survived to some extent in the provinces.‡ Uhlhorn seems to me to state the fact with simple exactness when he says that "the general conclusion must be that the heathen world was ethically as well as religiously at the point of dissolution; that it had become as bankrupt in morals as in faith; and that there was no power at hand from which restoration could proceed."§ Augustine's searching judgment was that "dire corruption, more terrible than any invader, had taken violent possession, not of the walls of the city, but of the mind of the state." **

Philosophy tried to insert better forces; but it was like trying to rear a fortress with paper walls, cemented by a vanishing breath. It had no power to compact and bind what was sound in society, still less to build into virtuous beauty what there was debased. The honest and strong hearts which still remained,

* De l'Influence du Christianisme: p. 214.

† "Hist. of European Morals": New York ed., 1870: Vol. I.: pp. 276, 280.

‡ "Hibbert Lectures": London ed., 1880: p. 23.

§ "Conflict of Christianity": New York ed., 1879: p. 142.

** Ep. CXXXVIII. [to Marcell.] c. 16.

among men and women—like Helvia, mother of Seneca; like Arria, the wonderful wife of Pætus, or Fannia her granddaughter, or the wife of Macrinus, of all of whom Pliny writes; or like the men whom he also portrays, grave, cheerful, hospitable, faithful—these could no more avail against the tumultuous flood of iniquity than a man amid the rapids of Niagara can check their current, or than one caught in the suck of a whirl pool can fight the force which pulls him downward. At a later day, Marcus Aurelius tried with his might to reform the empire, without Christianity; and his effort would have been equally successful if he had tried by laws and soldiers to push the planet into another ethereal path. There was *no* power, of philosophical teaching, of ceremonial religion, of all-regulating government, of all-criticising society—there was no power known to heathenism, of lovely art, historic recollection, sonorous eloquence, stinging satire—which could avail in that momentous and awful crisis It seemed as if the disastrous influence of that epoch in history must continue to sweep on, pitiless and destroying, over the centuries which still were to come, and over the lands in which stood preëminent the imperial and conquering name of Rome. Matthew Arnold has truly said:

> On that hard Pagan world, disgust
> And secret loathing fell;
> Deep weariness, and sated lust,
> Made human life a hell"!

The fury of that iniquitous license, the steam and the stain of its infernal exhalations, are almost as palpable as if they had been things of to-day, to one who reads with discerning though well-nigh incredulous eyes the ancient records.

Against this radical, frightful, enthroned wickedness, came then the unrecognized power of Christianity: a new, unlawful, despised religion, coming out of the East, and undertaking to change and vitally renew the moral life of the capital and the empire. If ever a claim to power seemed absurd, that was the one. A child offering to stop with his breath the blast of the tornado, and to hurl it upward into the air, would hardly have seemed more impertinent in his challenge than did, to the ac-

complished philosophers of Rome, this new religion, in the work which it undertook.

The Jews had long been suspected and hated, in the Roman Republic, and later in the Empire, as insubordinate in their political attitude, contemptuous or hostile in their religious position, unsocial in their manners, greedy and unscrupulous in their commercial relations. Juvenal struck at them with his sarcastic and sharp-edged satire.* Imperial proclamations exiled or slew them, as if they had been noxious animals. Popular animosity took occasion of any public calamity to denounce and destroy them. More than once they were driven out of Rome, banished to islands, swept with pursuing swords out of Italy, by the empire which had conquered their country and capital, but against which stood, erect and fierce, their unsubdued wills. In this vehement hatred against the Jews the Christians of course shared at the outset, being to the pagan world only a new and irritating sect under the detested Mosaic system. But soon came the time when the Jews hated and cast out the Christians with as fierce an anger as they themselves, in the worst of times, had ever experienced. The most fearful curses were pronounced upon them, three times a day, in the public synagogues, as traitorous renegades; and the separation of those who still observed the ancient Law from those who had come to larger light, became as distinct as it has since been, in any time.

At the same time, the familiar hostility of the empire toward the Jews was heated to a double intensity against these recent perverse schismatics, whom even their own nation rejected. They were aggressive: with a missionary zeal which sharply contrasted the previous intermittent religious activities of those from whom they now were severed. They criticised, without sharing, the cruelty and lust which were nearly omnipresent. They offered no sacrifices, joined no processions, burned incense to no emperor; and they expected the destruction of the empire, and warned the most polished and eminent around them that tremendous punishments waited for them unless they turned from their elaborate and sumptuous wickedness. Whether they were

* Sat. XIV.: 96–105: *et al.*

right or not in their doctrine, they at least had the strongest conviction of its truth, and they uttered it in words which smote and stung like tongues of flame. It was not unnatural, therefore, that they should come to be generally regarded, as Tacitus indicates, as 'haters of the human race';* that the cry, 'The Christians to the lions!' should exhibit the impulse of popular fury whenever calamities impended or fell; that the vehement scorn of men like Celsus, if directed against both Jew and Christian, should fall on the latter with fiercest force; and that persecutions against them should rage, not only in occasional frantic outbursts of a tyranny like Nero's, but under the reigns of emperors like Trajan, or like Marcus Aurelius. If ever moral teachers stood at an utter disadvantage in the effort to make their instructions effective, certainly the Christians of the empire did so; and it cannot cease to be matter of wonder, to those who look only on the human side of historical movements, that they were so far successful as they were.

But they had, at least, a noble system, of pure, incisive, and mandatory ethics, with which to work. According to their conception of things, they had a Master, of living and sovereign spiritual power, behind and above them. They believed that the reason and conscience in men, to which he had spoken while manifested on earth, must still respond to the appeal of his word; and they expected, in spite of all apparent discouragement, that that supreme word would make its way, however obscene and fierce the times, wherever were hearts still existing in the world which were in a measure, as Tertullian said, 'naturally Christian.'

The Biblical morality of the Jews had always been higher than that of the nations, in other things more advanced, whose seats of empire were around them. Nothing of the Egyptian, the Babylonian, the Phenician licentiousness, had been countenanced by their Law, however strange influences had now and again been imported from these into their practice; and the doctrine of God which was paramount among them, with the mighty overshadowing commands of the rule understood to be

* Annal. XV.: 44.

from Him, effectively counteracted, in particulars at least, and for considerable periods of time, the tendencies to iniquity which in other religions were tolerated not only, but were often clothed with religious consecration.

But now had come a law at once ampler and simpler than the old, more intimate, more spiritual, and with far more vivid and admonitory sanctions, through the teaching of a Master who claimed singular preëminence, and who, as those who accepted him thought, had illustrated his claim by marvellous works This law revised, interpreted, and surpassed the ancient rules. It insisted on utter pureness in the heart, and would com promise with no evil, of purpose or desire, of wandering thought, or even of indifference to spiritual things. It was an essential part and power in what they held to be a vast, unique, Divine religion, which had spoken to men with authority from the heavens. As the Sermon on the Mount, in its finer penetration into the hidden life of motives, in its wider sweep over the relations of men in society, stood toward the Decalogue—not contradicting or annulling that, but under-running, pervading, overtopping it, with deeper and more celestial significance—so stood the whole moral system of Christianity to that which had preceded and prepared the way for it. It was pure as the light. It had no more tolerance for evil, anywhere, than light has for darkness. It searched and exposed the secrets of the soul: making sin more awful because committed by one in nature divine, against a God whose inmost life was holy Love. Nothing was allowed by it, no genius, or learning, or power, or renown, to take the place of that vital and crystal purity within, which was as the brightness of God's face.

Nor was this simply an ideal system, proposed to men for their moral admiration, or their unimpassioned intellectual assent. That was the tenor and utmost reach of the various philosophical or ethical schemes developed in society. But this was a Law: obedience to which was declared indispensable, essential to worth, declarative of character, decisive of destiny. Christianity had an end to accomplish which the ethnic religions never had sought. They, as I have said, had had no outlook toward the formation of nobler character. The Roman religion,

for example, had been not a system of doctrinal principles for men to believe, or a code of morals for them to obey, but a compact of contrivances, an elaborate ancient public art, by which it was hoped to avert Divine jealousy, or to attract Divine favor toward either public or personal enterprise. So little had that religion ever sought to accomplish in regard to the moral life of the people, that the sense of any ethical efficacy residing in a system of Faith had failed to assert itself; and the heathen historians, of the earlier centuries after Christ, did not suspect the transcendent energy which under this new form of religion was beginning already to restrain and renew the spirit of the empire. The brevity and infrequency of their references to it are only thus to be explained; with the fact that when they did refer to it, it was always as a strange, unaccountable superstition. But character was the essential thing, under Christianity. It portrayed this, as it ought to be. It demanded it, with a peremptory, with what seemed an intolerant, tone of authority. It made men's entire future experience depend on its possession, and brought the unmeasured pressure of celestial motives to prompt to its attainment. And so it smote the slumbering conscience as the clangor of a thousand trumpets in the air could hardly have smitten the startled sense.

Not content, even, with delineating this character in words, however glowing with inward lustre, it showed it in vivid realization, in the personal Head of the religion: in whom charity and power, both passing the limits of historical parallel, were declared to have been inseparably joined; in whom no trace of the evil had appeared which infected society; who suffered, though sovereign; who was patient, amid incessant provocation; who claimed for himself the highest place, and the largest authority over human souls, but who yet gave his life to win the wandering, to enlighten the obscured, to save the condemned. According to the early Christian conception, this unmatched character had appeared in the world, at once to glorify and to condemn it, in him whom his disciples loved as a brother while revering him as their Lord. No matter now when the Gospels were written, or when the oral tradition pre-supposed became compact and current, this conception of the Christ was

certainly in the Church when Paul's principal epistles were written; and it had been there, as appears from those epistles, from the beginning. They who early followed the Lord certainly believed what Athanase Coquerel eloquently said, in answer to Strauss: that 'Jesus is the ideal of virtue; so perfect that all the efforts of the most delicate conscience, the most fertile imagination, the most expansive charity, cannot add to it the least trait'; and they also believed, with the same enthusiastic and untrammeled preacher, that the ideal thus exhibited is a practical ideal; that the Lord had clothed himself with a perfection proportional to our faculties; and that while we admire, extol, and worship, we are also under supreme obligation, through the help which he offers, to aspire to resemble him.*

In order to such personal reproduction of the Christ in one's spiritual life, faith in him was demanded and inspired—a wholly new and transfiguring force; not a mental assent to conceded propositions, this had been familiar; not an unloving submission of the will to a power above it, that too had been common; but faith, confiding, affectionate, self-consecrating, in a living Teacher, Saviour, Lord, ascended to the heavens, but still as personal as when on the earth—this was what Christianity began with, as the essential primal element in any true experience of its power. In this was freedom, fervor of feeling, the joyful consciousness of inward sympathy with the Divine. It had hope in it, gladness, a certain exulting passion of the soul; and by it that soul, thus united to the Master, should be inwardly charged with his purifying energy, should feel a flash of God's life within it, should rise to even ecstatic victory, and should go into the world, as the Lord himself had been sent by the Father, to illuminate and renew it. Under the light, and in the impulse, of this central and sovereign principle of faith in a loved and reigning Master in the heavens, a wholly new conception became common of the nobleness and delight of such a service as that which he offered. It was recognized as adding wings, not weights, to the consecrated spirit; as freeing, not fettering; as infusing such bounteous and inexhaustible energy into spirit and will as

* See Thomson's Bampton Lectures: London ed., 1853: pp. 283–5.

would carry one, almost without consciousness of effort, through hardest contest, to the height of attainments before unconceived.

This was certainly illustrated multitudes of times by disciples whose names are lost from history, as the brightness of their particular careers has been merged in the galaxy of the first Christian centuries. They might honestly say with Octavius, in the famous dialogue of Minucius Felix: 'We may not speak great things, but we live them.' By none, surely, could it have been shown more nobly than by Paul: the independent, intrepid, and heroic apostle, who yet gloried in subscribing himself 'the slave of Christ,' and whose joy it was to bear in his body the marks of stone and scourge and chain which showed his triumphant subjection to the Lord. There was in all this, in him and in others, a something unparalleled in human experience: an electric flame, not quenching but surpassing all common fires; a celestial energy, contrasting the most vital and forcible spirit before known among men. Its intensity, and its property of rapid distribution, were simply incalculable. All former precedents ceased to apply, when elements so novel and so transcendent entered into the problem of whether society could be reformed. There was no momentary doubt or pause on the part of disciples, who shared in the temper because sharing in the faith of him who thought he had seen the Master on the way to Damascus. They did not even take up their work with timidity, caution, or prudential reserve. It was with a glad victorious energy, with a step that echoed the Jubilate, that they went upon their errand: not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ; ready to preach it at Ephesus, or Corinth, or in the front of Roman pride; anticipating pains, but expecting them soon to give place to palms; looking for resistance, but never afraid of it, and assured that in the end it must yield before him whose very cross had now become their mightiest instrument, in whose supremacy, to their thought at least, lay the hope of the world, and for whom it was the supreme desire of their triumphing souls to serve and to suffer.

They knew that they had a vast system behind them, of law, prophecy, rite, song, all which they felt had pointed forward to the coming of the Christ. They believed that he had appeared in the world, heralded by wonders, manifest in miracles, illus-

trious on the mount, crowned in the ascension, more powerful than monarchs, more winning and tender than any friend. They thought that he had sent a wonderful energy upon the apostles, to turn their cowardice into courage, and to unfold in them a moral preëminence before unsuspected. They did not doubt that he could again interpose, when needed, to change antagonists into disciples, and to make the intensest zeal for antiquity obey and serve him. And the work before them, in converting individuals or in purifying peoples, with the help of his grace it seemed nowise impossible. It mattered little, before the impact of his word and the might of his Spirit, how vile and fierce was the temper of sin in any heart, or how tenacious the chains of its habit over life. They saw that temper most terribly illustrated in the murder of the Lord, in which Jew and Gentile, Roman governor, legionary soldier, had equally had part. But they saw as well, or thought they saw, that his murderers themselves had felt the impression of a something unequalled and subduing in his death, as connected with what followed it, and that many of them, pricked to the heart, had accepted his rule. And in spite of all the energy of sin, and all the temptations which renewed this from without, they thought that each one, if appealed to aright, might be led to turn in penitence and faith to him in whose coming the world was illustrious, to him by whose future coming for Judgment its history should be finished.

An influence from himself was promised and assured, to their apprehension, to accompany their appeal, and to give Divine succor to those who should hear this, in their struggle for holiness; while the tremendous stimulants to such struggle which came from the discovery professedly made by the new religion of the realms beyond the grave, and of the relations declared to subsist between character here and recompense there—these were obvious to their minds, and had prodigious power for others. Infidel historians have admitted the unique and capital force of this majestic and vivid appeal from the eternities, breaking forth upon men, and have ranked it chiefest among the instruments by which the empire at last was subdued. Each warning had its correlative promise; and the exultation of Christian hope was uttered in the song last on the lips of the dying believer, in the

words of final assurance and victory inscribed on his cell in the catacomb-crypts.

Men had, therefore, by degrees, to recognize the fact that a new character had appeared in the world, among men like themselves: a character in which gentleness, sweetness, and saintliness of demeanor were combined with enthusiasm, and inflexible zeal; in which was a joy that blended inseparably with supreme self-devotion, and a conquering hope that no enmities could crush. It was an evangel in human life; a discovery of something transcendent in the spirit; a living revelation of forces supernal. The gentler virtues had not been unhonored in the old civilization. Euripides had celebrated the beauty of them, in his admired and musical verse, long before Christianity appeared. At the very time when the Roman women had largely come to be what the historians and satirists describe, in the passages I have cited, on the tombs of some of them were placed inscriptions by those who survived them, full of tender affection and exquisite pathos, commemorating their modesty, sweetness, gentleness, their prudence in affairs, and their affection for home.* And at a time not long subsequent to this, Plutarch finely illustrated while nobly commending the same class of virtues. But never had they had such honor in the world as when Jesus showed them exemplified in himself, and put the whole pressure of his religion upon the inspiration of such in others; as when Paul wrote to the rough and hardy Galatian herdsmen, sprung from the fiercest fighting tribes, that 'the fruits of the Spirit' are those delicate and almost feminine graces, 'love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance';† as when Peter, or some one writing in his name, led out as figures in the Christian chorus, surpassing all that had ever been seen on Grecian stage, 'faith, courage, knowledge, self-restraint, patient endurance, godliness of spirit, brotherly kindness, and finally charity.'‡

A certain glad and stately modesty, affectionate yet reserved, among women especially, replaced the old frivolity and license

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* See Northcote: "Epitaphs of Catacombs": pp. 69–70.

† Galatians v. 22–23. ‡ 2 Peter i. 5–7.

Yet consecration in them was only more eager and complete than in men; and the wrist accustomed to bracelets threw them off, according not more to the instruction of teachers than to the joyful impulse of the heart, that it might be readier for the hard chain; the neck hung with emeralds and pearls unclasped, disdained, and laid them aside, that it might give room, if need be, to the broadsword. Not thus, only, were previous ornaments of luxury discarded, but to furnish the means for ministering more amply to the wants of the needy. For a new charity was now in the world: a law of benevolence, enjoined by Christ, illustrated in him, and made obligatory upon his disciples, obedience to which became a delight under the impulse of his Spirit.

There had been no such systematic benevolence, either in extent or in profound and animating spiritual impulse, in Greece, or in Rome. Neither the art of the one, nor the power of the other, had taken from it any softer illumination. At Athens had been, as I have said, an altar to Pity; but without worshipper, priest, or offering. In later times, a provision had been made there for orphans, and for the poor; but no eager or general enthusiasm had been awakened by it, and it rather recorded than relieved the suffering which it recognized. At Rome were occasional spasms of sympathy, when multitudes had been killed, and other multitudes had been left destitute, by some unusual calamity. Imperial largesses, of money or public banquets, had on special occasions been given to the populace; while regular distributions of corn and of oil contributed to keep citizens alive without work, and to make them more contented with the government by which such supplies were provided. But the prevalent tendencies of the ethnic civilizations had been to restrict and localize affection, and to discourage sympathy. The popular temper had been too hard, and too intent on incessant excitement, to leave room for gentle and generous affection; and the Stoical philosophy, the best of the time, even as elaborated by one like Seneca, declared sympathetic pity a vice of the mind, and that benefits were only rendered wisely when rendered as a matter of general equity. But the law of Christianity was to love all men, especially those of the household of faith; and this, as not only proclaimed by the lips

but realized in the life of many, broke as a sunbeam out of heaven, through darkness and cloud, on the ancient world.

Philosophers had sometimes suggested the sovereignty of the humane sentiments as a remote and delightful ideal; but what has been truly called by one of their admirers their 'reasoned and passionless philanthropy' had had no power to solace sorrow, to relieve labor, to comfort the poor, to inspire or quicken despondent souls. Now came a law of charity to mankind: believed to have been incarnated in the Christ, warmly welcomed and ardently realized by his followers; which sought the weary, the needy, and the sick; which knew no bounds of race or tongue, which prayed for even the judge who sentenced, and the savage executioner whose blade struck the blow. When the Archdeacon Laurentius was called upon by the prefect of the city for the treasures of the Roman church, he presented under the colonnades the poor, the crippled, and the sick, whom this had sheltered and nourished. It was thought so stinging a sarcasm that roasting alive was not a punishment too severe. In the middle of the third century the Roman bishop wrote of more than fifteen hundred persons, the needy, the suffering, and the widows, cared for and nourished by the church in the capital.* When pestilence raged, the Christians cared for the heathen sick, so far as they could soothed the dying who knew not Christ, and with hands soon to be fettered or burned buried the dead. The words which were said to have been on the lips of the first revered martyr, in the hour of his death, were often on their lips, as they faced the sword, the cross, or the stake: "Lord, lay not this sin to their charge!" †

The moral realms of the ancient world were thus compelled to recognize the fact that a something Divine in spirit and life had suddenly appeared, to break the long and strong contexture of selfish customs. Vivid as lightning, yet soft and sweet as summer-airs, the new influence streamed on the world; and its transfiguring energy wrought, with accelerating progress, to majestic effects. Representatives of noble families began to accept this mysterious religion, so full of tenderness and of con-

* Eusebius: Eccl. Hist. VI.: 43.

† Acts vii. 60.

quering hope, so manifestly nobler and more transforming than had before been known among men. The catacombs show that members of the Pomponian gens, and probably of the Flavian, were among them. Domitian, during the first Christian century, condemned his cousin, Flavius Clemens, to death, and the wife of Clemens, his own niece, Flavia Domitilla, to exile, on the charge of atheism, which was the common accusation against Christians. In the time of Hadrian, distinguished philosophers became Christians, as Aristeides, and Quadratus; a little later, Justin Martyr, with orators, lawyers, and men in repute for excellent learning. Hadrian is reported by Lampridius to have thought of enthroning the Founder of Christianity among the gods of the empire, though dissuaded from doing it. And however doubtful this may be, it is certain that Alexander Severus kept in his oratory an image of Christ, with those of Orpheus, Abraham, and Apollonius. The despised 'religion of weavers, shoemakers, and slaves,' had at last by its ethics, as well as by its surpassing declarations and imperial doctrines, impressed the empire; and the very persecutions which then burst forth against it remain as the appalling demonstration of its exciting and commanding effectiveness.

There is something in these before which the imagination, replacing them in particulars as well as in mass in the lurid picture of ancient society, still stands aghast, as if facing directly diabolical energies. When the Master was on earth it seems to be the evident sense of the Gospels—whether justified or not, I do not here affirm—that evil personalities in the realms preternatural were fiercely and stubbornly stirred against him, till earth and air swarmed with the powers of a hideous malice beyond man's emulation. If men count that a fiction of the fancy, they may see what almost answers to it in the fury which broke on the Christian communities which were peacefully worshipping and working beneficence, in the capital and the provinces, when scores of years had succeeded the death of their Lord. As dynamite explodes at the tap of the hammer, the whole savage empire smote them with an unutterable fierceness, and wrapped them in consuming fury. But the attitude which they held, in the midst of it all, only gave another sublimer procla-

mation to the novel Faith for which they dauntlessly suf fered. As St. Marc Girardin said, 'The truth of that era was too great to make poets, it could only make martyrs.'

Instantaneous death, in whatever savage and horrible form, was not the worst which they encountered, when a word of recantation, or a motion of the hand, would have instantly saved them. Many were banished to distant mines, to work among the worst of criminals, in a service so hard that death became a desired relief. Matrons and virgins were doomed to outrage in public brothels. Great teachers and bishops, like Ignatius and Polycarp, were ground, as Ignatius said, 'like the wheat of God, between the teeth of wild beasts, into the pure bread of Christ'; or they were burned at the stake, only asking, with Polycarp, not to be fettered or fastened to the wood, that their firmness might be shown, and praising God that they were permitted to be numbered with his witnesses, and to partake of the cup of Christ. Humble women, like Blandina at Lyons, endured every species of torture without flinching, saying only, to all questions: 'I am a Christian; we have done no wickedness.' Reserved to be the last to suffer death, having encouraged the others and witnessed their agony, she was immeshed, without resistance, in the confining net, and delivered to the fury of the wild bull. Potamiæna, rejoicing to have escaped the threatened outrage of her chastity, died cheerfully, with her mother, in the bath of boiling pitch. Perpetua, at Carthage, only daughter as well as wife and recent mother, at twenty-two years of age, went forth from the agonized entreaties of her father, and harder yet from the clinging arms of her little babe, to die for him who had come from Heaven, as she surely thought, for her salvation and who had said: "Whoso loveth father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me"!

These, remember, are not pictures of the fancy, or extravagant legends. They are facts, authenticated by the soberest history. The most sceptical concede the intensity of the suffering, though some, with Gibbon, have tried unduly to limit its extent. Mr. Lecky, whom certainly no one will suspect of a too great enthusiasm for historical Christianity, sums up the whole matter in these terrible words: "We read of Christians bound in

chairs of red-hot iron, while the stench of their half-consumed bodies rose in a suffocating cloud to heaven; of others torn to the very bone by shells or hooks of iron; of holy virgins given over to the lust of the gladiator, or the mercies of the pander; of 227 converts sent on one occasion to the mines, each with the sinews of one leg severed by a hot iron, and with an eye scooped from the socket; of fires so slow that the victims writhed for hours in their agony; . . of tortures prolonged and varied through entire days. For the love of their Divine Master," he adds, "for the cause which they believed to be true, men, and even weak girls, endured these things, when one word would have freed them from their sufferings." * Eusebius's History, especially in the eighth book and the book of the Martyrs, individualizes the solemn and awful history with a pathos which all intervening centuries have not exhausted.

It was simply impossible that such amazing exhibitions should appear, of spiritual supremacy quenching pain and conquering death, in the midst of vices, cruelties, obscenities, amorous odes, decaying religions, and pallid philosophies, without producing a vast impression on an ever-enlarging circle of minds. These persons, it was known, had been concerned in no conspiracy, had been sentenced for no want of civic fidelity, for no refusal even of the military service. Yet, as one of their historians said, 'the Syrias reeked with the odor of their corpses, and the waters of the Rhone failed to wash from Gaul their blood.' † A certain sympathy for them became inevitable, in all noble and sensitive spirits. When their sufferings were borne in the spirit of Perpetua, who returned joyfully to the prison after being condemned to the wild beasts, or of Felicitas, giving her companions the kiss of peace under the very gleam of the sword—when it was united not only with pureness of manners and gentleness of speech, but with a patient assiduity in kindness which continued to the end, and with a wholly unconquerable temper of self-forgetful love and of triumphing hope—there could be scarcely

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* "History of European Morals": New York ed., 1876: Vol. I.: pp 497–8.

† Tertullian: "Ad Nationes": I. XVII.

any soul so hard and dark that it should not feel an over-mastering force from such examples, that it should not be conscious of a strange gleam from worlds above.

In an age from which all moral earnestness had seemed to have departed, here it was, in most intense and surpassing exhibition, unparalleled since man had stood upon the planet. In a heathenism which had had no bright or large inspirations of hope, which was full rather of deprecation and fear, here was a gladness springing from such hope in the God now fully declared to the world—a gladness which slavery could not crush or the deepest dungeons even silence, and which the most infernal tortures could no more conquer than they could break the sunshine on wheels, or brand the sunbeams with hot irons. "Dum premor, attollor," was the motto on a book of Edward Sixth, with the figure beneath it of a fountain whose waters were flung by pressure toward the sky. It was typical of what has often appeared in gentle spirits. The mind of man shows something of its power when it curbs elemental forces of nature, and musters and marshals the energies which its research finds into a series of instruments for its work. But there breaks into sight a more vivid and unsearchable display of its supremacy, it shows more regally the inherent majesty which belongs to its life, when it faces without flinching the most desperate oppositions raging against it, and only reaches the sublimity of a triumphant calm before whatever man can do. It feels itself then free of the universe, the heir of transcendent and eternal experience, alone among men, but only more consciously allied with God. So the spirit of disciples even rose in enthusiasm as the outrages inflicted became more dreadful. There was at length almost a passion among them for enduring such suffering, which had to be restrained by vigilant teachers,—their spirits aspiring more eagerly toward the path which led to Heaven, while the deviltry of earth was crowding them faster into bloody graves.

At last, therefore, the whole empire had to yield to this new and amazing energy descending upon it out of Palestine. Tertullian was right in saying: "The oftener we are mown down by you, the more in numbers do we grow. The blood of Christians is

the seed of the harvest." * Justin Martyr was lifted out of his philosophy, he says himself, by these brave deaths. Many others followed, on that path of discipleship so fearfully and sublimely illumined. The Jews, who should have been first, according to human probabilities, to receive Christianity, repulsed and scorned it; and after the Talmud in its first part, or the Mishna, had been collected, were separated into fiercest hostility against it. But the savage, sensual, luxurious empire, whose moral life had seemed nearly extinct, whose wickedness was as preëminent as its power, did accept it, and find by it at least a partial renovation. The history of the change I may glance at again in the following lecture. The reason for it is what now is before us: and I certainly do not think that Mr. Lecky overstates the case when he says, repeatedly, that Christianity conquered because 'it united with its distinctive teaching a pure and noble system of ethics, and proved itself capable of realizing it in action'; 'it produced more heroic actions, and formed more upright men than any other creed'; it 'transformed the character of multitudes, vivified the cold heart by a new enthusiasm, redeemed, regenerated, and emancipated the most depraved of mankind. Noble lives,' he adds, 'crowned by heroic deaths, were the best arguments for the infant church.' † Renan, with equal frankness, admits that what effected "the true miracle of nascent Christianity," was "the spirit of Jesus, strongly grafted into his disciples; the spirit of sweetness, of self-abnegation, of forgetfulness of the present; that unique pursuit of inward joys which kills ambition; that preference boldly given to childhood; those words, . . 'Whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant!'"‡

I believe, for myself, that the kingly declarations of alleged transcendent and vital facts, with their majestic coördinated doctrines, as presented to men by the new religion, had more to do than these distinguished writers would admit, with the impression which it made on the empire; while I also undoubtingly

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*Apol. c. 50.

† "Hist. of European Morals": New York ed., 1876, Vol. I.: pp. 412, 419 441.

‡ "Hibbert Lectures": London ed. 1880: p. 159.

believe that providential guidances and spiritual aids, from above the earth, were Divinely accessory to it. But, no matter what the explanation may be, the fact remains indestructible in history: that the religion preached by Jesus—simple as it seemed, and wanting in any equipment whatever of secular force, with no slightest aid from army or navy, treasury or senate, and with all the letters and arts of the age for its unwearied moral opponents—took the foremost peoples and cities of the world, at the time when vice in every form was most triumphant and most universal, and wrought a change unprophesied and unmeasured. It conquered, where philosophies had failed. It exalted, where arts had degraded. It purified, where religions had polluted; and, in the eloquent words of another, it made 'the instrument of the slave's agony a symbol more glorious than the laticlave of consuls or the diadem of kings.'* The splendor of that supreme achievement no scepticism can shadow, no lapse of time rob of its brightness.

From that effect an influence has flowed, with sure though often unrecognized force, upon the moral life of the world. By the same power which wrought that change—weak, apparently, as the staff of Moses, which 'being one, and an instrument of peace, did yet break in shivers all weapons of war, the ten thousand spears of Pharaoh and his captains'—other similar changes, if not equal in prominence, have since been accomplished, among Goths and Huns, Celts and Slavonians, wherever the Gospel in the fullness of its energy has come to be established. It is not true, of course, that it ever has had an unobstructed way on the earth. It contemplates the fact of sin in the soul, finds it secreted in the sources of life, and expects to be encountered by its resistance till the spirit of man has been everywhere subdued to Him who leads captivity captive. There have been men who claimed to be its eminent disciples who have been as untouched by its spiritual power as any of the philosophers who sneered at its principles, or the profligate patricians who gnashed their teeth at its mandatory restraints. They have only hidden, under the disguise of the Christian profession, a more

*F. W. Farrar: "Witness of History to Christ": London ed., 1872 p. 100.

treacherous untruth and a crueler lust. There have been periods in the history of Christendom in which the moral power of its religion has seemed almost paralyzed: as there are certain acoustic belts, Mr. Tyndal reminds us, before or behind which sounds are heard, of bell or gun, but within which those sounds are strangely inaudible. But certainly some things must be admitted as having been accomplished by or under this system of Faith.

It can hardly be denied that the general level of moral life has been exalted, since the Roman Empire absorbed this religion, and was then broken into separate kingdoms; that life is now, in Christian communities, more serious, thoughtful, ethical than it was, more conscious of relations to God and the hereafter, and with a nobler force from the Future raining upon it; that moral criticism of men, manners, customs, arts, theories, institutions, is vastly more searching and imperative than it was before the Sermon on the Mount had been preached; that no such social and moral state as was supremely established at Rome has for centuries been possible in the compass of Christendom; that the ideal of character, as contemplated now by the humblest disciple, is richer and purer than shines before us on any pictured page of the poet, or from the lordliest speculative maxims, of the world before Christ; that, at the same time, the savage barbarian is still reached and redeemed by this spiritual Faith, while even the utterly vicious and abandoned in our own cities are sought out by it, and are not unfrequently reclaimed and purified, trained and transformed, through its unwasting, intrepid force; and that it is no more exhausted of its virtue, or drained of its energy, by all the works which it has done, than is the air by the lungs which have breathed it, or the sunshine by the flowers whose tints it has brightened, whose cups it has filled with lovely perfume.

It expects further triumphs, this religion of Jesus: to be wrought by the same essential force which has been revealed in its previous history. And it is not to be fulfilled, in the plans which it proposes, in the great expectations which it inspires, till the coming centuries follow each other in the whiteness of holiness, on an earth filled with righteousness and love.

For one, I believe that that time is to come. More than

twelve years have passed since I saw in the studio of Kaulbach, at Munich, a great cartoon, whose vivid impression I have not yet forgotten. It represented an early persecution at Rome. Upon the portico of the palace, as I remember it, stood the emperor, in the embroidered dress of a woman, with a sensual, half-vacant and half-insane look, on a face from which still the singular traces of a fallen beauty had not disappeared. Around him were handsome and dissolute women, and beautiful boys, servants of his lust, or panders to his frivolous passion for display. The prefect of the city approached him with servility, clapping his hands as the sentence of death was lightly uttered. A Roman Senator, of the older type, looked on from the side with haughty scorn. The soldiers, in their scattered groups, were some of them indignant, some wholly stolid, and some exulting, with greedy eyes fastened upon the luxury which they saw. On the standards above blazed the motto "Divus Nero!' In the foreground, at the side, was a company of Christians, bound to the stake, at the foot of which already fires were kindled: among them a father kissing his child, with agony but in victory, for the last time. Peter was there, a little apart, being crucified with his head downward; and Paul, in his privilege as a Roman citizen, was thundering admonition against the terrific cruelty and lust, while a stalwart executioner, with an axe in his hand, was laughing at him, with almost the leer of an idiot on his face.

The whole story which I have rapidly and very imperfectly recited this evening was on that terrible German canvas. I have not seen it since; but it is almost as present to me now as are the faces at this moment before me. I do not believe that that supreme force which conquered then, against so much, without any assistance from politics or from letters, is to leave its work half-done in the world. I expect for it a future career only more illustrious than has yet been achieved. And even now, as its uncompleted triumphs are before us, I match it against all which philosophy had done, even that of the Stoics, who had caught adumbrations of majestical truths, and who may have learned something from Hebrew sources—I match it against the Indian Buddhism, which doubtless of all the ethnic religions

approaches it nearest, in ethical maxims and in practical force, but to which, as Hardwick has said, 'vice had no intrinsic hideousness, and virtue was only another name for calculating prudence,' which therefore, as he affirms, has left the countries which it has possessed 'the prey of superstition and demon-worship, of political misrule and of spiritual lethargy'—I set Christianity against either of these, against anything else, and then I say that if the power suddenly breaking forth from Palestine on the world, to work this immense and salutary change which history records, came from man as its source, and not from God using man as His instrument, I shall not be astonished when it is shown me that the oceans have gushed from the fountains at Nazareth, or that the planet itself was framed in Judea!

LECTURE IX.

THE EFFECT OF CHRISTIANITY ON THE WORLD'S HOPE OF PROGRESS.

LECTURE IX.

The distinct apprehension of the unity and the eternity of God appears indispensable to any vigorous conviction of a gradually developed unity in history; while the recognition of the wisdom, the power, and the character of God, seems as indispensable to any just expectation of an ultimate benign and majestic result,—in which, after obstacles are overcome, and resistances are vanquished, all peoples shall partake in the consummate beauty and the serene life of righteousness and of peace.

This is not an unsupported suggestion of religion. It is a maxim of practical philosophy, considering the past, or investigating carefully the nature of man, with the energetic contending forces, of reason and passion, which meet within that in a continually rekindled strife. It is, in fact, a necessary inference from the manifoldness of human life, and the vast complexity of affairs on the earth. There must be a plan even for a house, that it may be builded in shapely proportion, with halls, apartments, façade, roof, and may not remain a confused pile of stone and brick, lumber and lime. There must be a plan for a military campaign, that it may not be resolved into desultory attempts of dissociated squads; that the preädjusted movements of those furthest from the centre may at last converge on the critical point, there to be compacted, with irresistible force, for the conquering effort. So, and much more, there must be somewhere a plan in history: which shall take account of the near and the far; of the ancient, the modern, and even of peoples yet to be; which shall recognize and regulate the moral forces which build up states, or which work their decay; which shall anticipate tendencies, occasions, men, and take cognizance of arts, inventions, knowledges, even before society has reached them, that all may be confederated in systematic inter-action for a

final effect:—there must be somewhere such a plan, or the entire progress of mankind will be at best uncertain, fragmental, with an ever-recurring tangle of confusions suspending or forbidding any orderly progress toward a foreseen supreme result.

There must be such a plan; and the only Being who can be imagined to have formed and to maintain it is He who exists from everlasting, who is infinitely enamored of righteousness and truth, whom no opposition can finally thwart, and beneath whom the most refractory wills are compelled to contribute, with whatever reluctance, to celestial designs.

In the absence, then, of such a positive and illuminating recognition of God, even in philosophy, still more in the popular religions of antiquity, there could be no confident expectation of a general and sure progress of the race toward a result of liberty and light, beneath the permanent sovereignty of a paramount justice. By reason of the darkness in which it was walking, each nation was naturally egoistic: with its own gods, as with its own territory; with its special traditions, customs, rites, and a worship connected with historical descent which severed it from others; its language no more peculiar to itself than was its religion; all contributing to set it apart from other peoples, in an ambitious and hostile isolation. The practical sense of reciprocal relationships was therefore wanting, as I have already in a measure illustrated, in the ancient states. It was so, more than for any other reason, because of their want of a common religion. Leagues, or councils, like the Amphictyonic, might be established among contiguous tribes, of a common descent, and thus substantially of a common religion. But even these were exceptional; and the august predominant idea of the vital organic unity of the race had quite passed away from the practical and governing thought of antiquity. If it continued at all, it was only as a dream which haunted here and there the thoughts of philosophers, and found some faint unillumined reflection on their passionless words.

With that, the thought of any assured cosmical progress, as attainable or possible, had equally passed; and any clear outlook over a future, in which separated nations should dwell in charity, with a common Faith, and the constant mutual interchange

between them of thoughts and of arts,—this was almost as impossible to be reached, even by spirits of rarest prescience, under the ancient limitations, as is the sight of the ocean from the narrow Swiss valleys, as is to us, while tarrying for the hour beneath this roof, the vision of stars shining above it. There was nothing, there could be nothing, to exhilarate the spirit in the large and clear prospect of an ultimate universal welfare of the race. And while there were times, in many states, of great prosperity, commercial, political, military, artistic, at which hope was buoyant, plans were eager, and the world seemed open to intrepid aspiration, it is to be noticed that such passages of experience came usually amid the relative youth of a people; that after generations were intent on conserving, not on augmenting, what had already been attained; and that as the power of others increased, or as an inward decadence in themselves began to be felt, of political skill or martial ardor, the sense grew stronger, it came to be pervading, of the insecurity of most vital institutions, and despondency settled, with a dull hopelessness concerning the future, on each thoughtful and powerful people.

Even in Homer, one is frequently impressed with the tone of sadness beneath the exquisite cadences of the immortal song, as the minstrel sings of the miseries of mankind, of the destructive wrath of the gods, smiting armies with swift arrows, hurling heroic souls to Hades, and leaving their bodies a prey to dogs, and birds, and crawling worms; as he makes the skillful and eloquent Odysseus say—whose personal courage no calamity can conquer—that the earth nourishes no animal weaker than man, who looks for good, but on whom the gods bring grievous things, to be borne reluctantly, with a suffering mind.*

But this was still in the morning-time of letters and of life, when the plains lay sparkling beneath the light of the new-risen sun, and the crisp freshness of energetic and prophesying vitality seemed quickening in the air, and gaily reflected from shining shores. How far the same familiar tone of gloomy contemplation was deepened and darkened in subsequent time, I need hardly remind you: till in spite of victories, arts, eloquence, in

* Odyssey, XVIII.: 130–135.

spite of games and splendid processions, of moulded marbles, echoing squares, unsurpassed temples, the solemn and threatening voice of Tragedy became the sombre dominant note in Athenian culture. The early buoyant and aspiring spirit, from which that which was stately and that which was splendid had prolifically sprung, passed by degrees into conscious lassitude and disquieting fear; and the figure of the Nemesis, daughter of Night, kindred in office with Até and the Eumenides, representing the avenging anger of the gods—this awed and shadowed the failing Greek will. Once conceived of as a lovely young virgin, she came to be figured as armed with a rod, with a wheel at her feet, and finally as winged: and the thought of her fearful, fateful power, brooded as a mystery of darkness over the happiest human life. Even the moral and religious elements associated with her function at length disappeared, while she remained the author of startling and unmerited vicissitudes.

'The gods hate the prosperous': out of what a profound and fruitful melancholy that thought was born! The downfall of the strongest is but matter of time! Revolution in the fortunes of the state comes of course, and the highest shall be the most debased! The apprehension of this irresistible fatality, certain as nightfall, not to be arrested, not to be escaped—it is this, surely, beyond anything else, which in its majestic solemnity constitutes the strongest moral appeal that the later Hellenic poetry makes to the sympathy of mankind. It is the pain which attends the desperate struggle of prescient intellect against an overwhelming Divine Power, which gives its meaning to the Prometheus. It is the awful, inevitable catastrophe, which the oracle of Delphi cannot avert, which in fact it ensures, which made the Œdipus legend so fascinating. It is the same weird element of combined duty and doom, and of fierce agony involving the innocent, which imparts their immense pathetic power to the Antigone and the Iphigeneia. As near an approach to the Greek conception as any perhaps in modern letters, is in the sombre words of Goethe, in his aphorisms on Nature: 'She tosses her creatures out of nothingness, and tells them not whence they come, or whither they go. . . She wraps man in darkness and makes him forever long

for the light. She is always building up and destroying; but her workshop is inaccessible.'

Even in Greece, therefore, with all the courageous and imaginative vivacity which belonged constitutionally to the spirit of the people, there was no quickening or large expectation for the future of mankind. In later times there was none for the continued prosperity of either celebrated Hellenic state. After the final Roman conquest, such an expectation had lost its last chance to get recognition. The whole temper of the people was then expressed in those lines in the Greek anthology, ascribed to Alpheus, of Mitylene, and probably written in the time of Augustus: "Shut, god, the unsubdued gates of Olympus; guard, Jupiter, the holy citadel of the sky; for already is the sea brought by the spear under the yoke of Rome, and the land also; only the road to heaven remains untrodden." *

Nor was there any more of hope for the future advancing progress of the world among other peoples, outside of Palestine. In India, especially after Buddhism had appeared—that strange and energetic philosophy of being, which had such missionary enterprise in it, and which had made remarkable conquests centuries before Christ—it would seem that this might have been otherwise, and that the idea of an ultimate transformation of all to a Divine likeness might at least have been accepted as a hope. But no such expectation or hope appears. The doctrine of the transmigration of souls through successive bodies, so that the prince might become a worm, and the meanest of reptiles enclose the life of him who had marched at the head of armies—this doctrine, rooted in the Hindu conception, and common to both its great religions—forbade there any theoretical conception of a permanent and beautiful progress in history. So it came to pass, as Frederick Schlegel years ago pointed out, that in spite of all which there was accomplished in art and jurisprudence, while the Indian temples rival the Greek in the fascination of their beauty, and the Indian jurisprudence is a magnificent monument of early intellectual and moral refinement, the historical view is always turned backward toward the past, and

* Greek Anthology: Burges's trans.; London ed., 1876: p. 98.

literature breathes a melancholy regret for all that man and the world have lost. Of the final period of the world the Hindus thought, as he affirms, "as the age of progressive misery, and an all-prevailing woe." *

There was really only one people on the earth, at the time when Christianity began to be preached, in which might have been expected a different view as to history and its progress The Egyptians were not likely to entertain such: because they shared in the doctrine of the metempsychosis—in fact it has been sometimes supposed that from them the Hindus had derived it—and because the tremendous political disasters which had fallen upon them made hopefulness for the future almost absurd. The great Pyramid has been treated by recent eager and interesting essayists as a Divine standard of measures and weights, supernaturally inspired, though humanly builded. I am not competent to discuss it in that sense; but certainly no thoughtful Egyptian of the time of the Master could have looked upon the pyramids, or on any of the remaining temples and monuments at Memphis or at Thebes, without feeling that, as compared with any genius still remaining on the banks of the Nile, the genius which had built them was almost superhuman; without being ever freshly reminded of the multiplied burdens under which the renowned and powerful state now staggered in weakness.

So the vast Persian empire had collapsed into chaos before the destroying march of Alexander; and, after the death of Antiochus, had succumbed to the swiftly developed and widely victorious Parthian power. Its early religion had recognized life as a sore battle between evil and good, but had expected the ultimate triumph of the good and its God. Those who received this had yearned for a Deliverer; and, we are told by one of the writers of the New Testament, had thought that they saw from the East his star, at about the time when Jesus was born. But there was left little room, even in that state, for any uplifting hope for its future. It was not till after the spread of Christi-

* Lects. on "Philosophy of History": N. York ed., 1841; Vol. I.: pp. 184, 219, 228, 230.

anity, in the age of the Sassanidæ, that the figure of the future heroic Benefactor became prominent with the Persians; and the final expectation of him vanished when the last of that dynasty fled and fell before the fierce Mohammedan Arabs.

But it might have seemed then—I had almost said it might still seem—that in the vast and carefully organized Roman empire, so long advancing, in later years so swiftly widening, compacted and secured as now it appeared under a central imperial care, there should be a great expectation for the future: a pre-vision of the time when the recent and ungirt Parthian empire outlying on the East, with the barbarians of the North, the West, and the South, should be equally subjected with Egypt and Greece to that colossal and haughty Power which, enthroned on the Tiber, had flung out its legions to every quarter, and had spread its authority, like a mystical Fate, across many lands; when one Law should be everywhere supreme; when, in the tolerance of all religions, no further religious quarrel or feud should vex mankind; and when the return of the star-bright Astræa, daughter of Themis, should bless again with her benign light the waiting race. This would certainly have appeared, to those looking on from without, a natural presumption; and doubtless occasional intimations of this, or of something like this, are to be found, as in Virgil's fourth eclogue, or in scattered verses of other poets. In Roman oratory it is more than once shown as a wish, if not as a hope. In the common Roman feeling, expectation of success was so closely associated with an admiring pride in the past that it could only reluctantly give way.

Yet Rome itself, in the time of Christ—steady and strange as had been its historical progress, immense, confirmed, and almost unquestioned, as was then its admitted supremacy—Rome itself was rather haunted by disturbing apprehensions than inspired by expectant and confident hope; was burdened with a sense of inward decline, which in sensitive spirits became almost crushing, and which made the future to such not so much uncertain as appalling. The Greek Polybius—statesman, historian, philosopher, philanthropist—two centuries before the day of St. Paul, had given a picture of Roman life while still in its sim-

plicity, and had attributed the strength of the state to the relig ious reverence and faith by which its people were distinguished. Men felt, afterward, that with the failure of this ancient religiousness the state was imperilled, and calamities were imminent; yet the old religion could not be restored to its former authority. The very oracles were ceasing. Strabo said that they were oppressed by the general contempt; and Cicero, in his treatise on Divination, attempts an explanation of why the oracle at Delphi, formerly so renowned, had ceased to give any truthful and useful counsel to men.

Pausanias contrasted the time of old, when men in piety walked with the gods and were guests at their tables, with his own time, when wickedness had come to be supreme in the city and the land. As early as the sixth year of our era, while Jesus was still a child at Nazareth, it had become almost impossible to find maidens willing to be chosen as Vestal Virgins, or parents willing to yield their daughters to this most famous ancient service. Augustus tried, almost in vain, to overcome the resisting reluctance; and the office had to be opened to those whose parents had at some time been slaves. Afterward, a rich pecuniary gratuity was assigned to one joining the sacred company; and the emperor's mother took a place among them at the theatre, to add whatever of honor she might to the waning prestige of their office. This was only a significant symptom of the general inward decay of faith in the ancient religion. And so, even as early as that—when the empire appeared most masterful and secure, as well as most splendid, when the city of brick was fast becoming a city of marble, and when the brilliant Augustan age was crowning with intellectual attainments the long preceding periods of strength, seeking, like Pheidias in his statue of Athene, to add plates of ivory, robes of gold, to the stony hardness underneath—the apprehension of disaster was widely diffused.

There had been an ancient traditional prediction, mentioned by Dio Cassius, that 'when thrice three hundred years should have passed,' Rome should perish; and Juvenal makes a Roman say that 'the ninth age is now running its course, and an era baser than the days of Iron; for whose iniquity nature

has no name, and with which she shows no metal for comparison.'* The famous writings attributed to Sibylla, and allowed by the Senate for many years before Christ to have augural authority, had in them frequent predictions of disaster. Cities were bidden to continue for the present to ornament themselves with temples and stadiums, with marketplaces and golden images, but assured that they should come to the bitter day. It was distinctly declared that Diké, Justice, as ruler, should cast the things heaven-high to the ground, that all oracles should come to an end, and that Rome should be ruin.† Even the gay, musical, convivial Horace, practical and playful in his customary song, exclaims in his second ode: 'Whom of the gods shall the people call to assist the affairs of the perishing empire? With what prayers shall the sacred virgins weary Vesta, now little attentive to their hymns? To whom shall Jupiter give the task of expiating our wickedness?' In another ode he breaks into even passionate prophecy of disaster: "Another age is now worn out with civil wars, and Rome is ruined by her own strength! What neither the bordering Marsi were able to destroy, nor the Etrurian band of threatening Porsena, nor the envious valor of Capua, nor Spartacus the bold, nor the faithless Allobroges eager for new things; what neither fierce Germany subdued, with its blue-eyed youth, nor Hannibal, detested by parents—this we shall destroy, an impious generation of doomed blood; and the land shall again be occupied by wild beasts. The barbarian conqueror shall tread upon the ashes of the city, and the horseman shall make it reverberate with the resounding hoof." ‡ In the Secular Ode, written at the request of Augustus, a few years before the birth of Jesus, he seems expressly to restrict the future conditional prosperity of Rome to the Latin territory.

Augustus, becoming Pontifex Maximus, seized and burned two thousand volumes of the so-called prophetical writings, retaining only a selection to be deposited in gilded coffers in the temple of Apollo. He sought thus to arrest the propagation of

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* Sat. XIII.: 28–30. † Sibyl. Orac. III.: 57–60: 360–4.
‡ Epod.: XVI.: 1–12.

fears among the people; but his success was very limited. In the days of Marius, occurrences deemed ominous had startled men's souls. Cicero had elaborately recounted in verse portents appearing in his time, and believed to threaten the state: concurrences of fiery constellations; comets, tremulous with flame; terrible forms seen in the night-time; lightning flashing fatally out of clear skies, or at another time smiting the bronze statue of the wolf of Mars, and of the children suckled by her; and he specially mentions the many soothsayers, pouring their oracles over the land, from furious breasts.* To similar portents Dio Cassius refers, adding a total eclipse of the sun at about the time when the war between Cæsar and Pompey was commencing, and a fiery crown, with pointed rays, surrounding the sun, in the year following Cæsar's death.† Virgil commemorates the fearful prodigies of the same period in one of the Georgics.‡ So Suetonius, afterward, records the sudden appearance of a circle like a rainbow around the sun, in a clear and bright sky, followed by a thunderbolt which smote the tomb of Julia, Cæsar's daughter;§ and Tacitus mentions the repeated earthquakes, with the failure of provisions in the year 51 after Christ, with birds of ill omen perching on the Capitol, and the fright of the multitude who in their panic trampled on the infirm, regarding the condition of things as ominous.

One is sometimes impressed, even in the earlier Roman history, by a certain sombre and mournful tone, as well as by a haughty strength, in the character and the action of that memorable people. They reckoned time, it has well been said, by nights not by days; and the dial bearing upon its plate the inscription, 'I count no hours but the cloudless'—'non numero horas nisi serenas'—which to the Venitian or Neapolitan of our time would seem so fitting, must have appeared the least suitable of instruments for measuring the progress of the high, heroic, but often shaded and stormy days of Roman progress. But now the stately solemnity and strength seemed to have sadly disappeared, or only to survive in limited circles, while

* De Divinat. I.: 11, 12.
† XLV.: 17.
‡ Georg. I.: 466–492.
§ Oct. August.: XCV.

riot and revel, alternating naturally with boding fear, had come in their place. For hundreds of years this impression of terror at anything unusual continued upon men. The effect was with some to lead them to turn anywhere for a Faith which the trembling of the planet could not disturb, to which meteors were but signs of a Divine watchfulness, and which was not afraid of ominous birds; but it was, with most, morbidly to intensify heathen fanaticism, and to make the spread of the new religion more difficult and perilous. Calamities felt, or calamities dreaded, bred only a fiercer hostility to the Christians. One may almost measure the energy and the extent of the public foreboding by the outrages which the disciples of the Master had to suffer.

Lucretius, in one passage of his famous essay on the nature of things, in trying to explain an alleged fact that the water in wells is sometimes warmer in winter than in summer, supposes certain seeds of fire to be lodged in the earth, which under the sunshine are drawn forth, but which in the night, or in the winter, being repressed by the cold, are forced to descend into the water.* In like manner, one may almost literally say, the seeds of fierce persecuting fire lay always in the Roman life; but amid the splendor of a constant success, those seeds were dormant, or seemed to be exhaled, so that even monotheism had its liberty at Rome. But as the night of fear drew on, and the dreadful winter of discontent, those seeds struck down into the popular temper and will—and the fruit of them was the blazing pile in which stood the Christians, since whose appearance the calamities had fallen, and in whose presence it was vaguely felt that the conquering empire could not stand. The passionate ferocity expressed and intensified a new and dread element of fanatical unreason, which more and more was perverting and inflaming the popular spirit in regard to all unseen Powers. The belief in magic became popular and wide. Soothsayers, astrologers, were consulted not only by the ignorant but by the rich, and by emperors. Even Cicero, in his time, spoke respectfully of astrology, as cultivated by the Chaldeans and Egyptians.† Tiberius was

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* De Rer. Nat. L. VI.: 840–848. † De Divinat. I., 1.

said to be addicted to it.* When a swarm of bees settled in the Capitol, near the statue of Hercules, five years before the death of Cicero, it was solemnly decreed that the temples of Isis and Serapis at Rome should be destroyed, as being possibly connected with the prodigy.† Ever lower and lower sank the old proud self-reliance, until women and children were cut open alive in the palace of Galerius, that their entrails might be inspected for their promise of the future. It really looked, for long periods of time, as if, to use the words of Uhlhorn, "the splendor of the ancient world was about to end in a Witches' Sabbath"!‡

How immediate and how immense is the contrast when we turn from all this to the hope inspired by the strong Hebrew Faith, and still more by the Christian, concerning the advancing ages of the world! In their circumstances, there is something surprising and significant in this hope among the Hebrews.

A comparatively small people, as matched against Egyptian, Assyrian, Macedonian empires—in the same comparison an unprosperous people, not fertile in invention, debarred from wide commerce, if by nothing else, by their want of inviting and accessible coasts—shut up chiefly on a tongue of land of less than the area of the state of Vermont, which was cut across with deep ravines, and suitable only for farms and flocks—acquiring properties sufficient to be desired but never to be envied by their wealthier neighbors, and by the very conditions of their territory naturally secluded from other countries, while occupying, through what they esteemed a Providential allotment, a central position among the nations—they had really had only one brief period of any special prominence or power, as these are reckoned in the records of states, in the reign of David, and especially of Solomon, his less fervent but more accomplished and brilliant successor. Immediately after, the unity of the nation had been fatally broken; and after a time the larger and stronger section of it, having lost their early reverence for the Law, and become

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* Suetonius: Tiberius: LXIX. † Dio Cass. XLII. 26.

‡ "Conflict of Christianity," etc.: New York ed., 1879: p. 324.

infected with lascivious idolatries, had been swept into an exile from which there were few returning steps. The tribes retaining Jerusalem as their centre had suffered under profligate and idolatrous kings, had often themselves relapsed in large measure into a heathenism which allured and defiled them, had seen the house of David on Zion, and even the Temple of God on Moriah, the scene of frightful conspiracies and murders, had at last themselves been hurled into exile—their distinctive existence apparently utterly merged and lost amid the vast populations, the dazzling riches, and the military strength of the grandest and wealthiest of the capitals of the world.

They had there been detained through more than the life-time of two generations; and had finally been sent back by the conqueror of Babylon, in utmost weakness, poverty, dependence, to begin again, on their ancient seats, amid the wrecks of palace and temple, of burned gates and broken walls, their historical life. Even then they had suffered terrific calamities, under Egyptian invasions, under the Syrian sweep of Antiochus Epiphanes, in the fierce struggle of the Maccabees, till the Roman power had conquered them utterly, and the Roman legionaries looked down from Antonia on the Temple in which an altar to Jupiter had once been set up, with swine's flesh offered upon it, and in which a statue of the Emperor Caligula was afterward ordered to be enthroned.

If any people on earth might seem at liberty to be hopeless of the future, it was certainly this people. If in any the expectation of something grand and benign to be attained in coming centuries might seem absurd, this was the one. And yet in this people, from first to last, had been the confident assurance of a vast and bright future, reserved for them, and, through their ministry, for all the rejoicing and reconciled peoples of the world. It had not failed when on the distant banks of the Euphrates the willows held their silent harps, and tears choked the songs of Zion. It had not failed when the hosts of Alexander swept over their country, with no more apprehension of resistance from them than we should have of opposition by sparrows to the rush of a train along the rails. It did not fail when Ptolemy carried them by scores of thousands into a new south

ern exile and bondage. It had not failed when Antiochus Third was forced to cede the land to Egypt, or when the temple was plundered and desecrated by his rapacious and vicious son. It did not fail when Judea became a Roman province, and when Crassus plundered the temple again, with a hand more unsparing than that of Epiphanes. It had never failed; and it did not utterly give way when, in sight of the generation which succeeded the crucifixion of Jesus, Jerusalem was destroyed, in a fire that was almost itself quenched in simultaneous torrents of blood, and when the armies of Titus—marching in, as he is said to have felt, under a power unseen and supernal—carried the wretched remnant of population which had not been massacred into remote and bitter slavery. Broken, hated, ground to powder, flung into exile, counted as less than the dust of the balance, whatever anywhere yet survived of this amazing and indomitable people retained the robust and indestructible hope which had been the impulse of the life of their Fathers.

It had come from their religion: in which law and promise had been closely combined—the law, to impress the idea of God, and to educate them for His service and honor; the promise, to open before their view the future from the first contemplated by Him, in which the earth should be the home of His redeemed and praising people. Not only had ardent and eminent prophets appeared among them, recognized by them as Divinely instructed, predicting such an issue of history. Their whole extraordinary career had to them been a prophecy, 'not fulfilled punctually,' as Bacon says, but having 'springing and germinant accomplishment throughout many ages.' The peculiar Messianic doctrine of the Hebrews was not something theoretic and inert, or adscititious. It was involved in all their system: a vital, coherent, energetic discovery of One who was to come, greater than David, wiser than Solomon, holier than most eminent saint or seer, a royal Deliverer and Lord to his people. It was imbedded in institutions, not merely articulated in words. It flashed before the eye through offices and symbols, as well as on illustrious verbal predictions; and the hope inspired by it was not pale and colorless, but glowing, radiant, round about their hearts and their state as a bended rainbow 'like unto an

emerald.' It has been truly said by Renan, that 'what more than all else characterized the Jew, was his confident belief in a brilliant and happy future for humanity.'

It was because he saw a God, holy, wise, and of sovereign might, who exercised moral government in the world, whose providence followed a moral order, and to whom the circle of centuries was a day, that he discovered this light above, however masked in enveloping clouds, and did not doubt that in the end the Divine kingdom would infold the whole earth, or that in it all tribes of mankind would be blessed.

The most vehement sceptic must admit this. Indeed, he sometimes ascribes so much to this waiting attitude of the Jewish mind as to affirm that by reason of the appeal which Jesus made, whether unconsciously or of purpose, to such an intense and eager expectation, the early successes of his religion may be fairly explained, and the marvellous reports of him which took permanence in the Gospels; that through its undiscerning and passionate impulse, he, being a man, was transformed, by the almost creative enthusiasm of those who received him, into a Being more celestial than angels. I do not so interpret the facts. The picture of the Christ presented in the Gospels appears singularly temperate, harmonious, self-demonstrative; and the only effect of the vast and bright expectation of the Jews concerning their Messiah, on him who certainly professed to come as a Heavenly messenger, appears to have been that he entered the race as an obscure babe, not as one of princely rank; that he put aside the temptation to win the world by the majesty of power; that he hid the might to which miracles were attributed under human muscles; that when he was transfigured, according to the story, he took but three companions with him, the same who were soon to be with him in his anguish; and that when he left the impression on the disciples of a supernatural ascension from the earth, he called only those already attached to him to the astonishing spectacle. I find the expectation of the Jews recognized by Jesus, at each step on his path; but precisely so recognized that the kingship promised should be seen to be that of a spiritual Teacher, the lordship of the world to be that which belongs to "the Lamb that was slain."

The development of this earlier system, which had nourished such tenacious and indestructible hope, was closed indeed in the coming of Christianity. But, as another has said, 'it died in hope.' It handed on this legacy, at least, to that which came after: when 'those innumerable threads of golden light that run through all the annals of the Hebrew nation met harmoniously in Him,' to whom from the first they had been pointing.* Not out of the Hebrew system, but as sublimely super-imposed on its antique strength, appeared the Faith first uttered in Galilee; and while it was heir to all that had been best in the progress of the past, it was heir, above all, to this majestic and unfailing hope. Whoever else had desponded before, the Hebrew had not, because he saw, or thought he saw, the God Everlasting the defender of the people which inherited His law; because he saw, or thought he saw, that while they clung to Him in faith, or when they turned to Him in repentant consecration after sin, the whole power of the world would be insufficient to destroy their vital national identity, or to forbid their future to be fulfilled. Whoever else might despond or despair, in after-time, the Christian could not: because he stood amid the consummation of lines of history, to him at least vivid and august with prediction and miracle; because the God, gracious and just, was now manifested to him as never before, by the Lord who had declared Him; because so unique and so powerful an instrument for the welfare of mankind had been entrusted to his hands; because—to his imagination, if you please, but as I think more truly and deeply to his heart—the Heavens seemed alive with helps and helpers for man's redemption. To his on-looking and stimulated spirit, the new religion held in it the assurance of better ages. He walked, as of course, amid Romans, Syrians, Egyptians, Greeks, with the light as of the morning-star on forehead and face.

Yet it may seem that at first this could scarcely have been; because we know that many of the earlier disciples expected the coming of Christ as Judge, in the Parousia, as not distant in time, and could hardly have had large or exalting expectations

* Hardwick: "Christ, and other Masters": London ed., 1882. p. 109.

of future cycles of advancing earthly wisdom and peace. But this expectation of the speedy visible advent of the Lord was itself but a refracted image of that assurance of his final and certain supremacy in the world which was inspired by all that they believed. In its more crude and unspiritual form it seems hardly to have been, at any time, a part of the governing Faith of the church. It was, rather, the attractive resource of the perplexed, when savagely smitten by the powers of the world. After the terrific destruction of Jerusalem, in which the tremendous prophetic denunciations uttered by the Master appeared to his followers to have had their evident primary fulfilment, the time of his final coming for Judgment was remotely postponed in the common expectation; while the subsequent chiliastic speculations, tinged with Judaism if not springing from it, and afterward associated with the Montanist errors, though accepted by such distinguished teachers as Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Lactantius, and others, did not intimately penetrate or permanently control the common spirit and hope of the church.

After a time, as Christianity grew stronger in its grasp upon men, and as its surpassing spiritual competence for astonishing effects became more apparent, the expectation grew to be general that it was to conquer the Roman empire by the Divine energy inhering in it, or silently and supremely associated with it, without aid from a visible intervention of the Christ. The expectation naturally followed that on similar terms it was at last to conquer the earth, and that in that all prophecies of the past should be at length supremely fulfilled. The end of the world was still regarded as not far distant, but the conquests of the Gospel were expected to precede this, preparing the way for the grand consummation. And so it was that, as has been eloquently said, 'the great Christian Fathers laid anew the foundations of the world while they thought that its walls were tottering to the fall, and that they already saw the fires of Judgment through the chinks.' *

Origen, 'the Adamantine,' was among the first, no doubt, to

* J. H. Newman: "Historical Sketches": London ed., 1873, Vol. II. p. 437.

announce this final victory of the Gospel; though, in substance of doctrine, others had probably preceded him. Jerome, Augustine, and those who followed, made it the prevalent doctrine of Christendom. Each Christian disciple, even at the beginning, but more as his religion widened in the world, had the sense of sharing in a certain glorious corporate life, the life of the great kingdom of disciples which the Lord had established; and this, almost as by necessity of logic, carried on his thoughts to the unreached future, as the scene of its victorious extension. So he rose to a point of anticipation which philosopher or statesman had not attained. Plato himself, with all his insight and clear intuition, had had no conception of any ultimate goal in history. The Stoics expected the destruction of existing things on the planet, either by fire or by flood, and the commencement of a new order of history. Marcus Aurelius expressed the feeling of the best part of Paganism, when he said, in substance, 'things are repeated over and over, from eternity'; 'whatever happens, or is to happen, has in fact already been. It is only the same show repeated.' But the thought of progress, toward an end Divinely contemplated, by agencies of new and transcendent effectiveness, this was common to Christians; and it "formed the contrast," as Neander has said, "between the Christian view of life, and the Pagan notion of a circle aimlessly repeating itself by a blind law of necessity." *

So it was that as the early sense of weakness and exposure, under the sword of infuriated power, gave place to this intimate governing consciousness of a sovereign and beneficent purpose in history, and of the wholly incalculable strength of the novel instrument prepared to assist it, the expectation of advancing success, in whatever concerned the true welfare of the world, grew always stronger. No matter what particular application we give to passages of the Apocalypse, or when or by whom we conceive it to have been written, it cannot be denied that its theme is of victory: of heavenly agencies striking down upon the tribes and tumults of the earth, and making their immeasurable impact upon human affairs in the interest of him who

* "History of the Church": Boston ed., 1851: Vol. I.: p. 649.

was slain upon Calvary. In this 'high and stately tragedy,' as Milton called it, 'shutting up and intermingling its solemn scenes and acts with a seven-fold chorus of hallelujahs and harping symphonies,'* are simply outlined, in colossal figures, the crash of conflict through which the world is to be borne at last to the peace and the splendor of the City of God. If wholly human, it expressed and illustrated, while it powerfully moulded, the supreme feeling and thought of the church in the earlier centuries. To these who held it inspired of God, and humanly to be ascribed to the beloved disciple, it brought the power as of another theophany to assure them of the future.

As soon as it was felt, too, as it early was felt, that the new religion not only surpassed, but could use for its furtherance, whatever had been best in even the literature of Greece or of Rome—as was vigorously affirmed and practically illustrated by Justin Martyr, for example, or by Clement of Alexandria; as soon as it was felt, as it was already felt when the remarkable epistle to Diognetus was written, in the time perhaps of Trajan, while Christianity was still a novelty in the world, that 'what the soul is in the body, that Christians are in the world,' diffused throughout it but not of it, invisible, watchful, holding the inclosing body together, dwelling in the corruptible, but looking always for incorruption; above all, as soon as it was seen that persecution itself could not arrest the advancing Christianity, nor even those licentious pleasures the fear of losing which, as Tertullian said, kept men from accepting the new religion who were not afraid of losing life†—then the assurance of a future for the world, of holiness and of glory, to be wrought by this transcendent Faith, and to ultimate in the universal dominion of Christian pureness and Christian peace, came forth in full energy. The martyrs were sustained by it. The ample accounts given by Eusebius and by Cyprian of their sufferings and deaths throb with the general and indomitable sense of the glory of him for whom they suffered, whom alone they would worship, and of whose kingdom there should be no end. The vision

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* Prose Works: London ed., 1753: Vol. I.: p. 63.

† De Spectaculis: c. 2.

which came to Perpetua in the darkness of the dungeon, of a golden ladder stretching up into heaven, with swords, spears, and knives on the sides, and with a dragon at the foot, but at the top a lovely garden, where the Good Shepherd was waiting to receive her, this was a vision which others had for the future of the world, as well as of the soul, in which Christ was to reign.

The heathen world had long been growing old, and more and more turning its thoughts backward to the Golden Age, now gone forever. In the time of Decius disaster was so general, the collapse of the empire under inward confusions and external assaults appeared so imminent, that his most savage persecution of the Christians, in the interest of the public religion, took therefrom occasion and impulse. Then, for the first time, the sanctity of even the catacombs was violated, and Christians were buried alive in them, as well as subjected, outside their chambers, to exquisite tortures, to extort their apostasy. But even this was ineffectual, as were the continuous persecutions which followed, under Gallus and Valerian; and the hope of the Christians concerning the church, with the world which contained it, was not even shaken. As Augustine said afterward, looking back to this time: 'Christ appeared to the men of a decrepit and dying world, that while all around was fading they might receive through Him a new youthful life.'* A sense of the unconquerable power of his religion had been in Justin Martyr. It is everywhere in Tertullian; and it gave to Origen, when writing for Christians or against their antagonists, the boldness, with the prophetic expectation, of the most eager of modern missionaries. He was sure of the end: when every ethnic worship should vanish, and that of the Christians should alone maintain mastery.

By degrees the sense of this forced itself even upon the persecutors themselves, whether emperors or people; till after the last frantic effort of Diocletian, under the savage impulse of Galerius, to destroy churches, scriptures, and Christians, in a common annihilation—when that had failed, when Diocletian had left the throne, and when Galerius, consumed by a disease

* Neander: "History of the Church": Vol. I.: p. 77.

which turned his living body to corruption, had issued his edict, A.D. 311, ending the persecution, and soliciting for himself and for the empire the prayers of those Christians whose fellow-believers he had maimed, outraged, and burned by whole congregations at a time—then the subsequent conquest of the empire to Christianity was hardly more than a matter of months. The "Religious Liberty" which Tertullian had demanded, was fully conceded. The cross was at last blazoned on the imperial standards. It was stamped upon coins, and painted on shields. The final fierce struggle against the religion which had come out of Galilee went down with Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge. The waters of the Tiber swept over its relics; and the religion of the despised Nazarene, against the most savage and persistent resistance ever known in the world, had conquered the empire!

After that came again long periods of darkness, but nothing extinguished the Christian's hope. When Julian sought, in his cultured paganism, to dethrone and expel the new religion, you remember the almost scornful words of the prescient Athanasius, driven from Alexandria: 'It is a little cloud, and it will pass.' It was after the Visigoths had overrun Europe, and Rome had been stormed and sacked by their terrible hosts, under that Alaric who had left a sweeping desolation behind him, that Augustine wrote his "City of God." The shock, as it seemed, of a tumbling world, which terminated the old era, and which sent noble families into beggared exile, only exalted before his vision that enduring and triumphing Kingdom of God in which he had part. And when he died, in the midst of the Vandal siege of Hippo under Genseric, he had as sure an expectation of the ultimate victory of Christianity on the earth as has any modern disciple, who sees governments confessing the religion of Jesus, with letters, arts, industries, policies, suffused by its influence, and the world open to its proclamation. Even the rise of heresy in the church could not disturb this imbedded conviction in the mind of Augustine. 'The testimony of Jesus' was to him certainly 'the spirit of prophecy.'

How the expectation of such a future, for the new religion, and for the world which it was conceived to have come to bless, has since wrought in the church, I need not remind you. The differ-

ence of Christianity, as a religion for mankind, from the old religions for places and peoples, being clearly apprehended—the fact being seen that it appealed, not as had ancient philosophies and ethics to an educated class, or a select circle of high-born youth, but to even the humblest and least accomplished, and that through its unique inspiration of faith in a Lord unseen but still sovereign in the heavens, it had a power which former systems inevitably had lacked, for the noblest exaltation and the true regeneration of those who received it—these facts being seen, and the impression being received, which naturally attended them, that God was in this new religion, and would work for it in His stupendous and governing providence—the expectation of its ultimate triumph became only natural. It rested not so much on particular predictions, though these seemed abundant, as on the general energetic and victorious Christian consciousness. It had thus a certainty as of intuitive conviction; and it made men as sure of the final result as of any completed processes in nature.

Here has been the foundation, here the immense and constant inspiration, of that missionary enterprise which is almost peculiar to Christianity; and the splendid series of Christian missions, now almost forgotten, but in themselves benign and illustrious, which went on with amazing enthusiasm, and with prodigal expenditure of labor and of life, throughout the Middle Age, which carried over Europe the religion of the Christ, and made it there an eternal possession—it was based, fundamentally, on the expectation that he was to conquer, and that service rendered to him must be fruitful. When Ebbo and Anschar, in the ninth century, would evangelize the Danes, and afterward the Swedes—when Friedrich and Thorwald, a century and a half later, carried the new religion to Iceland—when Adalbert of Prague ministered to the savage Hungarians, or when at a later time he died, under pagan violence, while seeking to carry the Gospel to the Prussians—when Otto, at Stettin, in the twelfth century, assailed by a furious heathen mob, walked forth to meet them, in the midst of his clergy, calmly chanting psalms and hymns—always was seen the motive force of faith in the religion which they honored and taught as apt for mankind

of faith in the Master whom they believed its living Defender, of faith in the future which its regenerating power was to bring.*

No Christian disciple can read, I am sure, without a tender and strong emotion, of the vivid and seemingly supernal experience of the youthful French Anschar, in the ninth century: conscious always of attraction toward God; hearing voices, which seemed to him from the heavens, in the ecstasy of his dreams; beholding at last, as in a vision, an immeasurable light, beneath which were standing celestial hosts, and out of which came a Voice which said to him, "Go, and return to me crowned with martyrdom"—a Voice which two years later was followed by another, distinctly saying, "Go preach the word to the tribes of the heathen!" We are not surprised at his utter consecration. We are not surprised that when the fury of fanatical violence raged against him in heathen Sweden, and when all depended on the decision of one assembly, he said simply, 'I am sure of my cause! Grace will be with them!'—as it was.†

It was the same assured expectation which animated the monks, the real civilizers of Europe, in their hard labors and manifold perils. When they pierced the dense and malarious woods, journeying by day, and lying at night on earth and stone, till on some spot less sterile than the rest they built their rude and lonely huts, they still, like Imier in the Jura, heard in the night the future bells of that monastery ringing which was to replace their hasty shelter. The howl of wolves might be at first, as sometimes it was, the only response to their morning and evening song and prayer. The bandits and brigands, who roamed through the woods in reckless ferocity, might hunt them for a prey, and reckon their life of no account. The hunting cavaliers, waking with horns the many echoes of grove and glade, might look with utmost scorn upon them. The King himself might order them, as Childebert is said to have ordered Karileff, to leave the woods, and allow to the hunt a freer

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* See Neander: "Hist. of the Church": Vol. III.: 271, *et seq.*: 300: 332; Vol. 4: 42, 28.

† Neander: "Hist. of the Church": Vol. III.: pp. 274, 285.

course.* But the monk believed, in spite of all, that at last there should come to these wild and rocky forest solitudes the reign of a Christian civilization: the nature of which he no doubt often misunderstood, but the reality of which was as certain to him as were planet beneath and stars overhead. Montalembert has well said that 'the ensign and emblazonry of the entire history of the monks during those early ages,' was "Cruce, et Aratro." The result of their invincible patience and labor is recorded in the fact that the richest districts of France are to-day those wherein the ancient monasteries were planted, and that the wildness of savage tribes, more formidable than of nature or of beasts, became in the end subjected to them.

This sure expectation of ultimate success, because their religion had come, they thought, from God himself, to lift men to Him, because to them its law was imperative, its miracles were inspiring, its discoveries of the future transcendently bright—this, and not their zeal for a hierarchy, was the earliest and the grandest incentive of the monks, all over the Continent: as it was, as well, of Dega in Ireland, transcribing with his own hand three hundred copies of the Gospels; or of Finnian, leading toward the heavenly country innumerable souls; as it was of Columba, landing in Iona, where the piety of Johnson, twelve centuries later, grew consciously warmer, preaching to the savage and unsubdued Picts, preaching in the Orkney Islands, most tender to his companions, while so daring upon tempestuous seas that the sailors thought him the meek master of all the winds that ever blew; as it was of the Benedictine Augustine, carrying the new religion to England; or of the Venerable Bede, dying while translating the Gospel of John into the familiar Saxon tongue, and with his last difficult breath giving glory to God!

Almost everywhere throughout the Middle Age, in the midst of whatever outward calamities, we trace this expectant Christain pre-vision of the brighter and grander time to come. The

* Montalembert: "Monks of the West": London ed., 1861: Vol. II.: pp 341–347.

only point at which it failed, signally or widely, was at that most disastrous period, the close of the tenth century, and the opening of the eleventh; and then the transient discouragement was due, not so much to any misconstruction of the words of the Apocalypse, as to the frightful corruption enthroned and dominating at the centre of Christendom. It was lust, greed, faction, malice, murder, incest, in the swift successive or the desperate simultaneous claimants of the Papacy—it was luxury, worldliness, insatiate avarice, and a haughtier than any military arrogance, in the principal seats of churchly authority—which made men fear that the pestilence and the famine smiting the earth were forerunners of Judgment; that even the religion Divinely authenticated for the blessing of man must fail of success, and that the final catastrophe of the planet, heralded by meteors, and by strange showers of bloody rain, was nigh at hand. But when that terrible epoch passed, and when Christianity began again to assert, in places at least, its power to master human passions, the up-spring of hope was like the sudden break of day after a wild and dreary night. Again men looked forward to the coming of a future of beauty and of peace.

It was the expectation of this, to be wrought out of course by the Church which they ruled, which in large measure gave to Hildebrand his power, and to Innocent his, over soldiers and kings. The whole elaborated and complex hierarchy had had from the first an intimate relation to this conviction of the permanence of the religion which it was designed to subserve and maintain, and of the ever-widening power proper to that. The vast organization had been rooted rather in fancied needs than in fantastic ambitions. It attempted to give an earthly instrument sufficiently extensive and sufficiently powerful for the full expression, and the cosmical activity, of the advancing world-religion. The more than imperial authority of the Master was to find in it a more adequate exhibition than the imperial secular authority ruling from Rome had found in the careful constitution of the empire; and so, for centuries, the immense and manifold ecclesiastical system gave illustration, while it gave stimulation, to the expectant confidence of believers.

This particular development of that expectation, in the line of

an earthly organization vast enough, splendid enough, to correspond with the grandeur of Christ's spiritual kingdom—to have a permanence like that in the world, and to bear on all its wondrous constitution celestial benedictions, while it showed in its structure celestial inspirations—this we hold, without any doubt, to have been mistaken. Its subsequent history appears to us to have proved it human, not Divine: the creature of man's misapprehension as to what the religion of the Master required, for its surest defence, for its widest propagation; the result of a confusion of secular needs with those on the higher spiritual levels, to which the others were not correspondent. It seems to us to show the impulse, and incorporate the effects, of man's not unnatural misconception, in an age when fixed titular rank and positive authority had still much of their ancient preëminence, rather than to be, in any just sense, the fruit of the counsel and incentive of the Master. But we must not overlook the significant fact that it based its imperious appeal to men's thoughts on their assurance of the proper lordship and the predicted supremacy of the Christ in the earth; that their admiration was attracted to the effort to make it as grand in earthly exhibition as his kingdom was in moral preëminence; and that because it was widely believed—and is by many to-day believed—to be the appropriate palace in the world for his indwelling, it had such majesty, and keeps it still, before the minds of its adherents. It was to be—if the primitive conception had been correct, it ought to have been—to other kingdoms, as Hildebrand wrote of it to William the Conqueror, 'what the sun is to the moon in the heavenly order.'* Because men thought it Divinely commensurate, in earthly relations, with the proper supremacy of him who was the immortal and renovating King of the world, they expected it at last to fill the earth, and all the ages, with its superb and shining presence.

By the same great interior expectation, the vast cathedrals, built to stand for many centuries, were modulated to mighty rhythm; and their enormous continuing foundations have this

* Villemain: "Life of Gregory Seventh": London ed., 1874: Vol. II. p. 232.

hope of the future wrought into every enduring course of cyclopean masonry. The Crusades implied it, if they did not spring from it. Their moral significance is in their vast and impassioned affirmation that Christendom is properly sovereign in the earth, and that the places trodden by its Lord should be possessed by his religion. It lurks as a refrain—this sense of the sovereignty which belongs to Christianity, and of its final victory on earth—under the stubborn discussions of the schoolmen. It breaks into expression in sweet and lofty mediæval hymns, whose stanzas chime as if written for harps, or throb and thunder as to drum-beat and organ. Out of it, in fact, sprang the Reformation: which was seen to be needful, which had for generations been seen to be needful, by those who in spirit preceded the Reformers, in order to the fruitful work of Christianity in the upbuilding of its supreme future. Their spirit was always that of John Tauler, who quotes a text in an Advent sermon which nobody since has been able to find, but which to him was manifestly precious: "God leadeth the righteous by a narrow path into a broad highway, till they come to a wide and open place." *

On the front of a house at Frankfort on the Maine, from whose antique balcony, facing the Cathedral, Luther is reported to have preached, I remember to have read the Latin legend, said to have been suggested by him: "In silentio ac spe erit vestra fortitudo." Silence does not seem, to one studying his career, to have been a marked attribute of the great German, whose words, at once tender and terrible, wrought such changes in Christendom; but hopefulness for the future surely was, as it was, if not equally, with his gentler associates. Partly because he had it not, Erasmus tarried outside the combat which he had done so much to compel.

Since that great era of Reformation this spirit of hope never has failed, among those who have inherited the doctrine and repeated the impulse of its great leaders. What a power it showed in Puritan England, in the darkest days for evangelical

* "History of John Tauler": Miss Winkworth's translation. New York ed., 1858: p. 213. [The German quotation is: "Gott fuehret die Gerechten durch einen engen Weg in die breite Strasze, dasz sie kommen in die Weite und in die Breite."]

teaching and for liberty of worship, we perfectly know; what power among the Huguenots of France, when hunted to their fastnesses in the Cevennes, or when done to death in fire or flood, or the fierce dragonnades; what power among the persecuted Christians of the valleys of the Vaudois, or of the Austrian Tyrol. It has been the inheritance of the church on this continent, from the beginning. The Pilgrims had drawn the robust conviction into their life, from all their study of both the Testaments, that kingdom might perish after kingdom, dynasties pass, the most solid institutions of the earth be subverted, but that the religion of him of Nazareth never should fail; and that to plant this in the untracked woods of this wilderness-continent was to give it the only certain promise of an enduring civilization. So hither they came, and here they stood, undaunted by nature in her unaccustomed and terrifying aspects, undaunted by savages, undaunted by even the evil personalities which seemed to them to be darkening the air. They had, at any rate, the courage of their convictions. They expected small colonies to become the foundation of great commonwealths; that the seed of their humble sacrificed life would spring at last into bounteous harvests, vital and golden; and their fortitude was inspired, and continually maintained, by this immense unsubduable hope.

The Dutch had been in like manner animated in their heroic and unsurpassed struggle against military tyranny and religious persecution; and on that marshy and yielding soil which they themselves had plucked from the sea, they had faced without flinching the utmost fury of Spanish power, because they expected success in the end for what was conformed to Christ's religion. Except for the resistant and incalculable force thus inspired they must have yielded to the proud, wealthy, infuriated empire, which for eighty years, with only the interval of a twelve years' truce, raged around them like a furious sea beating upon their recent dykes. They, if any people on earth, were 'saved by hope.'

Our fathers, therefore, Dutch, English, Huguenot, brought hither this profound expectation of a future for the world, bright and great, ample and holy, to be secured by their religion. It

was in them amid the Indian wars, which scarred with fire where they did not consume the nascent settlements, and it was an unfailing tonic to their souls. It was in them amid the Revolutionary struggle. It was in their councils when the great institutions of government in this country were shaped and set, after the Peace of A.D. 1783. The later missionary development sprang from it, as it had done before, centuries earlier, in southern and in central Europe. All subsequent philanthropical effort and plan have had in this their inspiration. It has lain at the base of colleges, seminaries, and the multiplied schools for popular instruction, as well as of special church-activities. How powerful a force it was, you remember, in our late Civil War. Men could not be persuaded—no matter what the present decision of arms might appear on the bloodiest fields, no matter what peril might at any time threaten, of division in the loyal states, or of foreign intervention—they could not be persuaded that a righteous Liberty was not at last to conquer in the strife; because this seemed as essential as the planet to the future of the race, and that future, as one of consummate clearness and peace, and of majestic moral order, was to them as certain as was the historical advent of Jesus. I do not believe, for one, that a forty years' war would have conquered this hope, so imbedded is it in the national mind. If it had ever failed, the loss would have been more than the loss of all armies, since the continent would then have been ready to accept almost any fate of anarchy or misrule.

Nor is this assured expectation of the future peculiar to us: the result, perhaps, of our national youth, of our great spaces of virgin soil, of our brilliant and exhilarating atmosphere. It is in Europe, in Christian communities, as it is among us. There, as here, the religion which is so apt for mankind, and which has so signally blessed the world, has spread this immense impression around it, even upon those who for themselves scarcely accept its discoveries or its rules. Among those who do accept these, the religion is recognized as in its nature of secular and unwasting force. It is seen to be powerfully advancing in the world, at the present hour; to be widening in its range, and extending to remoter regions; to be putting fresh energies, all

the time, into moral, political, social life. Assaults upon it are made, of course, as they were aforetime. They only show its enduring vitality; are the sceptical response to its inflexible claim of authority. They offer the most significant tribute to its unchanging and imperative power; and they no more harm it, in the end, than errors in geometry confuse the spheres. It enters literature, in our own time, more finely and fully than ever before. It is in novels, poems, histories, in delightful essays, profound treatises, charming biographies, even more, one might not unfrequently say, than it is in sermons. It affects legislations, in their spirit and intent, with an ever-expanding reach of influence. It erects continually new institutions, of its charity, for its beneficence. It, and it only, involves the elements and presents the assurance of that moral culture, common to peoples, and general in the world, on which civilizations may securely repose, and in expressing and serving which they become of enduring ethical worth. Philosophies are futile, and moralities are inadequate, to an end at once so vital and so vast. The religion of the New Testament, in its prodigious and still unmeasured spiritual force, has done the work, partially at least, amid disastrous and disheartening times, in the previous centuries. It is now as apt and equal to it as ever it was; and with the old confidence, of the time of Origen, or of that of Augustine, it expects still the coming ages.

No matter what men's fears may suggest, to such as would have shrunk from the gopher-wood Ark as not strong enough for the waters, to such as are fearful on any warm day of an impending conflagration of the planet, Christianity to-day, to a greater extent than ever before, is the moulding force in civilization; and it is the one force, infrangible as sunshine, while silent as that, and far more glorious in function and effect, which fears no assault, knows no decay, and suffers no waste, as years go on. So it appears, at least, to those who have traced it in the past, and who have felt on themselves its vast impression; and while that impression continues on their spirits, their glad and great expectation of the future can only grow brighter as that future comes nearer. It has passed, in fact, into the thought and life of the world; and all recent enterprise among the nations of Chris-

tendom, for physical advance, for legal reform, for just amend ment of political conditions, takes impulse and courage from this hope of the future. The age is one, some one has said, 'impatient of Isthmuses.' It is equally impatient of mountain-barriers, or of the obstacles to human intercourse interposed by winds and waves on the sea, by streams or desert-tracts on the land. And behind every drill which cuts the rock in the mountain tunnel, behind every engine which drives the ship against storm and tempest over the riotous fury of waves, or which propels the loaded train over alkali plains and rocky crests, is this invisible force of the spirit which since the new religion came has expected a future to be wrought out by it, conformable to it, its ultimate crown of earthly glory.

Whatever else fails, while that remains, the race will still be rich and strong. Whatever else comes, if that has vanished, mankind will be without foresight or nerve in the loss of this unmeasured incentive. Christianity alone can supply it. All other religions have entered their period, or have fulfilled it, of retrogression. Christianity alone develops still its pristine force, advances still on the path of its conquests. Scepticism is uniformly pessimistic. Faith, alone, soars and exults. To the man who is doubtful about this religion—who looks upon it with either critical incredulity, or the frigid complacence of an outside amateur—the world almost always grows daily darker. To the missionary laborer in far lands, mastering with difficulty un known tongues, surrounded by unfamiliar arts and dusky faces, toiling for years to make a few souls know something of him who taught in Palestine, the future is as certain as if he touched it; and that future, to his exulting expectation, is to be as radiant with glory as the sky over Calvary was heavy with gloom—as resplendent with lovely celestial lights as to his imagination, if you hold that the faculty chiefly concerned, was the mount of the Lord's supreme ascension. He expects long toil, and many disasters, incarnadined seas, dreary wildernesses, battles with giants, and spasms of fear in the heart of the church. But he looks as surely as he looks for the sunrise, after nights of tempest and of lingering dawn, for the ultimate illumination of the world by the Faith. And however full of din and dissonance

the history of mankind has seemed hitherto, seems even to-day, he anticipates already the harmonies to be in it as under the guidance of him of Galilee it draws toward its predestined close, 'not sentimental or idyllic, but epic and heroic.'

In a familiar and famous passage in Virgil's fourth eclogue, written perhaps forty years before Christ, he hails with song the birth of a child who is to restore the Golden Age. His figures seem caught from the prophecies of Isaiah—perhaps through the books of the so-called Erythraean Sibyl, then read in Rome—as he sketches the time when the goat shall bring home the milk-swelled udders, and the herds shall have no fear of great lions, when the serpent shall be extinct, with the poisonous herb: when the ruddy grape shall natively hang on vines uncultured, and the stiff oaks shall distil liquid honey; when every region shall be fruitful in all things, and the ground shall no more be subjected to the harrow, nor the vine to the knife.

The boy of whom Virgil is supposed to have written was imprisoned by Tiberius, and starved to death in his solitary dungeon. The child of whom Isaiah wrote now leads in triumph, toward unreached ages, the aspiring and hopeful civilization of the world. In his Name, is the hope of mankind. In the sign of his Cross, Christendom conquers.

LECTURE X.

A REVIEW OF THE ARGUMENT, WITH ADDED SUGGESTIONS.

LECTURE X.

In reaching the last of this series of Lectures—the delivery of which has been always a pleasure, through your unabating and kind attention—I trust that I may assume the admission by you that the design with which I commenced has been at least in some measure accomplished: not as it might have been, if I had had the larger leisure and ampler knowledge which others possess, but as far as one working within my limitations could perhaps hope to fulfil it. I did not propose at all, you remember, to prove with apodeictic certainty the Divine authorship of Christianity,—the very nature of the moral and affectionate faith for which this appeals making such an attempt plainly absurd. But I hoped to show that such an origin of this religion is impressively indicated, by certain evident historical effects attending it in the world; and to this I have limited our attention. I have certainly had no end to accomplish, except to ascertain and set forth the truth, which it is as important for me as for any one to discover and accept.

I do not, of course, profess to stand toward the religion which we have inherited as an intelligent pagan might have stood in the day of Tiberius. Beyond dispute, it seems to me, the crowded and significant intervening centuries ought to count for something, in your estimate, and in mine, of the novel force then entering society. I have had no wish either, and I make no pretence, to take the place of an incredulous, or a merely careless and indifferent critic, when standing in front of our religion. The recognition of its transforming power involves neither weakness nor shame, nor does it discredit any man's judgment. But neither, on the other hand, have I had the least wish to over-estimate, in thought or in word, what it has actually done among

men. I have simply sought frankly to place you at the point of view from which I regard the matter considered; to offer to your minds a course of thought familiar to my own, and influential years ago on my convictions; and to lead you to conclusions, if these at last shall seem to you fair, in which I rejoice. If I have been anywhere seriously mistaken, I am glad to be sure that your further studies will correct me. If what I have said shall appear to you, now and hereafter, justified by the facts, I delightedly hope that you will thank God more than ever for the Faith which He sent into the world, and will serve and honor the Master whom it manifests to our minds, with a fresh consecration.

You will bear me witness, I am confident, that, whatever my personal convictions may be, I have assumed nothing concerning this religion which does not lie plainly upon its surface, to be noticed at once by every observer. Without discussing or describing its particular contents, as I rejoice to apprehend and accept these—without trying by analysis to exhibit systematically its general vast and affirmative scheme, and to set forth its parts in what to me appears beyond doubt their just coördination—I have taken it simply as a distinguished historical system, which appeared in the world at a definite date, recognized by all, and which is fairly reported to us in certain writings familiarly known as the New Testament; and I have sought to outline before you the distinct relations of that religion which these writings confessedly represent, to the progress and culture of the subsequent times: not desiring to attribute anything to it which does not belong to it; not seeking to refer to it directly what may have come from secondary forces, often as I think inspired by itself, yet working with it in parallel lines; and certainly not trying to conceal, from your eyes or from my own, the failure of its energy to wholly renew the nature of man, or to do all the work in amending his customs which from a celestial religion, if unresisted by human folly or human passion, might properly be expected. It is no picture of fancy which I have tried to exhibit: no picture of prophesied Millennial beauty, as if already that had been realized on this confused and turbulent planet. But taking the state of human society as it palpably was before this religion

was declared in the world, and comparing it with that which has since appeared, I have exhibited to you my conviction that certain peculiar and transcendent elements have entered the governing life of mankind through this religion; and that its effect thus far has been to elevate and purify, to up-lift and set forward, in a wholly unique mode and measure, the race to which an impulse was brought by it immense and commanding.

In pursuing this general line of thought, I have shown, as I think, that a new and nobler conception of God was certainly thus made familiar to the world: one naturally surpassing anything which had been reached on the same majestic and inspiring theme, either in the popular religions of antiquity, or in the highest philosophy of that time: one in which the sublime elements of that discovery of God to the Hebrews which preceded Christianity were accepted, combined, and magnificently surpassed, by a fresh and surely a supreme exhibition of Love as the inmost life of God's being, of holiness as its perfect manifestation, and of the Divinest self-sacrifice as its fruit. The effect of this Christian doctrine of God on the mental and moral life of mankind, and on the civilization which gives to that life its constant exhibition, can hardly, it would seem, be overstated.

I have shown also, or sought to show, that a change in large measure corresponding with this has been wrought in the conception which man now has, so far as this religion has reached him, of the dignity and worth of his own nature: that since Christianity made its appeal, which all must admit to be vast and majestic, and which it affirms to be Divine, to every person to whom its teachings and documents come, as the ancient religions or speculative moralities had not done—since it showed God, taking its statement of things as true, as interested in man, and declared Immortality waiting for him, with such a solemn and sovereign emphasis as was wholly unparalleled in any poetry or any religion before it was preached—the soul of man, for its own sake, amid whatever accidents of condition, has been recognized as worthy of nobler care and higher honor; and whatever involves this idea, and is animated by it, has had a prominence and a permanence in the Christian society such as before were unimagined.

I have shown also, or sought to show, the new conception which plainly and certainly came to the world with the teaching of Jesus concerning the duty which man owes to God in the sphere of Worship: how the old forms of external sacrifice passed away on the instant, wherever this religion appeared; how for such was substituted the more intimate and inestimable sacrifice of self, in the conquest of whatever within the soul is alien to God, and in consecration to His Divine service; what a power of love was then shown in worship, unknown in the world until that hour, and what joy was expressed in it, with a new-born and reverent faith — articulate in music, in mighty and exulting hymns, in great liturgies and creeds, after a time in the very structure of the houses for praise; and how this spirit is contemplated by Christianity as working abroad into the entire contexture of life, and as properly impenetrating and devoting to the Most High all active powers, in all their exercise, in the manifold labor and endurance of man.

The new conception of man's duty to Man, introduced by this religion, I tried equally to illustrate: showing the energy and the beautiful fruit of it, especially in the cases where its moral force most distinctly collides with previous established custom or law, in giving protection and aid to the weak: as in the instance of little children; of woman, systematically reduced in antiquity to unjust subordination; of the enslaved, with those incapacitated for the struggle of life by sickness, destitution, or by native infirmity of body or of mind. As the sun in the heavens turns winter ice to rippling streams, so the gospel of Galilee has certainly, to a great extent, throughout the domains which it affects, turned wealth and power into the channels of cordial beneficence. It carries to-day into millions of cabins securer liberty, more abundant prosperity, a new aspiration, a more animating hope; and while its results are yet confessedly incomplete, awaiting a consummation still to be realized, in each of those already attained lies the prediction of other changes, following the same clear line of direction, which shall make the future civilizations of the world more lovely and benign than others, or ours, thus far have been.

Even the relation of States to each other has also been changed,

and vitally improved, in a measure almost equal. That relation, as one of mutual alliances and reciprocating charities, was first made possible by the passing away of the separating force of pagan religions, and by the breaking up of the Roman empire, which had come to be pervaded more or less by a common Christianity, as well as by a common jurisprudence. Since its distinct emergence into history the movement so initiated has gone majestically forward, with ever-enlarging power and scope, under the impulse of the prevalent Faith. Since the feudal system fell, which localized law, and which organized society around minor centres into many distinct defiant districts—since nations, breaking out of those paralyzing restrictions, became compact and permanent, with almost a personal consciousness in them—and since the imperious Papal autocracy ceased to attempt to regulate states in their conduct toward each other—the sense of obligation to the unseen equities honored by Christ, and of common obligations to God and to each other, has been growing among nations in clearness and force: till now treaties are sacred, within the limitations determined by themselves; ambassadors are respected; injustice is rebuked, between peoples as between persons; combinations occur to resist the ambitious, and to shelter the weak; and the usages of war are constantly mitigated, if war itself is not yet abolished. The tendency here is to the final establishment of courts of Arbitration, taking the place of decisions by Battle; and the ultimate enduring peace of the world—though a vision still, not yet a fact—is a vision neither so remote nor so vague as it uniformly seemed in the preceding times.

That something of this, that much of it indeed, has come, instrumentally, through the widening of commerce, the multiplication of useful arts, an advancing social and political wisdom, I have not sought to conceal from your view. It is as evident to me as to any one. But that the power of the Christian religion has been behind it, and behind these instruments conspiring to assist it, seems no less apparent; and if that now were withdrawn from the world, with its teaching and law, and its spiritual impression—if peoples and governments were left to no other guidance and control in their moral relations than those

which preceded the advent of Christ—I see no guaranty that the old chaos of jealous and contending nations might not return, in fiercer fight, with bloodier weapons, a more terrible tyranny of the stronger powers over the weak.

In developing the effect of the new religion on the mental culture and training of mankind, I showed how inseparable is such an effect from its very constitution, as the chief literary religion of the world: coming to us through a large Book, having many authors, who wrote with a singular vividness of conception and exuberance of impulse, and who give us many particular books, of history, biography, legislation, prophecy, with maxims of profound ethical wisdom, with great arguments of doctrine, with spiritual rules for the shaping of character, and with gnomic sayings which put into the narrowest compass vast riches of thought: how such a religion, of necessity, sets the mind on which its powerful impact falls into instant, various, and wide-ranging action, to find in other departments of knowledge its illustrations and proofs, or, if that must be, to find arguments against it; how it builds up always a rich and fruitful middle-class mind; and how at the same time it ministers with intrinsic vigor to higher minds, sending them forth on all quests for truth, giving the incentive, and creating the instruments, for every species of intelligent research. Its literatures multiply, its schools expand and grow to universities, by a law of its nature. It exalts the mental spirit in man, instead of depressing it, by the tender, majestic, harmonious discovery of things supernatural, which is one of its vital characteristics. It opens remotest realms of speculation by its circumspect silences, before each inquisitive spirit. And the contrast of its continual effect, in this direction, with those of the various ethnic religions, boasting also their sacred books, but assisting no wide intellectual progress, and giving birth to no benign literatures, is like the contrast, ever repeated, of the day with the night, or of life with death.

When we turn to consider the moral effects accomplished by this religion, not on individuals only, or in limited communities, but on the scale of national life, and in countries and capitals most advanced in arts, industries, and accumulated resources, the influence of it appears if possible yet more remarkable, as well

as more salutary. It came to communities cultured in letters, instructed in arts, mighty in arms, but to a great extent morally rotten with luxury and lust, the prey of degraded and savage passions, the story of whose life, and the picture of whose manners, are almost too fearful to be contemplated: accustomed to spectacles, and to sensual excesses, which now would make any country so infamous that the world would expect the globe itself to open beneath it and swallow it up. Christianity, in its worship, its humanity, its charity, in the inflexible fidelity to truth which it demanded, and in the heroical energy of faith toward a Master unseen which it inspired, struck down upon this ancient life, in the most cruel and dissolute capitals, as a veritable gleam from worlds celestial; and though it encountered tremendous resistance, of law, argument, fierce invective, stinging satire, of the society which it rebuked, of the government which it challenged, of military opposition, and of popular persecutions unparalleled in the frenzied fury of their onset,—it overcame that resistance, awakened an enthusiasm which spurned and curbed the assailing hostility, converted some of its noblest champions by their recoil toward its amazing serenity amid storms, and finally became master of the empire, by its moral force, aided by whatever of Divine providence we may recognize in its history.

If it did not accomplish all that might seem desirable to us, it made at any rate the former conditions of personal and of public life impossible to be repeated. It was something to put Constantine in the place of Galerius, and to set a man like Leo the Great on the throne defiled in imperial days with hideous and indescribable crime. It was something, afterward, to take the savage nomadic populations which rushed in upon the empire, and to build up from them Christian states, in which vice exists but without repute; in which no man in eminent station could repeat with impunity any one of thousands of uncriticized excesses of Roman Senators; in which the strongest throne would fall if the Sovereign upon it were now to repeat a single one of many crimes of the ancient emperors. Until Christianity has wholly impressed with its transforming power the nature of man, it cannot banish iniquity from the earth. But it has, at

any rate, branded vice, in whatever station, with indelible mark It has forced upon vast communities of men the sense of the necessity of righteousness in the spirit, as the source and the safeguard of righteousness in conduct. And its prodigious force has been shown, in instances uncounted, in the new purity to which it has lifted those most depraved, who seemed abandoned of God and man. Once let it come to its perfect contemplated supremacy in the world, and a society as pure as the Sermon on the Mount, as radiant as the whiteness of the transfigured robe, as supreme against evil as was the Lord in whom the religion was then incarnated, must be its immortal and illustrious trophy.

Finally, this religion has given to the race a hope for the future, in the coming ages of earthly history, which was not known, and which could not be, while a Divine providence was not recognized over all, and when there was no force whatever, known to statesmen, conjectured by philosophers, by which a certain moral progress, toward ultimate issues of liberty and of peace, could be assured to the multiform clashing societies of mankind. It has dissipated the fears which were in the mightiest empire of the earth, when it began its novel and astounding work. It has widened the view encouraged by the earlier Hebrew system. It has turned the general gaze of men from the past, to which they were wont to look back as the Golden Age, toward the future whose promise grows more inviting as the tread of the centuries approaches it nearer. It has shown in itself the power to reconcile, to liberate, and to set forward nations, with a steadiness and a strength which had certainly before been unknown in the world. That power continues absolutely unwasted by all the periods which have witnessed its exercise, by all the conflicts through which it has passed. It has never been more signally declared than in recent years—in amended legislations, expanded philanthropies, widened missions; and inspired by its instinctive energy, as well as taught by its consummating prophecy, the peoples who receive the religion of the Christ now expect each century to be brighter than the past, all tending to the final reign on the earth of righteousness and of wisdom. It is this which invigorates every effort of disciples to extend their religion, and which gives to their prayer impulse and joy.

This has been the work of this Christian religion, as thus far accomplished, in the world which first heard it from Jesus of Nazareth. In detail, very likely, it may be questioned if every particular of the manifold progress to which I have referred is to be ascribed to it as its source. And I have not hidden, from your eyes or from mine, the fact that much remains to be accomplished: that a picture might even now be drawn of Christendom as it is, of this very city, which would almost tempt one to feel for the moment that Christianity itself had found the work committed to it too vast and hard to be performed, the spirit of man too vehement and refractory to be subdued; and that the promise of such a future as those taught by it fondly contemplate is only a delightful delusion of faith. I admit the justice of much of that sharp condemnation of society which implies a higher standard of judgment than was known in the old world, with a finer and more imperative sense of the paramount authority of an ideal rectitude. I repeat, too, what I said at the beginning, that if this religion did come from God, it could have come only because there was imminent moral need of it; and that therefore, until its celestial supremacy is wholly complete, great evils must be expected to continue, resistant forces, yet unconquered, must be looked for.

In spite of all such, it seems to me beyond the reach of intelligent dispute that the broad, permanent, general effects to which I have adverted, have been the result of the coming of this religion to the world. In the aggregate, I see not how they can be denied, until we re-make the Past, or until we accept the Indian doctrine that 'all is illusion,' and apply it to Christendom. I see too that they have come, not as casually associated with the religion, by a force from without, but as vitally involved in its constitution; made necessary by palpable elements in its structure, which none will dispute; proceeding from it as the stream from its source, or as radiant effulgence from the substance of the sun. Nor is it true here, as may be sometimes elsewhere the case, that the many particulars hide from our view the great general outline, so that one 'cannot see the forest, on account of the trees.' The vast result which is always before us, in the work of this religion, manifestly and mightily transcends the most

careful catalogue of particulars. The world is a new one, not wholly, but surely in significant measure, since Jesus met his death on the cross. And there is no sign in all the heavens that the influence which thus has emanated from him is now or hereafter to be arrested: that the race will swing back, could do so if it wished, to the spiritual carelessness, the enthroned cruelty, the deified lust, of the earlier time, all rooted in the ignorance of God and the Hereafter. Match London, or Paris, or the Rome of to-day, against the Rome or the Corinth of Paul—match the Colosseum as now it stands, with the cross in its centre, against the Colosseum filled with its thousands of shouting spectators, looking on with delight, as one sees them outlined in the picture of Gérome, at the horrible slaughter of animals or of men—and we seem to be on a different planet. The victories of this gentlest and most spiritual of Faiths, have surely, thus far, been indisputably grand.

I am not unmindful of the fact, which I hope you will also clearly recognize, that still one great and rich department, in some respects the richest of all, in the work which Christianity has accomplished in the world, has scarcely been touched in this series of Lectures: the department, that is, of what may be called its individual victories; over men like Augustine, whom it converted, and afterward richly instructed and inspired; or like Norbert, of the twelfth century, whom it transformed, on occasion of a startling natural occurrence, from an utterly reckless and dissolute courtier, into an apostolic preacher, whose sermons flashed the fire of conviction on multitudes of hearts, and seemed to open Heaven to the faithful. Such conquests of this religion have been repeated in many men and many women conspicuous in history, whom it has brought out of darkness into light, out of sin into holiness, and out of a passionate love of the world into fervent and supreme adoration of God. If the scheme of these Lectures allowed another to be added to the series, no other theme could have been so inviting, no other, I think, so rewarding to our thoughts, as the one thus suggested: since in such examples we see brought, as it were, into a focus, the spiritual energies which elsewhere are exhibited in their general operation; and the impression thence resulting is like that of the sunbeam

when by the lens its associated rays are concentered upon the hand. The flesh which before had hardly felt it, then responds to its touch with instant thrill.

Indeed, such instances of spiritual victory over minds and hearts set in stubborn resistance to its appeals are in themselves the surpassing effects of Christian power; clearest, grandest, and most characteristic. In a memorable passage by Macaulay, in his essay on Mitford's History of Greece, he says of Athens, with a scholar's enthusiasm: "Her power is indeed manifest at the bar, in the senate, on the field of battle, in the schools of philosophy. But these are not her glory. Wherever literature consoles sorrow, or assuages pain—wherever it brings gladness to eyes which fail with wakefulness and tears, and ache for the dark house and the long sleep—there is exhibited, in its noblest form, the immortal influence of Athens."* In only a more reverent and affectionate spirit, and surely with a justice still more apparent, we may say of Christianity, that while it transformed the savage and sensual life of the empire, while it mastered the barbarians who broke upon that in successive terrific inundations of destruction, while it has changed the face of Europe, building cathedrals, hospitals, universities, and has covered this country with at least the foundations and lower stories of its appropriate civilization, while it has made the enlightened and aspiring Christendom of to-day the fact of chief importance thus far in the progress of mankind—its true glory is that it has wiped the tears of sorrow from the eyes of its disciples, and has comforted hearts which were desolate with grief; that it has given celestial visions to those who dwelt beneath thatched roofs, and has taught a happier humility to the proud; that it has shed victorious tranquillity on those who have seen the shadows of death closing around them, and has caused to be written over their graves the lofty words of promise and cheer, "I am the Resurrection and the Life."

This is the diadem of this religion: sparkling with gems, lucid and vivid, such as never were set in any philosophic or poetic crown. Because of these effects, and not merely for its influ

* Works: London ed., 1873: Vol. VII.: p. 703.

ences upon cosmical progress, men have loved this religion with a passionate intensity beside which all other enthusiasms were weak. Because of these, if for nothing else, it will live in the world till human hearts have ceased to beat.

But to all this vast and alluring theme I can only thus refer in a word, and must trust your own thought, it may be I hope your own experience, to show how the Faith preached in Judea still touches the heart, in all its critical, fateful moments, as with an energy coming from God. It speaks to us through languages wholly unknown to those who proclaimed it at Antioch or at Corinth, upon a continent not prefigured by any reminiscence of the lost Atlantis, and toward which the imperial eagles of Rome never had turned their haughty eyes. But it is, to-day, the life of the life in millions of spirits, over which bend the heavens which it has illumined, upon which fall the premonitory lights of that great Immortality which through its Master has been manifested to men.

But leaving this, and looking only at what I have been able imperfectly to treat, I certainly am not timid in asking, What is the fair inference from it all? Have not the facts already outlined been sufficient, at least, to justify the thought with which I commenced: that enough is apparent in this track of inquiry to warrant, to demand, from every one, the most careful and earnest study of Christianity in its characteristic and vital contents, as probably from God? enough to impel us, when we are thus assured of its nature, to make a personal experiment of it, according to its law?

I do not wish to exaggerate anything; but it seems to me indisputably clear that so much, at any rate, has been attained, and that while Christianity cannot be scientifically demonstrated, it is most surely indicated, by these unique historical effects, as having had its lofty origin, not on earth, but in the mind which had ordained and which perfectly knew the soul in man, and which could not be unmindful of the wants of that soul, or of the attainments which are possible to it. The fountain cannot rise higher than the spring. The vast, shining, perpetual upspring of these immense and world-wide effects—it seems to me absolutely incredible that the source of it all was in a sensitive

Jewish brain in the workshop of Joseph, and in an unbroken garden-grave. The origin of Christendom cannot fairly be explained by the terse and trenchant sarcasm of Ebrard, commenting upon the notion that the narrative of John is a sort of philosophical and poetical romance: 'At that time it came to pass—that nothing happened!'

At this point, then, observe still further some other things connected in history with this religion,—especially this: how suddenly it broke forth upon a race which was not in the least expecting its coming, which seemed almost as far as possible from being prepared to accept and absorb it with intelligent faith, yet in which certain preparations had been made, apparently for its introduction to mankind, which at least distinctly agree with the thought that a vigilance overhead was concerned in its coming, and that a plan not of human device was in that fulfilled.

It has sometimes been made an objection to Christianity, in its claim to supreme Divine authority, that maxims are found in it which were not unknown in other systems, and declarations of fact which find resemblances, if not exact or equivalent counterparts, in other religions. Undoubtedly this is true. We know distinctly what the principal prevalent religions of the world, outside of Palestine, essentially were, in their own nature, in their historical development, and in their moral and social influence. Yet when we know also that Aratus said, whom Cicero translated, and from whom Paul quoted, 'full of Zeus are all the streets and market-places, full of Him are all seas and harbors, . . and we are also His offspring': when we hear Seneca say that 'between good men and the gods there exists a friendship, or rather a certain relationship and resemblance,' that 'the mind came from God, and yearns toward Him,' that 'a sacred spirit resides within us, and no good man is without God,' that 'the first and greatest punishment of the sinner is the fact of having sinned,' that 'we should so give as we would wish in turn to receive,' and that a perfect man in the world 'would be like a light shining in darkness': when we read in the Buddhist Dhammapada that 'the evil-doer mourns in this world, and he mourns in the next,' that 'wise people,

after they have listened to the laws, become serene, like a deep, smooth, and silent lake,' that 'happiness is the outcome of goodness,' and that 'not to commit any sin, to do good, and to purify one's mind, that is the teaching of the Awakened': when we read such discerning and monitory words, and know that they were written by men who could not have heard, except possibly in the instance of Seneca, the name of Christ:—and when we remember, further than this, that in a subsequent stage of the Hindu development, among the various avatars of Vishnu, was reckoned a docetic incarnation in Krishna, the hero who came to lighten men's burdens, and as a great Teacher to save mankind, who, amid much that was frivolous and much that was lascivious, vanquished serpents, overcame demons, and at last defeated the gods themselves: above all, when we read the wish attributed to Buddha, 'that all the sin of the world might fall on him, that the world thereby might be delivered,'—we are tempted to ask, What is there, what can there be, in Christianity, which in essence transcends all this? Was it not, after all, like these other systems, a human development out of principles recognized by the natural conscience? a majestic but still a terrestrial consummation of ethical maxims, spiritual yearnings, mysterious fancies, which had appeared among other peoples, but which finally took this lofty and rich historical form, and which since have commanded such astonishing influence?

I think the doubt thus suggested the subtlest and strongest which any ingenuous mind can feel concerning Christianity. It seems to leave the intrinsic spiritual splendor of that substantially undimmed, while ascribing it all to an earthly origin. It has the charm of free and wide sympathy toward other religions, among which Christianity is recognized as one of a similar nature, though extolled as the best. And it leaves each student of this religion to take from it what he likes, rejecting the rest, and to feel bound by no limitations from supernal authority, only animated and instructed by great human suggestions, in what he takes or in what he rejects.

Fully to respond to this far-reaching question, and to show how essentially and loftily dissimilar Christianity is to the various religions which preceded or surrounded it, would obvi-

ously require a careful and full analysis of its contents, as compared with those of other systems; but from such analysis I have carefully refrained in this series of Lectures. I have been standing outside the religion, rather than within it: taking only those obvious undeniable elements which all recognize at first sight, and showing how, by reason of them and of whatsoever else was associated with them, it has modified history. The further work, of investigating at large, and with accurate scrutiny, the intimate, distinctive, and governing principles confederated in it, I have left with intention to your subsequent studies. That it must involve such preëminent principles appears indisputable from the fact that it has had and still retains so large a place in the world's history, and has been the source of such cosmical beneficence. But what they are, and how they are properly combined and coördinated in a systematic theological scheme, I have wholly remitted to your personal inquiry: only seeking to do a simpler and humbler preliminary work, and to give you such impressions as may possibly prepare you the better to accomplish this nobler task.

I am not therefore now in the proper position to put Christianity in fair measurement of comparison with other religions, so far as its organic structure is concerned. I can only suggest a few thoughts, from a point of view still outside the analysis of the system, which seem to me to have a just and an important bearing upon the question thus presented.

However especially and transcendently Divine Christianity may appear to any of its disciples, there is certainly nothing unaccountable, or properly unexpected, in the fact that partial resemblances to it, at various points, even pregnant suggestions looking and possibly leading toward it, should have appeared at different times, and among widely differing peoples. Christianity itself not only authorizes but instructs us to expect this, by those teachings concerning human nature which lie as palpably on its surface as do the examples of gold-bearing quartz above the mine. It is always thus to be remembered that, according to the tenor of New Testament teaching, God never had left Himself without witness among men, in giving them rain from heaven, and fruitful seasons, filling their hearts with food and

gladness;* that they had had a law implanted in the conscience, though the written law was not before them; and that therefore, as Paul argues, they were in fact without excuse, because when they knew God they glorified Him not as God, neither were thankful.† The undestroyed sensibility of the soul to what is Divine, is the primary postulate of Christianity, as it is the authoritative verdict of history. It constantly reäppears, this innate sensibility, in religions, household customs, sometimes in poems, often in arts. It was this which made human experience moral, and not like that of beavers or birds. Though, according to the energetic apostle, men were alienated from the life of God, through the ignorance which was in them because of the blindness of their heart,‡ they were by nature, in the Christian contemplation, allied with the Deity; they had had early discoveries of Him; they had innate tendencies pressing them toward Him; they had even imperative intuitions, of which no vicious disposition could rid them, declaring the unseen and the supernal; and they could not as a race become atheistic, even if they tried. Therefore Christianity had been sent to address them; and therefore, only, could it exercise upon them such a power for their mental and moral inspiration as that whose effects we have rapidly traced.

If this conception of the nature of man be a correct one, it was plainly to be anticipated—where there had been a primitive knowledge of God and His will, where were souls made in His image, and which still retained that in faculty if not in spiritual temper, where the heavens were all the time telling from above, and the earth from beneath, of the power and foresight from which they had sprung, where it is affirmed, on the front of one of the principal gospels, that there had been some Light, whatever that is conceived to have been, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world, and where it had been predicted beforehand that One "the Desire of all nations" was to come—that there should be adumbrations, going before, of whatever religion might be at last divinely sent; that philosophical maxims would show preparatory elements of truth; that religious institutions would sometimes contain the flashes and gleams of a true radiance;

* Acts xiv. 15–17. † Romans i. 19–21. ‡ Ephesians iv. 18.

that here and there expectant spirits, yearning for what they had not found, might catch foreshadowings of what ultimately should appear, to bring them nearer to their Maker, and might take from these a prophesying brightness—as the cloud which rises in the morning-horizon before the sun, though dark at its centre, is rimmed on its edges with crinkling gold. Premonitions of this sort, high imaginings, were surely to be expected, if the account given by Christianity of the origin of man, and of his nature, be the correct one; while, in the entire absence of such, a celestial religion, no matter with what of miracle attended, would have had apparently no point of contact with the spirit in man. Its appeal must have been as a summons to the heart in a bronze figure; or, certainly, as an attempt to teach rabbits and ravens the higher mathematics.

It is natural to expect such 'unconscious prophecies' of what at last may appear, from the nature in man: and they plainly constitute, in a sense most important, an appropriate preparation for a final majestic religion of God, though it seems as certain as anything in history that they never were enough to constitute of themselves a separate, sufficient, and ultimate Faith. Any religion coming from the Heavens without some antecedents of this kind must have had the effect of a sun bolting up into a sky of ebon darkness, to irradiate the world with rash, flaming, intolerable splendor. Such ethical maxims as I have cited, and such dreams of the possible exhibition of God in human nature, which yet never were compacted into a peculiar and positive religion of cosmical relations, impress one as precursory rays of light, palpitating, flickering, and gradually mingling above the horizon, to turn the darkness to partial dawn, before the illuminating orb appears. In this sense it is certainly the fact, according to Augustine's thought, that 'there are grains of truth in all religions'; that others than Hebrews had been in time past of the spiritual Israel; that those speaking Divine things before the Master were to be congratulated, if not to be followed; and that Christianity is, in a sense, 'as old as the creation.' We understand how Justin Martyr should have felt that Christ had been partially intimated in Socrates.* The ethnic religions were never

* Apol. II.: c. 10.

able to build up in man a life harmonious with even the higher philosophical precepts. They could not give—did not seek to give—a consciousness of sweet and purifying communion with a holy Creator, whose love was immortal as His power. The burden of sin they could not lift, from any troubled and travailing soul, by authentic promises of forgiveness. The transformation of the spirit in man from pride or fear into the humble yet joyful tranquillity of self-consecrating affection toward an invisible King in his beauty, was something outside their range of effort. But we may not overlook, or momently depreciate, any virtue of thought or aim manifest in them. It only shows how much more was needed than they could furnish, to rectify man's spiritual life. It only adds, for a discerning disciple, to the glory of him in whom such scattered preceding intimations appear sublimely completed and surpassed. If God at last did send a religion, appropriate to Himself, for all mankind, for all coming ages, these bursts of aspiration, these uncertain yet elevating apprehensions of verity, these evanescent foreshadowings, only show how long and how widely He wrought—though in a silence like that which attends the motion of stars—preparing the way for the final discovery of it.

But another thing carefully to be noted is this: that however numerous, or however signal, such pre-Christian or extra-Christian indications may have been of what at last becomes manifest in the Gospel, the new religion did not come by natural development from any one preceding, or from all of them combined. It was not the result of a shrewd eclecticism, which sought to blend certain elements of each in a wider scheme of reconciliation. Still less was it a crass syncretism, equally ready to authorize all, making no essential distinctions between them. Efforts of this sort were abundantly made at a later time, in the Gnostic development; and what came of them, he who runs may read. But whatever else it is, or is not, Christianity, as apparent throughout the New Testament, is at least, to the most cursory observation, a system peculiar and self-contained: with its own affirmations of alleged Divine and invisible facts, and its special maxims of duty and truth founded upon them: with an interior law and life of self-development as absolutely belonging to itself

as those of tree, animal, man, belong to the organisms in which they are expressed. No one has established an effort in it to borrow from other religious schemes. It is in fact as independent of those which the world had elaborated, outside of Palestine, as if they had been non-existent; and in its effect is contradictory and expulsive of their fundamental practices and ideas.

The only religion with which it had intimate or vital relations was that of the Hebrews: to which it gives continual honor, as a Divine preparatory system, intended to teach the basal doctrine on which its crowning structure should be reared; whose glorious completeness should be realized in it; and which should take from it fresh illustration on whatever in itself was of cardinal importance, or of secular meaning. The relation of Christianity to the system which came before by Moses is one which the writers who first proclaim it are never weary of presenting. The Master himself, according to them, makes it often impressively prominent. It is still apparent to every student who examines the records, old and new.

But how far the later religion was from being in any sense a spontaneous development out of the earlier, appears on the instant demonstrated by the fact that from the very people whom that had trained came the first and fiercest resistance to it, and that from them proceeded afterward, as it has done to this day, the most strenuous, stubborn, and relentless hostility to the whole Christian scheme. It was not the feeling of one man only, or another, whether scribe or pharisee, Herodian or Essene, it was the instinctive judgment of the nation, that this religion which had come out of Galilee was something apart from, or essentially above, what they had received in inheritance from the Past; that instead of being an outgrowth from that, it was a system claiming so transcendently to supplement and surpass it, that by inevitable force it must suspend it, and if generally accepted must leave for that earlier and venerated economy no place but in history. Therefore they fought it so fiercely as they did. Therefore, as a people, they maintain toward it the old antagonism. And therefore when one trained by that system now accepts Christianity, it is with a violent wrench of the spirit, under the impulse of its powerful motives, such as the heathen do

not know when abolishing their temples and burning their gods. The Jew crosses a chasm, he does not merely ascend by steps from one court to another, in coming to Christ. The boy Mendel becomes the Neander—the veritable "new man"—when baptized to the Lord.

It is hard to conceive how any demonstration of any fact could be furnished in history, more complete than is that which thus is given, by the Hebrews themselves, to the fact that Christianity, as it stands in the New Testament, is not a mere flowering into larger proportion and lovelier beauty of the religion which they had possessed. I cannot but feel that the more carefully and profoundly one studies the system, the clearer and the deeper will be his conviction that in this they were right. The later religion was in a true sense based on the earlier, and presupposed it. It was the Pleroma, of which that had been the prophecy. That had presented the preliminary truths, the rubrical precepts, the solemn and significant symbols, which were the heralds and advanced pioneers of its bright armies. But they take illustration and importance from it, not it from them. And there is no conceivable law of moral evolution, by inconsiderable variations, gradually established, and resulting at last, through constant increments, in a fixed and definite change of type, which can possibly account for the coming of Christianity out of Judaism. It was a "new doctrine" which the Jew heard from Jesus; and because it was new, and still so imperative, he shut his ears against its teaching, he answered it with stones, and he finally slew the Master who had brought it.

But if Christianity was not a development out of Judaism, assuredly it was not from any other religion known on the earth. The attempts of writers like Bruno Bauer to trace its origin to commingled elements of Roman and Hellenic thought, though once assuming a temporary prominence, have long since ceased to attract attention. If referred to at all, it is only with ridicule, even by those who equally desire to find in the new Faith a human development out of preceding systems, but who certainly know that its germinating principle is not to be looked for on the banks of the Ilissus or of the Tiber.* It is not there; nor

* See Kuenen's "Hibbert Lectures": New York ed., 1882: pp. 203–4.

is it in the fantastic and transitory scheme of those aspiring Alexandrian philosophers, represented by Philo, who accepted the divinity of the Hebrew scriptures, but who sought to associate with their teachings, on equal terms, philosophical speculations derived from the Greeks: who therefore forced allegorical meanings on Hebrew texts, to make these cover what they conceived universal ideas; and who reached at last a mystical rationalism, as their supreme truth in the sphere of religion. Christianity is as centrally and sharply discriminated from such a tendency, and from its recorded speculative fruits, as it is from the worship of crocodiles or of cats.

Undoubtedly, occasional resemblances appear between the elaborated verbal economy through which the Alexandrian scheme found expression, and that which is employed in passages and sections of the Christian scriptures. Especially the term 'Logos'—which had been derived from Old Testament scriptures, which appeared later in Apocryphal books, and in subsequent Targums—was frequently and gladly employed by Philo, and gained through him wider currency in the world; and this is the term preëminently used by the writer of the fourth gospel, as personally descriptive of the Lord whom he celebrates. But to infer equivalence, or resemblance, or genetic relationship, between their doctrines, from their common employment of this word or of others, would be immensely wide of the mark. Words are related through contents, not form. 'Sin' means with one man an offence against good manners or taste, and with another rebellion against God. 'Death' means with one extinction of being, and with another the birth-time of Immortality. Yet both employ the identical word, if associated letters constitute identity. In just this way the whole Greek language, as far as they needed it, was used by the New Testament writers, not as having previously contained their ideas, but as being capable beyond any other of receiving these into it, and of giving them expression; as having such capacity for regeneration that its adopted linguistic forms, though never before in the least descriptive of Christian thought or evangelical experience, could be lifted and spiritualized until they contained these. In this way the term 'Logos' was accepted, but in a definiteness of mean

ing, and with a sublimity of personal application, not previously contemplated; and was made to stand, in its new majesty, as a vital and almost a sovereign term in a system of thought so diverse from that of Philo and his friends that theirs formed, as Dorner has said, "the directest antithesis to Christianity."* It seems naturally related, this Alexandrian scheme, to the Gnosticism which followed, and which already was beginning to be unfolded in the time of St. Paul. But it does not tend toward, it is not even indifferent to, the New Testament religion. That stood at the beginning, as it has done since, alone in the world: to be believed, obeyed, and loved, for its own majestic lessons, if at all: to be discredited and rejected by men, if it does not essentially depart from and transcend all other religions. This belongs to its nature.

Its Teacher had been taught in no Greek or Roman or Alexandrian school. He was not even learned, as Moses had been, in Egyptian wisdom. He acknowledged no dependence whatever, so far as the utmost diligence can trace, on Hellenic conceptions, or even on prevalent Jewish traditions. He amended and spiritualized, without hesitation, the law of Moses. He announced thoughts which even his trained personal disciples were wholly unable to understand; by which the people, as at Capernaum, were astonished and repulsed; by which the minds of principal authority to which they were addressed were keenly enraged. He presented what he taught as having immediate and peremptory claim on the acceptance and faithful obedience of all who heard it. He recognized no other scheme of thought as synonymous with his own, or as its equivalent, only one as having been preparatory to it: itself incapable, by its nature, of affiliating with others, simply, inevitably, exclusive of them. It came suddenly, this separate, imperious, and expulsive religion: when neither the Jewish world nor the Gentile was expecting such a system; when the Jew was looking with eager desire for a secular Messiah, not at all for a dying Teacher and Saviour; when the Gentile world was intensely preöccupied with the contemplation of Roman power, and the adoration of imperial

* "Person of Christ": Edinburgh ed., 1861: Vol. I.: p. 19.

Gods. Then this religion broke into history: and in spite of the apparent obscurity of its origin, in spite of the slight and limited impression which was all that it could make on those who heard the voice of Jesus, it undertook to fill, possess, and renovate the world.

In the physical world there is a great gulf, fixed, between matter, in any dexterous arrangement, and the life which impenetrates, governs, up-builds that into organic forms. A great gulf is fixed between the highest faculty of the brute, with whatever skill of instinct endowed, or whatever strange power of limb or wing, and the reasoning, imaginative, conscientious, and worshipping spirit of man. No one yet has bridged these chasms. Spontaneous generation is a discredited hypothesis. However eager any man may be to find that he had an ape for his grandfather, he cannot yet trace the physical relationship. In like manner, yet more profoundly, a great gulf is fixed between Christianity and any other scheme of religion which antedated or synchronized with it. The separateness of its results, as shown in history, is itself the demonstration of its separateness of nature. So unique in effect, it must be equally unique in constitution. A something wholly unmeasured and transcendent, in spirit and power, came with a bound into the world, leaping upon the mountains, when the word of the Gospel was preached in Galilee. It was not a development, but an announcement. There is a positive break of continuity in the series of history, at its appearance, far more than answering to the interval of centuries between the last prophet and the advent of Jesus. We are in another atmosphere when we have entered the sphere of Christianity: with another radiance falling through it, and another effect of moral stimulation proceeding from it

So capital, sudden, immense a change, if it contradicts anything, contradicts above all the notion that it came—this religion—by any forces of evolution the alleged law of which has ever been formulated. The palingenesia of a moribund world did not arise from ethical speculations, from scattered surmises and hopes of men, or out of the ancient law of Moses. When matched against the noblest preceding scheme, it is as a power enthroned in the sun, compared with a power regnant from echoing rocks

of Sinai. The fact that nothing has even yet come to surpass and replace it, after all the enormous activity of mankind in ethical inquiry, in spiritual experience, and in speculative thought, since it was published, seems sufficient to demonstrate Divinest truth in the words of its Teacher, who said, according to the early record, to the most religiously instructed and exact of the world in his time: "Ye are from beneath; I am from above. Ye are of this world; I am not of this world!" An arrogance of egotistical boast surpassing parallel is in these words, or else the sublime and victorious calm of a just and temperate self-affirmation. And History tells us, with the irresistible and undying consent of her millions of voices, which it was!

Yet while this system of religion thus stands apart from every other, in essential and permanent preëminence of nature, it is important to notice what special arrangements had apparently been made for it, that at the time when it appeared it might have large and swift extension, reaching most rapidly the most numerous hearers, and becoming very early an established power in the principal and controlling civilizations of the world. A vast plan concerning it seems here impressively evident.

Three centuries before, Alexander had marched, as in a vast victorious raid, across the Asian expanses, from the Hellespont to the Hyphasis, or almost to the Himalaya ramparts. He had not only subdued the countries which he traversed, but had established Greek kingdoms, the survival of which is one of the neglected seed-fields of history. He had subjugated Egypt, as well as Syria or Persia, and had planted the city which, becoming a chief centre of population and commerce, was to perpetuate his name in the world. According to Plutarch, he conceived himself a kind of Divine umpire, whose mission it was to unite all together, forming of a hundred diverse nations a common body, mingling as in a cup of friendship the customs, marriages, laws of all, and making the world to all one country. Whether his plans were so far impersonal, or had so much of general philosophy, may reasonably be doubted. But the fact remains, that he vastly surpassed the ambitious enterprise of any European who had preceded him, that he added immensely to the scanty knowledge which the West had had of the great Eastern world

and that he brought India face to face with that part of the world whose impressions on her subsequent history were to be so important. A real expansion of the mind of mankind is clearly apparent, after his brief but amazing career. All distances seemed lessened. All obstacles appeared more easy to be surmounted by a daring and a far-sighted ambition.

His imposing dominion passed away with his life; but this general influence, emanating from it, was not intercepted, and the East and the West were never again so utterly severed as they had before been. And now, at the time when Christianity was preached, another empire had come to its development, not suddenly, but through a growth which knit centuries in fellowship. It touched the Euphrates on the east, upon whose banks Alexander had died, and it went thence with the westering sun to the Columns of Hercules, to Gaul, and to Britain. It made the Mediterranean a Roman lake. It was recognized in the German forests, on the banks of the lower Danube, in the Libyan desert, at the Cataracts of the Nile. It compassed the Earth, as this was then known, so as till then had never been done. The brass of its helmets glistened beneath the Arabian sun, and reflected the brief winter-gleams along the friths of Forth and Clyde. It had its civil and judicial representatives in all principal cities; while it sent out its avenues of travel and traffic, with a lordly disregard of all natural obstacles, over mountain and river, from the milestone of gilded marble in the Forum, toward the ends of the earth. For the first time in history the assured and seemingly permanent ascendency of one great state gave general political combination to mankind. It made changes of residence easy and familiar, and made frequent passage from one land to another practicable and safe; and it gave a new and vast opportunity for the wide propagation of whatever might be the spiritual force which lay in the religion then suddenly appearing in the world.

Looked at in the light of its subsequent relations, the reticulated wires which now cover the continent, and run under the sea, seem no more directly or intelligently related to the passage of the thoughts which ride upon them than does that unequalled military, legislative, and judicial empire to the spread of the story which the Gospels declare.

But another force also was present, bearing upon the same effect, as if arranged with reference to it: the intellectual ascendency now conceded to the conquered but culturing states of Greece—whose literature was studied, and whose principal ideas, conveyed in that literature, were familiar and honored, in different lands; in whose language, indeed, the early native historians of Rome had by preference written, by whose scholars the antiquities of the imperial city had been explored, whose theatres had been adopted in it, and whose speech was current in the provinces as at the capital, at all chief places throughout the empire. In the Eastern departments it was the general language; and its prevalence was so permanent that Justinian, afterward, had to allow the Institutes, the Pandects, and the Codex to be translated into Greek, in which his Novellæ were for the most part originally published. A general vehicle of instruction, before unpossessed, was thus given to the early teachers of Christianity, by this wide distribution of the vital, flexible, spiritual language, which seems adapted by its very constitution not only to charm men in poetry, or stir them in eloquence, but to present, in most responsive and subtile completeness, the supreme results of speculative thought, or the instructions of Divine inspiration.

Yet more, even, was given, of advantage and facility to such teachers, by the general circulation and the conceded authority of Greek ideas. The religion of Jesus, though so intrinsically separate and peculiar, found points of support in both the Platonic and the Stoical philosophies, which were now widely studied. Stoicism, in its stubborn and proud self-assertion, and its pantheistic conception of God, was removed as far as possible from the Christian doctrine of a holy and loving Father in Heaven, and from the precept of penitent humility. Yet by recognizing so far as it did the unity of the universe, by its practical spirit, and certainly by some of its ethical maxims, it accomplished a work intellectual at least, in some measure moral, which made the way more easy for the Gospel. Men taught by it, occasionally at least, reäcted from it, into a system wider and grander, as well as more tender, devout, and hopeful. The Porch was, sometimes, the vestibule of the Temple.

Platonism had wrought in the same direction, still more ener-

getically: by suggesting the super-terrestrial nature of the soul in man, the possibility of its redemption from pollutions of matter, with the vast elevation of which the intellect was capable, and with the capacity of the moral nature, in the best, for the attainment of a Divine justice. If he did not himself, as he certainly did not, see what or all which was afterward found in the Christian Faith, Plato helped many minds, as I before have suggested, to discover and to welcome the glory of that. Justin felt, with many others, a true obligation to him who from the sacred olives of the Academy had been his unconscious guide to the Master: giving the perception of immaterial things, furnishing the mind almost as with wings for the high contemplation of celestial ideas, leading it to expect to look upon God, which is, as Justin said, 'the end of Plato's philosophy.' The waiting attitude of the great philosopher, expectant of light not yet in the world, is forcibly expressed in the words which I quoted from the second Alcibiades in a previous Lecture: that we must wait for some god, or god-inspired man, to show the true knowledge of our duty toward God to our purified eyes. The Platonic authorship of that is not certain, though defended in our time by Mr. Grote and Mr. Lewes. But the same feeling is expressed in the Republic, when he says: 'Let each one of us leave every other kind of knowledge, and seek and follow one thing only—if, peradventure, he may be able to learn and find who there is who can and will teach him to distinguish the life of good and evil, and to choose always and everywhere the better life, as far as possible';* and it is the same thought which he attributes to Simmias in the Phaedo, where he represents him as saying to Socrates that one finding it hard to attain certainty about such supreme questions should still 'persevere until he has attained one of two things: either he should discern or learn the truth about them; or, if this be impossible, I would have him take the best and most irrefragable of human notions, and let this be the raft on which he sails through life—not without risk, as I admit, if he cannot find some word of God which will more surely and safely carry him.'†

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* Republic: X.: 618. † Phaedo: 85.

To the minds which, by the great Athenian, had been led to this attitude of desire if not hope for something better than he could give, the new religion came as the word for which he had longed, and of which he seemed to have had premonition. The same processes of mind which afterward appeared so signally in Augustine, were not unknown in an earlier time.

But while there was such a remarkable preparation in these directions for the rapid communication of the new, strange, and surpassing religion to the knowledge of mankind—a preparation which, in both its nature and its extent, appears to outreach human sagacity, and wholly to transcend mortal contrivance—there is still a third element to be brought into view, to make our conception of this complete: that is, the strange dispersion of the Jews, the Diaspora so called, which had been proceeding from the time of the return from the Eastern captivity. The strict ancient localization of the Hebrew people, upon the narrow tongue of land which had been early assigned to their Fathers—this, which up to the time of their captivity had been even rigorous, after their return gave way, you remember, to other influences; and now they were in all parts of the empire. The former stationary agriculturists or shepherds had come to be traders, mechanics, what we might call travelling-agents, to an extraordinary extent. Josephus speaks of them as widely carrying on their mechanical trades, throughout the empire. Their strange faces and stranger speech had become familiar in all the principal cities. In Alexandria, they were gathered in such vast numbers as to occupy two of five sections of the city, and to have for governor an ethnarch of their own. In Babylon, and the Eastern cities, great multitudes remained. In Rome, eight thousand of those resident there, it is said by Josephus, went on one occasion to Augustus, accompanying ambassadors sent by the Jews of Palestine to the Emperor against Archelaus.* At Antioch, Ephesus, Corinth, Cyrene, in Italy and Sicily, at Marseilles, in Spain, they were everywhere found. It has even been suggested that Seneca himself, of a Spanish family, may have had Semitic blood in his veins, as his name was afterward borne

* "Antiquities": XVII.: XI.: I.

by a Jew. This is not probable. But certainly the Jews were so widely scattered throughout the empire that laws and customs, even in the capital, were more or less adjusted to their usage, as concerning the Sabbath, for example; and that the common thought of the time took from them a distinct impression, if not a decisive and governing trend.

Wherever they went, the synagogue went with them, the ancient scriptures, and their beloved ministries of worship. Their idiosyncrasy was as perfectly maintained as if they had been dwelling at Bethlehem or at Hebron. Science applies the word "diaspora," with a curious parallelism, to a certain mineral, of thin scales, with hard, small, prismatic crystals, which is wholly infusible, but which crackles and explodes at the touch of the blow-pipe. A more perfect image of the dispersed Jewish people in the day of the Lord could hardly be supplied by nature. And they formed, of course, the first point of contact in all the efforts of Christian teachers to extend their religion: many of them becoming, as we know, in spite of all prejudice, and in face of all passions excited against them, among the earliest and most fervent of its converts.

Looking, then, at the time when this religion whose effects we have been tracing emerged into history, and entered on its conquering career in the world, we may certainly say that while it came suddenly, without human expectation, not as developed out of anything else, but as breaking abruptly into the continuity of historical successions, it came also, in the most distinct and imperative sense, in 'the fullness of time'; when opportunities were before it which in earlier centuries had been quite inconceivable; when agencies and instruments were prepared for its furtherance which had been as unthought-of in the day of the prophets as were modern steam-engines; when, from its remote pulpit in Palestine, it could be sounded throughout the world as at no time before since the first dispersion of the children of men. As a human speculation, this could not have helped it. It must have been shattered only more utterly and swiftly in the sudden collision with the rites and rules of diverse nations. As a Divine system, prepared for the world, it had now its immense opportunity. And if this unparalleled cosmica

arrangement for its propagation was a matter of accident, it is the most surprising accident in the records of Time. To one who finds a moral order in the history of the world, this looks as methodical, and as surely designed, as is the relation of levers and wheels to the boiler whose water is turned to power when fire smites it. He as naturally thinks of Napoleon's great Italian campaigns as accidental, or of the formation of Justinian's Code. But if it was designed, and not fortuitous, can any conceive that the immense intelligent plan here represented was the plan even of philosophers or of statesmen? much more, of an untaught peasant of Nazareth? that it was the plan of any other than of Him who sitteth on the circle of the heavens, and whose vast designs march on like suns? And if it was His sovereign plan for this religion, then the estimate put on it by Him is demonstrated: the nearness of it to His Divine mind could not be more evident if it were written in characters of light upon the glowing Judean sky.

The new religion which entered so silently into history, although with such apparently intentional adjustments for its rapid publication, worked on as a hidden force at first, as is the method with all God's seeds, even those which are afterward to spring up majestically, in oaks or palms, or in cedars of Lebanon. After the end of the first Christian century, it was still, to thoughtful and cultivated Romans, a mere foreign superstition: which Tacitus characterized as 'destructive';* which Suetonius called 'new and noxious';† which Pliny the Younger emphatically described as 'perverse and extravagant.'‡ But it wrought with an energy inherent in itself in the midst of the society whose foremost representatives so detested or disdained it. It wrought with the same persistency afterward, through ever-widening circles of influence, in the vaster, wider, and more barbarous populations to whom it was carried while the empire was falling, or after that which had seemed the strongest institution of man had gone down beneath destroying assault. It has continued

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* "Exitiabilis superstitio": Annal., XV.: 44.

† "Novae ac maleficae": Nero: XVI.

‡ "Pravam et immodicam": Ep. X.: 97.

thus to work, as I think I have shown, from that day to this; and its power surrounds us, on every hand.

It has not had a uniform development. It has not always been exhibited through equivalent forms of thought. Sometimes in one way, sometimes in another, it has been presented, because diversely understood. At one period certain elements in it have taken what we may think an exaggerated prominence in the conception of its disciples; at other periods, different elements and forces in its manifold scheme have been similarly, perhaps unduly, exalted. And sometimes, no doubt, as regarded from our particular point of interpreting study, the whole has appeared overlaid and concealed beneath fantastic or pernicious additions, of human device. But the astonishing vitality of the religion has been shown, perhaps as clearly as in anything, in the fact that when most distorted and disguised it has still been more powerful to work good among men than paganism was in its clearest exposition; that the very fragments and filaments of it have had in them a healing virtue, like that which was said to have issued on occasion from the hem of the robe of him who brought it. It has shown, too, the most extraordinary power of releasing itself from human misconception, of revealing itself afresh to men in its primitive energy, and of rectifying whatever in doctrine or institution had dangerously departed from the earliest norm. It has plainly and strangely exhibited a capacity for self-resurrection, like that which the early disciples ascribed to its Teacher, —their faith in which sceptics admit as indispensable to explain their amazing subsequent history: and of the religion it has certainly been true that no sepulchre-doors have been able to hold it. It has fallen in no combat to which it has been called. It has been proved inadequate to no work presented. The most prolonged and passionate assaults of its ablest antagonists have failed to dislodge it from the minds or the communities which have tried it most thoroughly. Its influence appears as plainly to-day, on every side, as it ever has done in any time since it first was proclaimed. The eagle of the Faith is not yet 'weary of its mighty wings.'

Whatever may be our just criticism of modern society—or whatever, on the other hand, may be our confidence in ethics,

legislations, improved industries, widened commerce, the general distribution of letters and knowledge—it seems almost impossible to doubt that the religion of Jesus is at this hour the commanding factor in whatever is best in the character and the progress of persons or of states. It has not merely rectified particular abuses, removed special evils, exerted a benign and salutary influence on local institutions. It has formed and instructed a general Christian consciousness in the world, which is practically ubiquitous and commanding in Christendom: to which institutions, tendencies, persons, are more and more distinctly amenable; which judges all by an ideal standard; to which flattering concessions to wealth or power, to genius or culture, are inherently offensive; which constitutes a spiritual bond of communion between the most widely separated states; and which affirms, with sure expectation, its own approaching supremacy in the world. Nothing at all approximating this, or distantly predicting it, was known in antiquity. Nothing like it is known on earth to-day, outside the range of this religion. Yet this unseen and regulating power, born of the spread of Christianity in the world, is to thoughtful observers the fact of chiefest significance and importance in the present developing life of mankind.

Men say sometimes that the argument from Miracles is not now so impressive as it was at the outset, to those who saw, or thought they saw, the dead raised to life, and the liquid wave supporting the form which trode in silent supremacy upon it. That is not a question for me to discuss. But certainly the argument from these recorded effects of Christianity was never so prominent or so energetic as it is at this hour. Whether we will or no, 'the standing miracle of Christendom' is around us; and the religion to which that must be ascribed has a prestige from it which it could not have had in the day of the martyrs, in the Middle Age, or at the Reformation. I look back on its course, I look up to Him who personally brought it, and who undertook by it from Capernaum and from Bethany to renovate the world, I look upon the peoples who have not had it, and whose history everywhere shows its absence—and then I ask myself, not now as a Christian, but as a student of the past, as one impelled by a native and governing law of the mind to trace effects to ade

quate causes: 'Is it possible that that young man of Nazareth had only a genius like that of others to inspire and empower him? that only the natural human elements, of speculative thought and of ethical precept, with the incidents of a life obscure and brief, closed on the cross, have been the forces which have shaped, vitalized, and set forward Christendom?' I have no right to anticipate your judgment; but to me this seems as strange a fantasy as ever possessed a human brain!

You observe, too, that this argument must naturally be strengthened as centuries pass. Other religions are local still, as they were in antiquity: reflecting the thought of special nationalities; moulding the life of particular districts. This, alone, is universal: adapted to every country and people, as the atmosphere is, or as radiant light. Other religions have passed to the state of retrogression. They are more and more timid before Christianity. The peoples trained under them see all the time the more energetic inspirational force, mental and spiritual, exerted by this, the richer blessings which it scatters on its path; and the voices which were said to be heard of old in the Temple on Moriah, before it fell under Roman assault, saying solemnly 'Let us remove hence,'* are now repeated in all the famous idol-shrines. Christianity alone is still young as the morning, full of an unwasted power, exuberant yet with strong expectation. Its power to impenetrate everything human, by first imbuing the soul of man, continues what it was. Its facilities for extension were never so great as at this moment: the motive to that extension never was greater. If then there be any truth whatever—and there seems to be much—in the instruction of physical science that 'the fittest shall survive,' and if the rule be admitted to hold in the higher realms of moral experience, Science herself may make us certain that this religion, which has shown itself fitted for all the effects which I have sketched—making civilization, as Farrar has said, 'only a secular phrase for Christianity'†—that this shall be the one to outlive others; to conquer and accomplish, where they have failed; to make its

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* Josephus: "Wars of Jews," VI.: v.: 3.

† "Witness of History to Christ": London ed., 1872: p. 192.

past achievements in the world the imperfect signs of what yet is to come; and to see the globe the final domain of its perennial and renovating life.

If this religion is not Divine, in the transcendent sense, then assuredly no other is. And as long as man's religious nature, in the chiefest crises of his experience, cries out for a Faith on which he may, with gladdened heart and unfaltering step, ascend to God—this, which is so simple yet so commanding, so delicate but so vast, so apt for the poor, so robed and crowned with magnificent victories, will still attract his adoring reverence, and his passionate love!

Ladies, and Gentlemen: you have studied, I know, will study hereafter, with candid fidelity, this august and superlative religion. You will not be surprised, I am sure, if, coming to it along the eminent track of thought which we have followed, you find elements associated in it unique and incomparable, surpassing parallels, surpassing perhaps your own pre-conception. It is only fair to anticipate such. It cannot be anything slight or commonplace which has wrought such prodigious effects in history. Men do not fracture bars of iron by heaping fragrant rosebuds upon them, in dainty festoons. They do not cleave the mountain-cliffs with drills of delicate opaline glass. There must be always a certain proportion between instrument and effect; and it is not possible that a scheme of careful prudential morals, persuasive sentiments, entertaining instruction, agreeable promise of good to virtue, should have wrought the changes which we have reviewed. There were plenty of such in the old philosophies: beautiful, often, as tinted leaves on autumn forests, and as powerless as these to arrest the rushing and turbid currents of social life over which they brightened, or upon which they dropped. There must be something surpassing these, in this religion, to make it robust, practical, inspiring, as it certainly has been; adequate to enduring and extensive effects; a fit instrument for Him to use who presides over nations and their progress.

For myself I say, with utter frankness, that I look for things in this religion as singular and transcendent as its career in history has been. The fatherhood of God, and the brotherhood of

men, are palpable in it. The swiftest reader of its scriptures cannot miss these. But more than these it seems natural to anticipate in a system which has grappled the mind of the world with a hold so firm and unrelaxing, and which has so largely remoulded its life. It seems to me only natural to expect a LAW at its centre—not simple ethical instruction or advice, but—a LAW, moral in nature and of spiritual authority, yet as definite and imperative as that which holds together the earth, and keeps it in place among the planets. It may be spoken through human lips. It may be uttered in words as tender as those with which lover woos his bride. But I look beforehand for a Divine Rule of righteousness, as clear as the light, as wide in its sweep as the spheres and systems of intelligent life, which has behind it the unfailing supremacy of the Infinite Will, and which faces the passionate spirit in man with imperial sanctions. I anticipate some stupendous ministry in this system of Faith to that craving for Sacrifice, as the gateway to God, on which the ethnic rites were based, and through which they held the hearts of peoples.

I expect, for myself, a supernatural Person, the illustrious Teacher of this religion: veiling His glory, perhaps, for our eyes, behind flesh and nerve, in a strict and singular humbleness of mien, but in Himself above Socrates or Plato, Gautama or Seneca, above Moses, Isaiah, or any prophet—an immortal Lord of life and of light, whose touch gives impulse to remote generations, whose words have eternal freshness in them, in devotion to whom is the triumph of the heart. I expect a peculiar Divine Life to attend this religion—preparing before it human spirits, overcoming the passion and pride which resist it, and giving it that marvellous range of power which has been palpably its inheritance. Not doctrine only, however majestic, not precept only, however commanding, not example only, though having upon it the beauty of the heavens, are to be looked for in this world-compelling and astonishing system: but with them all, the source of their efficacy, a mystic and boundless energy of Life, which penetrates souls, subdues resistances, inspires benign and unquenchable enthusiasms, and knits together the minds which it fills in a supreme fellowship of peace and of power. It is fair to look for an element of this kind, which other systems always

have lacked, when we put the novel effects of this in contrast with whatever they have accomplished. And it is equally natural to expect that Eternity by it will be plainly foreshadowed to human eyes, with glooms and glories surpassing thought, to stir desire and startle fear;—and to look for societies among its disciples, as permanent as itself, pervaded by the Life which continually attends it, and so intimate and vital as no philosophy had ever conceived. I anticipate, for myself, a tone of Authority in it all: which affirms without argument, announces truths without waiting to debate them, and asserts the Future, unseen by man, as real as the globe on which he treads.

Unless I find such sovereign elements combined and regnant in this religion, it will scarcely be possible to interpret its transcendent and unwasting power. But if I find them, even its unequalled career in the world will be to me no more unaccountable than the rush of the river from the heights to the sea, or the fiery zigzag blazing above when electric currents cleave the air.

And if such amazing elements are found in the vital substance of this religion, then anything else of miracle and wonder associated with it at its first proclamation becomes to me—not difficult of belief?—becomes probable beforehand: a natural mark of God's interest in it; a natural impulse, given by Him, to launch it into historical development. If one could walk along some luminous bridge of star-beams, up to the orb in which the strange effluence had its source, he could not be surprised to find there, at last, the original effulgence in an unwasting splendor. If one walks along the path, over many lands, through darkened centuries, which Christianity has brightened with glowing lights, and on which she has strewn astonishing victories, he can hardly be amazed when he finds at the outset the deaf hearing, the blind seeing, the dumb made to speak, and the poor hearing the word of life. It will be to him harmonious as music, though loftier than the chiming suns, to see the Lord of this religion arising from the grave, and ascending in illustrious triumph to Heaven!

All miracles of power, or shining theophanies, will appear but as idioms of Divine utterance, when once we recognize God Himself in this religion. They will be the appropriate though

the emphatic motions of His might who was here intervening to build a new moral creation, of loveliness and of holiness, on the chaos of the old. The absence of Miracle would then become the thing mysterious.

But whatever we find, or fail to find, in this religion, of that which surpasses historical precedent, of that which staggers human thought, let us always remember, what I said at the outset, that the only final and absolute test must be in our own experience of it. No matter what its history has been: no matter what its contents may be: the governing question still remains, 'Does it bring me to God? In belief of its teaching, in obedience to its law, through trust in its promises, through confiding and affectionate faith in its King, do I find a new courage amid danger, a new fortitude in adversity, a new supremacy over subtlest temptations, a happiness in hope before unknown, a delight in consecration surpassing all preceding pleasure, an intense and tender sympathy with Him before whose holiness the seraphim bow?' If we do find these supernal effects wrought by Christianity in our life, no further argument for us will be needful. Whatever arguments shall have led us to that, will be to us unspeakably precious. Conspiring probabilities will then have merged in our assurance, as blue and orange and crimson are blended in the beauty of sunlight. They will have rushed inseparably together, like different rills mingling in a current of irresistible conviction. Then we shall not so much accept this religion as be possessed by it, with a fullness of strength in its unmeasured grasp which age cannot waste, nor trouble break, nor death itself shatter or smite. We shall no more be afraid, after that, of the furious assaults which a passionate unbelief may make on this religion, than we shall be afraid lest the blast of the miner in western hills should shake the stars from their serene poise. It will stir again the old enthusiasm in our timid or languid and sluggish spirits. It will open afresh before our eyes the vast meanings of life. Service for it will become to us a joy. We shall feel and know that in such service we are grandly allied with the Lord of our faith, and with Him whom that Lord declares to us. We shall see the secret of the unseen indefinable power which belongs to

devoted Christian work; that spiritual assistances, the invisible energy of a benign Providence, help it forward; and that further than thought itself can anticipate, the far vibrations of its energy shall reach. In the illumined Future of the World we shall feel that we also, with apostles and martyrs, through our devotion to this religion, have a personal part.

Yea, more than this will then appear: that by the religion which thus brings us to God, we have the assurance of spheres of life beyond the present, whose glories as yet we cannot measure. It cannot be for less than such a transcendent effect that this religion has come, if it has, from realms above our mortal sight! It cannot be for less than that, that such unspeakable powers are in it! The same supreme Person who has made his word the soul of History, who has been, as he claimed to be, "the Light of the World," declared that in the Father's house are many mansions, and that they who have followed him here in spirit shall there at length behold his face, partake his glory. On a low hill, outside the gates, he painfully died. But even then he spoke of himself as standing on the edge of Paradise. They who fled thence, in impetuous fear, believed, at least, that after death he reäppeared, until the opened heavens received him. The light which later shone on Paul, from a splendor which he ascribed to the Lord, has cast its gleam on many lands. And one who saw him later still—or thought he saw him—amid the beauty of the city of God, said that on his head were many crowns. All that will seem but natural to us, if we accept him as Son of God, and King of the world. Then history itself will bear its witness that from that head no crown has fallen! We shall know from the manifold progress of the world, where He has touched it, that the face which then shone as the sun has kept its vivid celestial brightness; that the voice which said to John "Fear not," is at this hour as sweet and royal!

It seems to me to glorify life, it seems to me to banish the shadow of gloom from death, to feel that that majestic figure—of Brother, Teacher, Friend, Redeemer—which towers supremely over the centuries, which made the earth sublime by its advent, which seemed in ascending to unite it to the heavens, has equal place in worlds to come! that we may trust His im-

perative word; that we may serve His kingly cause; that we may see the illumined Universe, for us as for Him, a house of Victory and of Peace! that we may stand, by and by, with Him, amid the light as yet unreached, and say, each one: 'I believed in Thy religion! I saw its triumphs in the earth; I felt its power in my heart; I rose to God in love upon it; I foreknew by it, what now I find—Eternal Life!'

Then all these wonders of the Past, which we have traced, shall lose themselves in vaster wonders still to come: and saint and seer shall be our fellows, in that immortal Consummation!

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

NOTES TO LECTURE I.

NOTE I.: PAGE 3.—"Another point may be mentioned, as to which there has come to be a general agreement: namely, that the very late date assigned to the [Fourth] Gospel by Baur and Schwegler, somewhere between the years 160 and 170 A.D., cannot be maintained. Zeller and Scholten retreat to 150; Hilgenfeld, who is at last constrained to admit its use by Justin Martyr, goes back to between 130 and 140; Renan now says 125 or 130; Keim in the first volume of his History of Jesus of Nazara placed it with great confidence between the years 110 and 115, or, more loosely, A.D. 100–117. The fatal consequences [to his own theory of the book] of such an admission as that were, however, soon perceived; and in the last volume of his History of Jesus, and in the last abridgment of that work, he goes back to the year 130. Schenkel assigns it to A.D. 115–120."—[Dr. Ezra Abbott: "Authorship of the Fourth Gospel": Boston ed., 1880: pp. 11, 12.

"The criticism which David Friedrich Strauss brought to bear on the gospel history in his 'Life of Jesus,' 1835, grew to be a criticism of the gospel books. After a temporary wavering, 1838, it turned especially to John's gospel, 1840. After the headlong attacks of Bruno Bauer, 1840 and later, F. C. Baur, in Tübingen, opened with his article on composition of the canonical gospels, in the *Theologische Jahrbücher*, 1844, the regular attack upon the Johannean authorship and the historical character of this gospel. . . It drew its material [according to Baur] from the synoptists, but shaped this according to its aims, 'forth from the Christian consciousness,' and with strictest consistency made the history subservient to the idea. Its origin cannot be put earlier than 160 A.D. Schwegler, Köstlin, Zeller, and others, tried to justify this view in different books and articles; Zeller, especially in regard to the testimony of the ancient church, wrote in 1845 and 1847. . . In 1849 and later, Hilgenfeld went further than Baur, and put the gospel between Valentinus' Gnosticism and Marcion's, finding Gnostic dualism in the gospel itself. But a series of investigations in the contrary direction, which proved the use of the gospel especially by Justin

Martyr and the Gnostics of the second century, compelled criticism to withdraw the origin of the gospel to an earlier date. Hilgenfeld went back to 135 A.D., and Keim to 110–115."—[Luthardt: "St. John's Gospel"; Edinburgh ed., Vol. 1: pp. 213, 214.

"We need not then be surprised that in the end Baur alone has remained faithful to the position which he had chosen, and that the whole school has begun to beat a retreat, in order to seek another which it is easier to defend. . . If all the writers of the second century, from Ignatius to Justin, and from Justin to Athenagoras, lived and wrote prostrate at the feet of the Word made flesh, it is because the words of an Apostle were there, unceasingly delivering over that theme which is unfathomable to the hearts of believers to the meditation of thoughtful minds."—[Godet: "Comm. on Gospel of St. John"; Edinburgh ed., 1876: Vol. 1: pp. 208, 245.

II.: p. 3.—"A religion, that is, a true religion, must consist of ideas and facts both; not of ideas alone, without facts, for then it would be mere philosophy: not of facts alone, without ideas of which those facts are the symbols, or out of which they arise, or upon which they are grounded, for then it would be mere history."—[Coleridge: "Table Talk": Dec. 8, 1831; Works: New York ed., 1853: Vol. 6: p. 378.

III.: p. 7.—"According to the orthodox views of Indian theologians, not a single line of the Veda was the work of human authors. The whole Veda is in some way or other the work of the Deity: and even those who received the revelation, or, as they express it, those who saw it, were not supposed to be ordinary mortals, but beings raised above the level of common humanity, and less liable, therefore, to error in the reception of revealed truth. . . But let me state at once that there is nothing in the hymns themselves to warrant such extravagant theories. In many a hymn, the author says plainly that he or his friends made it to please the gods; that he made it as a carpenter makes a chariot, or like a beautiful vesture; that he fashioned it in his heart, and kept it in his mind; that he expects, as his reward, the favor of the god whom he celebrates." The poet's consciousness of higher influences was but 'another expression of deep-felt dependence on the Deity.'—[Max Müller: "Chips from a German Workshop"; New York ed., 1881: Vol. 1: p. 18.

"We have in these writings, as a whole [the most ancient documents connected with the religion of India], an authentic literature, which professes to be what it is, which neither asserts for itself a supernatural origin, nor seeks to disguise its age by recourse to the devices of the pastiche. . . The religion which is transmitted to us in these Hymns is, in its principal features, this: Nature is throughout

divine. Everything which is impressive by its sublimity, or is supposed capable of affecting us for good or evil, may become a direct object of adoration."—[A. Barth: "Religions of India; Boston ed., 1882: pp. 5, 7, 8.

"Among the most singular of the claims put forth in behalf of Buddha, we may name the assertion that though he taught the same doctrines that former Buddhas had done, all his revelations were the result of his own personal discovery, by means of intuition, entirely apart from experience, without any instruction from another, and without any aid from tradition, or from any other of the sources by which knowledge is generally communicated to man."—[R. Spence Hardy: "Legends and Theories of the Buddhists"; London ed., 1866: p. 198.

"As to the publisher of the law, Buddha [according to Buddhist authority], he is a mere man, who during myriads of centuries has accumulated merits on merits, until he has obtained the Neibban of Kiletha, or the deliverance from all passions. From that moment till his death this eminent personage is constituted the master of religion and the doctor of the law. Owing to his perfect science he finds out and discovers all the precepts that constitute the body of the law. Impelled by his matchless benevolence toward all beings, he promulgates them for the salvation of all."—[Bp. Bigandet: "Legend of Gaudama"; London ed., 1880: Vol. 2: p. 193. [The Seven Ways to Neibban.]

IV.: p. 7.—"The following are some of his [Confucius'] sayings: 'The sage, and the man of perfect virtue,—how dare I rank myself with them? It may simply be said of me that I strive to become such, without satiety, and teach others, without weariness.' 'In letters I am perhaps equal to other men; but the character of the superior man, carrying out in his conduct what he professes, is what I have not yet attained to.' . . 'I am not one who was born in the possession of knowledge; I am one who is fond of antiquity, and earnest in seeking it there.' 'A transmitter, and not a maker, believing in and loving the ancients, I venture to compare myself with our old P'ang.'"—[From the VIIth Book of the Analects.] Legge: "Chinese Classics": Proleg. c. v.: sec. II.: § 4.

"Twice a year, in the middle months of spring and autumn, when the first *ting* day of the month comes round, the worship of Confucius is performed with peculiar solemnity. At the imperial college the Emperor himself is required to attend in state, and is in fact the principal performer. . . I need not go on to enlarge on the homage which the Emperors of China render to Confucius. It could not be more complete. It is worship, and not mere homage. He was unreasonably neglected when alive. He is now unreasonably venerated when dead. . . The rulers of China are not singular in this matter, but in

entire sympathy with the mass of their people."—[Legge: "Chinese Classics": Proleg. ch. v.: ss. 1, 2.

"The religious doctrine of Kong-tse is ethical naturalism, founded on the state religion of the Tshow. He engaged in supernatural questions with as much reluctance as in practical affairs, and expressed himself very cautiously and doubtfully on religious points. Even of heaven he preferred not to speak as a personal being, but he quoted its example as the preserver of order, and he would allude to its commands, ordinances, and purposes. . . To prayer he ascribed no great value. He did not believe in direct revelations, and he regarded forebodings and presentiments simply as warnings. . . From the year 57 of our era the worship of Kong-tse by the side of Tshow was practised by the emperors themselves as well as in all the schools; and since the seventh century Kong-tse has been worshipped alone."—[Tiele: "Hist. of Religions"; Boston ed., 1881: pp. 31–34.

V.: p. 7.—"Among these recluses arose one who was noted as a deep and original thinker, and who became the founder of Taouism. This was Laou-Tsze, the old philosopher, who was born about fifty years before Confucius. . . Sze-ma Tseen tells us nothing of his boyhood or of his early manhood, but merely mentions that he held office at the imperial court of Chow, as 'Keeper of the Archives.' . . But though history contains but scanty references to the life of Laou-Tsze, religious records . . abound with marvellous tales of his birth and career. By some writers he is declared to have been a spiritual being, and the embodiment of Taou; without beginning, and without cause; the ancestor of the original breath; without light, form, sound, or voice; having neither ancestors nor descendants; dark, yet having within himself a spiritual substance: and that substance was truth."—[Douglas: "Confucianism and Taouism"; London ed., 1879: pp. 174, 176, 179.

VI.: p. 7.—"He [Zoroaster] is not treated [in the Parsi catechism] as a divine being, nor even as the son of Ormuzd. Plato, indeed, speaks of Zoroaster as the son of Oromazes, but this is a mistake, not countenanced, as far as we are aware, by any of the Parsi writings, whether ancient or modern. With the Parsis, Zoroaster is simply a wise man, a prophet favored by God, and admitted into God's immediate presence; but all this, on his own showing only, and without any supernatural credentials, except some few miracles recorded of him in books of doubtful authority."—[Max Müller: "Chips, etc."; N. York ed., 1881: Vol. 1: p. 171.

The Parsi tradition asserts that all the 21 Nasks [books of the Avesta] were written by God Himself, and given to Zoroaster, as his prophet, to forward them to mankind. But such claims to God's immediate

authorship of the whole Zend-Avesta are never made in any of the books which are now extant; though the Yasna, not the Vendidad, lays claim to divine revelation.—[Haug: "Essays on Sacred Language and Religion of the Parsis"; London ed., 1878: p. 137.

VII.: p. 8.—"No one teacher, or form of Religion, nor all teachers and forms put together, have exhausted the religious sentiment, which is the groundwork and standard-measure of them all, and is represented more or less partially in each; and so new teachers and new forms of Religion are always possible and necessary, until a form is discovered, which embraces all the facts of man's moral and religious nature, sets forth and legitimates all the laws thereof, and thus represents the Absolute Religion, as it is implied in the Facts of man's nature or the Ideas of God. . . It [the Absolute Religion] lays down no creed: asks no symbol: reverences exclusively no time nor place, and therefore can use all times and every place. It reckons forms useful to such as they may help: one man may commune with God through the bread and the wine, emblems of the body that was broke and the blood that was shed, in the cause of truth; another may hold communion through the moss and the violet, the mountain, the ocean, or the scripture of suns, which God has writ in the sky. . . Its temple is all space; its shrine the good heart; its Creed all truth; its Ritual works of love and utility; its Profession of Faith a divine life, works without, faith within, love of God and man."—[Theodore Parker: "Discourse of Religion"; Boston ed., 1842: pp. 238–9: 478–9.

"Faith, in her early stages, is governed by the senses, and therefore contemplates a temporal history: what she holds to be true is the external ordinary event, the evidence for which is of the historical, forensic kind,—a fact to be proved by the testimony of the senses, and the moral confidence inspired by the witnesses. But mind having once taken occasion of this external fact to bring under its consciousness the idea of humanity as one with God, sees in the history only the presentation of that idea; the object of faith is completely changed; instead of a sensible, empirical fact, it has become a spiritual and divine idea, which has its confirmation no longer in history but in philosophy. When the mind has thus gone beyond the sensible, and entered into the domain of the Absolute, the former ceases to be essential."—[Strauss: "Life of Jesus"; London ed. 1846: Vol. III.: p. 439.

VIII.: p. 8.—The ancient legend of the Divine instruction of Numa is thus pleasantly told by Niebuhr:—

"He was revered as the author of the Roman ceremonial law. Instructed by the Camena Egeria, who was espoused to him in a visible form, and who led him into the assemblies of her sisters in the sacred

grove, he regulated the whole hierarchy; the pontiffs, who took care, by precept and by chastisement, that the laws relating to religion should be observed, both by individuals and by the state; the augurs, whose calling it was to afford security for the counsels of men by piercing into those of the gods; the flamens, who ministered in the temples of the supreme deities; the chaste virgins of Vesta; the Salii, who solemnized the worship of the gods with armed dances and songs. He prescribed the rites according to which the people might offer worship and prayer acceptable to the gods. . . Numa was not a theme of song, like Romulus; indeed he enjoined that, among all the Camenæ, the highest honors should be paid to Tacita. Yet a story was handed down, that, when he was entertaining his guests, the plain food in the earthen-ware dishes was turned, on the appearance of Egeria, into a banquet fit for gods, in vessels of gold: in order that her divinity might be made manifest to the incredulous. The temple of Janus, his work, continued always shut: peace was spread over Italy: until Numa, like the darlings of the gods in the golden age, fell asleep, full of days. Egeria melted away in tears into a fountain."—["History of Rome"; London ed., 1855: Vol. 1: pp. 239–40.

"The original hearers of the mythes felt neither surprise nor displeasure from this confusion of the divine with the human individual. They looked at the past with a film of faith over their eyes—neither knowing the value, nor desiring the attainment, of an unclouded vision. The intimate companionship, and the occasional mistake of identity, between gods and men, were in full harmony with their reverential retrospect. And we accordingly see the poet Ovid in his Fasti, when he undertakes the task of unfolding the legendary antiquities of early Rome, re-acquiring, by the inspiration of Juno, the power of seeing gods and men in immediate vicinity and conjunct action, such as it existed before the development of the critical and historical sense." —[Grote: "Hist. of Greece"; London ed., 1872: Vol. 1: p. 404.

IX.: p. 13.—Lactantius was probably etymologically wrong in what he wrote respecting the primitive meaning of the word 'Religion':—

"We are bound and tied to God by this chain of piety; from which Religion itself received its name, not, as Cicero explained it, from carefully gathering: since in his second book concerning the nature of the gods he thus speaks: 'For not only philosophers, but our ancestors also, separated superstition from religion. They who spent whole days in prayers and sacrifices, that their children might survive them, were called superstitious. But they who handled again, and as it were carefully gathered, all things which related to the worship of the gods, were called religious—from such careful gathering: as some were called elegant, from choosing out; diligent, from carefully selecting; intelligent, from understanding.'"—[Divine Institutes: IV.: 28.

The more correct derivation of the word is probably that given by Cicero: from *relegere*, not *religare*. But it was a true and deep sense of the spiritual import of the word—which already, in his time, had taken upon it a grander meaning than before it had borne—which in this instance perhaps beguiled the judgment of the learned and eloquent Christian apologist.

X.: p. 14.—"How can I comprehend this? How is this to be proved? To the first question I should answer: Christianity is not a theory, or a speculation, but a life:—not a philosophy of life, but a life, and a living process. To the second: TRY IT. It has been eighteen hundred years in existence; and has one individual left a record like the following? 'I tried it, and it did not answer. I made the experiment faithfully, according to the directions; and the result has been a conviction of my own credulity.' . . If neither your own experience nor the history of almost two thousand years has presented a single testimony to this purport; and if you have read and heard of many who have lived and died bearing witness to the contrary; and if you have yourself met with some one in whom on any other point you would place unqualified trust, who has on his own experience made report to you that He is faithful who promised, and what He promised He has proved Himself able to perform: is it bigotry, if I fear that the unbelief which prejudges and prevents the experiment, has its source elsewhere than in the uncorrupted judgment? that not the strong free mind, but the enslaved will, is the true original infidel in this instance?"—[Coleridge: Works: New York ed., 1853; Vol. 1: p. 233.

"There is another evidence of Christianity, still more internal than any on which I have dwelt, an evidence to be felt rather than described, but not less real because founded on feeling. I refer to that conviction of the divine original of our religion, which springs up and continually gains strength in those who apply it habitually to their tempers and lives, and who imbibe its spirit and hopes. In such men there is a consciousness of the adaptation of Christianity to their noblest faculties; a consciousness of its exalting and consoling influences, of its power to confer the true happiness of human nature, to give that peace which the world cannot give; which assures them that it is not of earthly origin, but a ray from the Everlasting Light, a stream from the fountain of Heavenly Wisdom and Love. This is the evidence which sustains the faith of thousands who never read and cannot understand the learned books of Christian apologists, who want perhaps words to explain the ground of their belief, but whose faith is of adamantine firmness, who hold the Gospel with a conviction more intimate and unwavering than mere argument ever produced."—[Dr. Channing: Works; Boston ed., 1843: Vol. 3: p. 135.

XI.: p. 14.—"They [the Christian doctrines] will appear to us also notions and opinions about certain great subjects: *divine* notions and opinions we may call them; but a mere name will not change their character: we shall not feel that they have to do with our own life and being; we shall regard them as truths which we are to hold, not as truths which are to hold us, which are to give us a standing-ground for time and for eternity."—[F. D. Maurice: "Religions of the World": London ed., 1877: p. 164.

XII.: p. 15.—"Many a man will live and die upon a dogma: no man will be a martyr for a conclusion. . . Logic makes but a sorry rhetoric with the multitude; first shoot around corners, and you may not despair of converting by a syllogism. . . Life is not long enough for a religion of inferences; we shall never have done beginning, if we determine to begin with proof. . . It is very well, as a matter of liberal curiosity and of philosophy, to analyze our modes of thought; but let this come second, and when there is leisure for it, and then our examinations will in many ways even be subservient to action. But if we commence with scientific knowledge and argumentative proof, or lay any great stress upon it as the basis of personal Christianity, or attempt to make men moral and religious by libraries and museums, let us in consistency take chemists for our cooks and mineralogists for our masons."—[Dr. J. H. Newman: Letter, reprinted in "Grammar of Assent"; New York ed., 1870: pp. 90–92.

Yet Bossuet says, in a vigorous passage of his first Pastoral Instruction:—"Two things establish our faith: the miracles of Jesus Christ, wrought in the sight of his apostles and of all the people, with the evident and perpetual accomplishment of his predictions and his promises. . . Thus, as St. Augustine says, our faith is established on two sides. Neither the apostles nor we could doubt concerning it; that which they saw at the fountain-head assured them of all that would afterward follow; that which we see in the subsequent time gives us assurance of what they saw and were astonished at in the beginning." —[Œuvres: Paris ed., 1822; Tom. XV., pp. 277–8.

The eminent and accomplished Jesuit theologian, Perrone, whose "Prælectiones Theologicæ" have passed through many editions, and have been translated into different Continental languages, devotes the fundamental chapters of his great work to the elaborate consideration of the marks of Christianity as a Divine and supernatural Revelation, which are found in Miracles, in Prophecies fulfilled, in the surpassing excellence and purity of the doctrine of the Gospel, in its remarkable propagation and preservation in the world, and in the wonderful witness of martyrs to it. His discussion of the whole matter is equally learned, acute, and energetic.—[See "Prælect. Theol."; Paris ed. 1863: Vol. 1: pp. 24–122.

XIII.: p. 17.—"While the Greeks had been innocent in their serene unconsciousness of sin or shame, the extravagances of the Renaissance were guilty, turbid, and morbid, because they were committed defiantly, in open reprobacy, in scorn of the acknowledged law. What was at worst bestial in the Greeks, has become devilish in the Renaissance. How different from a true Greek is Benvenuto Cellini: how unlike the monsters even of Greek mythic story is Francesco Cenci: how far more awful in his criminality is the Borgia than any despot of Greek colony or island"!—[Symonds: "Studies of Greek Poets": First Series: London ed., 1877: p. 254.

XIV.: p. 19.—"There can be no doubt that the perception of truth is very materially influenced by the moral condition of the mind. How powerful are the arguments in favor of the Gospel derived from the moral beauty and symmetry of the system, from the originality and loftiness of our Saviour's character, from the adaptation of his religion to the wants of the human mind under all its countless varieties! And yet this species of evidence will be wholly without effect on those whose minds are destitute of moral sensibility and refinement."—[James Martineau: "Studies of Christianity": Boston ed., 1866: p. 486.

"Amid the vicissitudes of the intellect, worship retains its stability: and the truth which, it would seem, cannot be proved, is unaffected by an infinite series of refutations. How evident that it has its ultimate seat, not in the mutable judgments of the understanding, but in the native sentiments of Conscience, and the inexhaustible aspirations of Affection! The supreme certainty must needs be too true to be proved: and the highest perfection can appear doubtful only to Sensualism and Sin."—[James Martineau: "Miscellanies"; Boston ed., 1852: p. 167.

"The prophecies, the miracles even, and the other proofs of our religion, are not of such a sort that we can say that they are mathematically convincing. But it is enough for the present if you agree with me that it is not to offend against reason to believe them. They possess at once clearness and obscurity, so as to enlighten some and darken others. But the clearness is such that it surpasses, or at the least equals, that which is most apparent on the other side: so that it is not the reason which can decide us not to follow it: and it may be only the concupiscence and wickedness of the heart."—[Pascal: "Pensées": Sec. Par., Art. xvii.: 20.

XV.: p. 20.—A remark of Madame de Staël seems to throw a certain unintended light on the miracles of the first Christian age:—

"Violent concussions are needful to carry the human mind to objects entirely new: as earthquake-shocks and subterranean fires have

revealed to men riches to which time alone would never have sufficed to channel the way."—["De la Littérature": Œuvres: Paris ed., 1820: Tom. IV. : p. 206.

"That He also raised the dead, and that this is no fiction of those who composed the Gospels, is shown by this: that if it had been a fiction, many individuals would have been represented as having risen from the dead. But, as it is no fiction, they are very easily counted of whom this is related to have happened. . . I would say, moreover, that agreeably to the promise of Jesus, His disciples performed even greater works than these miracles of Jesus, which were perceptible only to the senses. For the eyes of those who are blind in soul are ever opened: and the ears of those who are deaf to virtuous words listen readily to the doctrine of God, and of the blessed life with Him: and many who were lame in the feet of the 'inner man,' as Scripture calls it, having now been healed by the word, do not simply leap, but leap as the hart, which is an animal hostile to serpents, and stronger than all the poison of vipers."—[Origen: adv. Celsus: II.: XLVIII.

XVI.: p. 20.—"I do not hereby deny in the least that God can do, or hath done, miracles for the confirmation of truth: but I only say that we cannot think he should do them to enforce doctrines or notions of himself, or any worship of him, not conformable to reason, or that we can receive such for truth for the miracles' sake: and even in those books which have the greatest proof of revelation from God, and the attestation of miracles to confirm their being so, the miracles are to be judged by the doctrine, and not the doctrine by the miracles."—[Reff.: Deut. 13 : 1–3 ; Gal. 1 : 8.] [John Locke : quoted in Lord King's "Life"; London ed., 1830 : Vol. 1 : pp. 233–4.

Pascal says:—

"We must judge of the doctrine by the miracles, but at the same time of the miracles by the doctrine. The doctrine attests the miracles, and the miracles attest the doctrine. All this is true, and there is in it no contradiction." But he adds, also: "The miracles have served for the foundation, and they will serve for the continuance of the church, until Antichrist comes, even unto the end."—["Pensées": Sec. Par.: Art. XVI.: 1, 6.

XVII.: p. 21.—"With each miracle worked there was a truth revealed, which thenceforward was to act as its substitute. . . It was only to overthrow the usurpation exercised in and through the senses, that the senses were miraculously appealed to: for reason and religion are their own evidence. The natural sun is in this respect a symbol of the spiritual. Ere he is fully arisen, and while his glories are still under veil, he calls up the breeze to chase away the usurping vapors of the

night-season, and thus converts the air itself into the minister of its own purification: not surely in proof or elucidation of the light from heaven, but to prevent its interception."—[Coleridge: "Statesman's Manual." Works; New York ed., 1853: Vol. 1: p. 425.

The impressive moral lessons always implied in the miracles of the Lord constitute a just and forcible argument for them. The spiritual meanings so illustriously set before men surpass any limits of time, and are equally vital for each generation. Goethe missed the true lesson of one of the miracles referred to by him: but even then he saw in it a secondary significance, of secular value:—

"I have been reading in the New Testament, and thinking of a picture Goethe showed me, of Christ walking on the water, and Peter coming towards him, at the moment when the apostle begins to sink, in consequence of losing faith for a moment. 'This,' said Goethe, 'is a most beautiful history, and one which I love better than any. It expresses the noble doctrine, that man, through faith and animated courage, may come off victor in the most dangerous enterprises, while he may be ruined by a momentary paroxysm of doubt.'"—[Eckermann: "Conv. with Goethe"; Boston ed., 1839: p. 359.

XVIII.: p. 22.—"Christ's miracles are in unison with his whole character, and bear a proportion to it, like that which we observe in the most harmonious productions of nature: and in this way they receive from it great confirmation. And the same presumption in their favor arises from his religion. That a religion carrying in itself such marks of divinity, and so inexplicable on human principles, should receive outward confirmations from Omnipotence, is not surprising. The extraordinary character of the religion accords with and seems to demand extraordinary interpositions in its behalf. Its miracles are not solitary, naked, unexplained, disconnected events, but are bound up with a system, which is worthy of God, and impressed with God; which occupies a large space, and is operating with great and increasing energy, in human affairs."—[Dr. Channing: Works; Boston ed., 1843: Vol. 3: pp. 130–131.

"The miracles of the evangelic history come to us with the force of CONGRUITY, just so far as we can bring ourselves morally within the splendour of those eternal verities which are of the substance of the Gospel. While we stand remote from that illuminated field, they are to us only a galling perplexity: for we can neither rid ourselves of the evidence that attests them, nor are we prepared to yield ourselves to it. . . Antiquity had not conceived of a worker of miracles in whose course of life and behaviour the working of miracles showed itself as a *secondary* and incidental element, and in whose character Love was of the substance, while the supernatural faculty was the adjunct."—[Isaac Taylor: "Restoration of Belief"; Boston ed., 1867: pp. 217, 222.

XIX.: p. 22.—Cicero only fairly represents the impression of a Divine instruction, universally made upon men by what they esteem fulfilled predictions:—

"There is certainly a power of prediction which appears in many places, times, states of affairs, both as concerning private matters and, more especially, in regard to public affairs. The interpreters of sacrifices discern many things, the augurs foresee many; many are declared by oracles, many by prophecies, many by dreams, many by portents: which things becoming known, the manifold affairs of men are often wisely and prosperously conducted, and many dangers are avoided. This power, therefore, or art, or natural faculty, is certainly given to men for a knowledge of future things, nor is it given to any but by the immortal gods. . . This consideration has moved the poets, Homer especially, to join to their chief heroes, Ulysses, Achilles, and others, certain deities, as companions of their adventures and perils."—[Nat. Deor. II.: 65, 66.

XX.: p. 22.—"Since, then, we prove that all things which have already happened had been predicted by the prophets before they came to pass, we must of necessity believe, also, that those things which are in like manner predicted, but are still to come to pass, shall certainly happen. For as the things which have already taken place came to pass when foretold, and even though unknown, so shall the things that remain, even though they be unknown and disbelieved, yet come to pass. . . So many things, therefore, as these, when they are seen with the eye, are enough to produce conviction and belief in those who embrace the truth, and are not bigoted in their opinions, nor governed by their passions."—[Justin Martyr: Apol. I.: 52, 53.

"But whence could the prophets have had power to predict the advent of the King, and to preach beforehand that liberty which was bestowed by Him, and previously to announce all things which were done by Christ, His words, His works, and His sufferings, and to predict the new covenant, if they had received prophetical inspiration from another God [than the One revealed in the Gospel]? . . Neither are ye in a position to say that these things came to pass by a certain kind of chance, as if they were spoken by the prophets in regard to some other person, while like events happened to the Lord. For all the prophets prophesied these same things, but they never came to pass in the case of any one of the ancients. . . Therefore the prophets spake not of any one else but of the Lord, in whom all these aforesaid tokens concurred."—[Irenæus: "against Heresies": IV.: 34, § 3.

"The two parts, of which the Scriptures consist, are connected by a chain of compositions which bear no resemblance in form or style to any that can be produced from the stores of Grecian, Indian, Persian,

or even Arabian learning: the antiquity of these compositions no man doubts: and the unstrained application of them to events long subsequent to their publication is a solid ground of belief that they were genuine predictions, and consequently inspired."—[Sir William Jones: Works; London ed., 1807: Vol. 3: p. 183.

XXI.: p. 23.—"Even supposing, however, that apart from the New Testament it were possible to bring any one to a belief in the inspiration of the prophets (which, moreover, there would be no other means of effecting but by the prophet's own testimony that God's word had come to him), yet no faith in Christ as the 'end of the law for righteousness' could be developed out of such a belief. On the contrary, we shall come nearer to expressing the whole truth if we say that we believe in the inspiration of the prophets solely on the ground of the use which Christ and the apostles made of their prophecies."—[Schleiermacher: quoted by Bunsen: "God in History"; London ed., 1870: Vol. 3: p. 263.

XXII.: p. 23.—"It will surprise some, that, with the exception of a few spurious productions, I consider the predictions of the prophets—which have hitherto been commonly regarded as disguised historical descriptions—as actual presentiments of the future, though without denying their limited extent in history, or attributing to their authors a superhuman degree of infallibility. . . The authors of these books, for the most part, bear the name of prophets, interpreters of God. . . They were likewise called *seers*, on account of the higher intuition they had of divine truth, and, enlightened by that, of the course of earthly events, both present and future, by virtue of which they were prophets and foretellers of the future. . . Without wishing to deny that there was a direct and immediate revelation—that is, an actual Divine excitement, and, in some cases, an actual ecstasy or trance—I only maintain that it was indirect and mediate also, and that there was something arbitrary in the style of their discourse."—[De Wette: "Introd. to Old Testament": (Parker's trans.); Boston ed., 1859: Vol. 1: p. v.: Vol. 2: pp. 351-2, 360.

"With these limitations, it is acknowledged by all students of the subject that the Hebrew prophets made predictions concerning the fortunes of their own and other countries which were unquestionably fulfilled. There can be no reasonable doubt, for example, that Amos foretold the captivity and return of Israel: and Michael the fall of Samaria: and Ezekiel the fall of Jerusalem: and Isaiah the fall of Tyre: and Jeremiah the limits of the captivity. . . I pass to the second grand example of the predictive spirit of the Prophets. . . It is a simple and universally recognized fact that, filled with these Prophetic

images, the whole Jewish nation—nay, at last the whole Eastern world—did look forward with longing expectation to the coming of this future Conqueror. Was this unparalleled expectation realized? And here again I speak of facts which are acknowledged by Germans and Frenchmen, no less than by Englishmen, by critics and by sceptics, even more fully than by theologians and ecclesiastics. There did arise out of this nation a Character by universal consent as unparalleled as the expectation which had preceded him. Jesus of Nazareth was, on the most superficial no less than on the deepest view we take of His coming, the greatest name, the most extraordinary power, that has ever crossed the stage of History. And this greatness consisted not in outward power, but precisely in those qualities on which from first to last the Prophetic order had laid the utmost stress,—justice and love, goodness and truth."—[Dean Stanley: "History of Jewish Church"; N. York ed., 1863: Part 1: pp. 517, 519–20.

"The greatest of the proofs of Jesus Christ are the Prophecies. . . Even if one man had made a book of predictions of Jesus Christ, as to the time and the manner of his coming, and if Jesus Christ had come in conformity with these prophecies, this would be of an infinite weight. But there is here a great deal more. There is a succession of men who, during four thousand years, constantly and without variation, come, one after the other, predicting the same event. There is a whole people which announces him, and which subsists during four thousand years in order still to render their testimony of the assurances which they have of him, from which they cannot be turned aside by any menaces or any persecutions which befall them. This is in a very different degree important."—[Pascal: "Pensées": Sec. Par.: Art. XI.: 1.

XXIII.: p. 24.—"While I was giving my most earnest attention to the matter [of the Heathen rites], I happened to meet with certain barbaric writings, too old to be compared with the opinions of the Greeks, and too divine to be compared with their errors; and I was led to put faith in these, by the unpretending cast of their language, the inartificial character of the writers, the foreknowledge displayed of future events, the excellent quality of the precepts, and the declaration of the government of the universe as centered in one Being."—[Tatian: "Address to the Greeks": XXIX.

XXIV.: p. 25.—Nothing is more instructive or impressive in connection with the Evidences of Christianity than the unique impression made by the person of Christ as shown in the Gospels on minds widely differing, in power, culture, and moral sensibility—even on minds in which a sceptical spirit has prevailed. A few examples are given, which might be multiplied almost indefinitely. These are taken, pur-

posely, from those representing widely different convictions and tendencies:—

"It was reserved for Christianity to present to the world an ideal character, which through all the changes of eighteen centuries has inspired the hearts of men with an impassioned love, has shown itself capable of acting on all ages, nations, temperaments, and conditions, has been not only the highest pattern of virtue but the strongest incentive to its practice, and has exercised so deep an influence that it may be truly said that the simple record of three short years of active life has done more to regenerate and to soften mankind than all the disquisitions of philosophers, and all the exhortations of moralists. This has indeed been the well-spring of whatever is best and purest in the Christian life. . . The power of the love of Christ has been displayed alike in the most heroic pages of Christian martyrdom, in the most pathetic pages of Christian resignation, in the tenderest pages of Christian charity."—[Lecky: "Hist. of European Morals"; New York ed., 1876: Vol. 2: pp. 9, 10.

"And when I come to consider his life, his works, his teaching, the marvellous mingling in him of grandeur and simplicity, of sweetness and force, that incomprehensible perfection which never for a moment fails,—neither in the intimate familiarity of confidence, nor in the solemnity of instructions addressed by him to the people at large, neither in the joyfulness of the festival at Cana, nor amid the anguish of Gethsemane, neither in the glory of his triumph, nor in the ignominy of his punishment, neither on Tabor, in the midst of the splendor which environs him, nor upon Calvary, where he expires, abandoned by his friends, and forsaken of his Father, in inexpressible sufferings, amid the frenzied outcries and railing of his enemies:—when I contemplate this grand marvel, which the world has seen only once, and which has renewed the world, I do not ask myself if Christ was Divine: I should be rather tempted to ask myself if he were human!"—[La Mennais: "Essai sur l'Indifférence"; Paris ed., 1823: Tom. IV.: p. 449.

"Yet Nazareth was no Athens, where Philosophy breathed in the circumambient air; it had neither porch nor portico, nor even a school of the Prophets. There is God in the heart of this youth. . . The mightiest heart that ever beat, stirred by the Spirit of God, how it wrought in his bosom! What words of rebuke, of comfort, counsel, admonition, promise, hope, did he pour out: words that stir the soul as summer dews call up the faint and sickly grass! What profound instruction in his proverbs and discourses: what wisdom in his homely sayings, so rich with Jewish life; what deep divinity of soul in his prayers, his action, sympathy, resignation! . . Rarely, almost never, do we see the vast divinity within that soul, which, new though it was in the flesh, at one step goes before the world whole thousands of years;

judges the race; decides for us questions we dare not agitate as yet, and breathes the very breath of heavenly love. . . Shall we be told, 'Such a man never lived; the whole story is a lie'? Suppose that Plato and Newton never lived; that their story is a lie! But who did their works, and thought their thought? It takes a Newton to forge a Newton. What man could have fabricated a Jesus? None but a Jesus."—[Theodore Parker: "Discourse of Religion"; Boston ed., 1842: pp. 294 *et seq.*, 363.

"What a touching grace in his instructions! What sweetness, yet what purity, in his manners! What loftiness in his maxims! What profound wisdom in his discourses! What presence of mind, what delicacy of art, yet what justice, in his replies! What an empire over his passions! Where is the man, where the sage, who knows thus how to act, to suffer, and to die, without weakness, and without ostentation? What prejudice, what blindness, must be in him who dares to compare the son of Sophroniscus with the Son of Mary? What a distance lies between them! . . Greece abounded in virtuous men before he [Socrates] had defined virtue. But whence had Jesus drawn for his disciples that exalted and pure morality of which he alone has presented at once the lessons and the example? Out of the midst of the fiercest fanaticism the highest wisdom made itself heard, and the artlessness of the most heroical virtues glorified the vilest of all the nations. The death of Socrates, philosophizing quietly with his friends, is the pleasantest that one could desire: that of Jesus, expiring amid torments, insulted, railed at, cursed by a whole nation, is the most horrible that any one could fear. Socrates, taking the poisoned cup, blesses him who presents it, and who weeps beside him: Jesus, in the midst of a frightful anguish, prays for his maddened executioners. Yes! if the life and the death of Socrates are those of a philosopher, the life and the death of Jesus are those of a God."—[J. J. Rousseau: "Émile"; Œuvres: Paris ed., 1793: Tom. IX.: pp. 40–42.

"Whatever else may be taken away from us by rational criticism, Christ is still left: a unique figure, not more unlike all his precursors than all his followers, even those who had the direct benefit of his personal teaching. It is of no use to say that Christ as exhibited in the Gospels is not historical, and that we know not how much of what is admirable has been superadded by the tradition of his followers. The tradition of followers suffices to insert any number of marvels, and may have inserted all the miracles which he is reputed to have wrought. But who among his followers, or among their proselytes, was capable of inventing the sayings ascribed to Jesus, or of imagining the life and character revealed in the Gospels? Certainly not the fishermen of Galilee: as certainly not St. Paul, whose character and idiosyncrasies were of a totally different sort: still less the early Christian

writers, in whom nothing is more evident than that the good which was in them was all derived, as they always professed that it was derived, from the higher source."—[John Stuart Mill: "Essays on Religion"; New York ed., 1874: pp. 253–4.

"Christ's history bears all the marks of reality; a more frank, simple, unlabored, unostentatious narrative was never penned. Besides, his character, if invented, must have been an invention of singular difficulty, because no models existed on which to frame it. He stands alone in the records of time. The conception of a being, proposing such new and exalted ends, and governed by higher principles than the progress of society had developed, implies singular intellectual power. That several individuals should join in equally vivid conceptions of this character, and should not merely describe in general terms the fictitious being to whom it was attributed, but should introduce him into real life, should place him in a great variety of circumstances, in connexion with various ranks of men, with friends and foes, and should in all preserve his identity, show the same great and singular mind always acting in harmony with itself: this is a supposition hardly credible; and, when the circumstances of the writers of the New Testament are considered, seems to be as inexplicable on human principles as, what I have suggested, the composition of Newton's 'Principia' by a savage."—[Dr. Channing: Works; Boston ed., 1843: Vol. 3: pp. 126–7.

"There is a man whose tomb is guarded by love, whose sepulchre is not only glorious, as a prophet declared, but whose sepulchre is loved. There is a man whose ashes, after eighteen centuries, have not grown cold, who daily lives again in the thoughts of an innumerable multitude of men; who is visited in his cradle by shepherds and by kings, who vie with each other in bringing to him gold and frankincense and myrrh. There is a man whose steps are unweariedly retrodden by a large portion of mankind, and who, although no longer present, is followed by that throng in all the scenes of his bygone pilgrimage, upon the knees of his mother, by the borders of the lakes, to the tops of the mountains, in the by-ways of the valleys, under the shade of the olive trees, in the still solitude of the deserts. . . The greatest monuments of art shelter his sacred images; the most magnificent ceremonies assemble the people under the influence of his name; poetry, music, painting, sculpture, exhaust their resources to proclaim his glory, and to offer him incense worthy of the adoration which ages have consecrated to him. And yet upon what throne do they adore him? Upon a Cross!"—[Père Lacordaire: Conférences; London ed., 1869: pp. 82–3, 86–7.

XXV.: p. 27.—"Let us see what other nations have had and still have

in the place of religion: let us examine the prayers, the worship, the theology, even, of the most highly civilized races — the Greeks, the Romans, the Hindus, the Persians — and we shall then understand more thoroughly what blessings are vouchsafed to us in being allowed to breathe from the first breath of life the pure air of a land of Christian light and knowledge. . . We have done so little to gain our religion, we have suffered so little in the cause of truth, that however highly we prize our own Christianity, we never prize it highly enough until we have compared it with the religions of the rest of the world. . . No one who has not examined patiently and honestly the other religions of the world, can know what Christianity really is, or can join with such truth and sincerity in the words of St. Paul: 'I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ.'"—Max Müller: "Chips from German Workshop"; New York ed., 1881: Vol. 1: pp. 180–1; 48.

XXVI.: p. 28.—"Nothing can well be more arbitrary than to stroll through some fifteen centuries, and, gathering up none but the most picturesque and beneficent phenomena, weave them into a glory to crown the faith with which they co-exist. In Christendom, all the great and good things that are done at all will of course be done by Christians, and will contain such share of the religious element as may belong to the character of the actor or the age; but before you can avail yourself of them in Christian Apologetics, it must be shown that, under any other faith, no social causes would have remained adequate either to produce them, or to provide any worthy equivalent. . . Every one is sensible of a change in the whole climate of thought and feeling, the moment he crosses any part of the boundary which divides Christian civilization from Heathendom: yet of nothing is it more difficult to render any compendious account."—[James Martineau: "Studies of Christianity"; Boston ed., 1866: pp. 300–301, 305.

"I have said, again and again, that I do not think we prove our confidence in the divinity of that which we confess by subjecting it to light tests, by arguing that this or that is not justly required of it. Whatever has been found necessary, in the course of six thousand years' experience, we have a right to ask of that which offers itself as the faith for mankind. And I do not believe that it ever has shrunk, or ever will shrink, from any demand of this kind that we make upon it."—[F. D. Maurice: "Religions of World"; London ed., 1877: p. 166.

XXVII.: p. 28.—The maxim of Coleridge referred to is correct and important, but it certainly in no degree excludes or limits a readiness to receive Christianity as Divine *if* the Truth shall demand it:—

"He who begins by loving Christianity better than Truth, will proceed by loving his own sect or church better than Christianity, and end in loving himself better than all."—["Mor. and Rel. Aphorisms"; xxv. Works; New York ed., 1853: Vol. 1: p. 173.

XXVIII.: p. 28.—"The only grand and world-historical interest of the people [of Israel] lies in this: that as a whole, or as a People in the strictest sense of the word, once, and in fact immediately at the very beginning of its independent life, it entered actively and willingly into the highest requirements of religion; indeed that it sought simply through this its final aim, with all self-sacrifice, and determined to be and to continue a truly free people on the earth: whereas among other peoples, especially the Indian, individuals indeed sought to know the truths of religion, a few even to realize those truths in their life, but no single genuine Community had shaped itself by a pure religion. But now as religion is vastly more for a whole people, and for the world, than it is for the individual, it results that only through an appropriate Community can it perfect itself to the highest measure."—[Ewald: "Geschichte des Volkes Israel": Göttingen, 1865: Band II.: S. 241.

XXIX.: p. 29.—"So also the word with which the founder of Christianity began his preaching of the Gospel—that the followers of his doctrine are not only the poor in spirit, to whom belongs the kingdom of Heaven, but also the meek, who shall inherit the Earth—was brought to fulfilment, even in this sense, in the external history of Christianity, in that course of its first three centuries which concerns the world's history. . . Only to its own principle, as the interior effectual power, can Christianity be indebted for all which it has outwardly become in the progress of time; and the greater the effects which have proceeded from this principle, the more certain becomes the attestation thus given of the divinity of its origin. . . Christianity itself describes that which it purposes to accomplish in man, the substance of the change which shall be fully effected through it, as a regeneration and renewal of the whole man: so as such a power transforming man it has to attest itself historically through the moral regeneration brought about by it in the public life of mankind. But this is certainly that which gives its weightiest significance to the period of the first three centuries of Christianity, when we regard it from the most universal point of view, that of moral and religious consideration. Let us fix our thought, as here must be done, not on that which Christianity wrought in separate individuals, in the hidden deeps of their inner life, but on its effects in the larger contemplation: on what came from it in the common public life of Nations, as the noblest fruit of its efficacious activity. So with all justice may it be said that the world, through Christianity, if only in the bounded circles over which its influence could directly extend, actually became a morally purer and better world. This shows itself, as in the nature of the case could not be otherwise, as an undeniable historical fact, at all the points at which Christianity came into closest and most

immediate contact with the dominant moral corruption of the heathen world."—[F. C. Baur: "Geschichte der Christ. Kirche": Tübingen: 1863: Band I.; S. 472, f.

XXX.: p. 29.—In a note to the Introduction by Savigny to his System of Modern Roman Law, he gives modest expression to the spirit which had animated him in his great work. Quoting from the *Lebensnachrichten über Niebuhr:* 'Above all things, in the study of the sciences, we must preserve our truthfulness without spot, absolutely shunning every false appearance, writing down as certain not the smallest matter as to which we are not fully persuaded, and, when we have to state conjectures or probabilities, using every effort to show the degree of our persuasion'—he adds, "much in the admirable letter from which this passage is taken belongs not merely to philology, to which it immediately relates, but to science in general."—["Private International Law": Edinburgh ed., 1880: p. 23.

It certainly applies, as distinctly as to any student in the world, to one who would illustrate the historical indications of the Divine authorship of Christianity.

XXXI.: p. 29.—"The whole tendency of thought in modern times is to require evidence in religious matters on which men can exercise some judgment of their own. Scientific judgments are in numerous cases accepted without this, because many of them admit of verification in our actual experience, which imparts a credibility to the assertions of eminent professors on subjects which lie beyond its range; but the case is wholly different with respect to religious truth."—[C. A. Rowe: "Bampton Lect.": London ed., 1877: p. 277 (note).

XXXII.: p. 30.—"There are very few persons with whom the fictitious character of fairy tales has not ceased to be a question, or who would hesitate to disbelieve or even to ridicule any anecdote of this nature which was told them, without the very smallest examination of its evidence. Yet, if we ask in what respect the existence of fairies is naturally contradictory or absurd, it would be difficult to answer the question. . . That such beings should exist, or that, existing, they should be able to do many things beyond human power, are propositions which do not present the smallest difficulty. For many centuries their existence was almost universally believed. . . When men are destitute of critical spirit, when the notion of uniform law is yet unborn, and when their imaginations are still incapable of rising to abstract ideas, histories of miracles are always formed and always believed, and they continue to flourish and to multiply until these conditions have altered."—[Lecky: "History of European Morals"; N. York ed., 1876: Vol. 1: pp. 370, 373.

NOTES TO LECTURE II.

NOTE I.: PAGE 37.—"Whether the etymology which the ancients gave of the Greek word ἀνθρωπος, man, be true or not, (they derived it from ὁ ἀνω ὰθρῶν, he who looks upward): certain it is that what makes man to be man, is that he alone can turn his face to heaven: certain it is that he alone yearns for something that neither sense nor reason can supply."—[Max Müller: "Science of Religion"; New York ed., 1872: p. 12.

"If you will take the pains to travel through the world, you may find towns and cities without walls, without letters, without kings, without houses, without wealth, without money, without theatres and places of exercise; but there never was seen, nor shall be seen by man, any city without temples and Gods, or without making use of prayers, oaths, divinations, and sacrifices, for the obtaining of blessings and benefits, and the averting of curses and calamities. Nay, I am of opinion that a city might sooner be built without any ground to fix it on, than a commonweal be constituted altogether void of any religion and opinion of the Gods, or being constituted be preserved."—[Plutarch: adv. Colotes: 31. "Morals"; Boston ed., 1874: Vol. 5: p. 379.

II.: p. 38.—"Not much more absurd are those things which do mischief by the melody of their utterance, as poured forth in the words of the poets, who have represented the gods as inflamed with anger, raging with lust; who have made us see their wars, battles, combats, wounds; even further than this, their hatreds, dissensions, discords, births, deaths, complaints, lamentations, their lusts expressed in all intemperate ways, their adulteries, chains, their sexual intercourse with mortals, and mortals begotten by the immortals."—[Cicero: Nat. Deor.: I.: 16.

"Thence also comes the madness of the poets, nourishing men's errors with fables, by whom it is made to appear that Jupiter, being captivated with the voluptuous pleasure of his adulterous embraces, doubled the length of the night. What else is it but to add fuel to our wickedness to write down the gods as the authors of such things, and to give a permitted license to our inward distemper by the example of divinity."—[Seneca: Brev. Vit.: XVI.

III.: p. 38.—"Every woman born in the [Babylonian] country must once in her life go and sit down in the precinct of Venus, and there consort with a stranger. Many of the wealthier sort, who are too proud to mix with the others, drive in covered carriages to the precinct, followed by a goodly train of attendants, and there take their station. But the larger number seat themselves within the holy enclosure with wreaths of string about their heads—and here there is always a great crowd, some coming, and others going: lines of cord mark out paths in all directions among the women, and the strangers pass along them to make their choice. . . A custom very much like this is found also in certain parts of the island of Cyprus."—[Herodotus: Hist.: I.: 199.

"To Jupiter, whom they preëminently worship [at Thebes], a virgin of the most distinguished family, and of the greatest beauty, is consecrated—such as the Greeks call Pallakēs, concubines. She, after the fashion of a concubine, prostitutes herself with whomsoever she will. . . She is afterward given in marriage; but before she is married, and after the time of prostitution, she is mourned for according to the usage for the dead."—[Strabo: Rer. Geog.: XVII.: 1: § 46 (Oxford ed., 1807: II.: 1156). See also Herodotus: I.: 182.

IV.: p. 38.—"There are likewise some among this number of gods who rejoice in victims, or ceremonies, or observances, nocturnal or diurnal, public or performed in secret, replete with the greatest joy, or marked with extreme sadness. Thus, the Egyptian deities are almost all of them delighted with lamentations, the Grecian in general with dances, and those of the Barbarians with the sound produced by cymbals, tambourines, and pipes."—[Apuleius: "Dæmon of Socrates."

V.: p. 38.—"And the temple of Venus at Corinth was so rich that it had more than a thousand courtesans as servants of the sacred rites, whom both men and women had dedicated to the Goddess. On account of these women, therefore, both a great multitude of men was congregated in the city, and its riches became what they were. Shipmasters freely squandered their money; whence came the proverb, 'It is not every man's voyage which leads to Corinth.'"—[Strabo: Rer. Geog.: VIII.: 6: § 20 (Oxford ed., 1807: I.: 549).

"It is an ancient custom at Corinth (as Chamaeleon of Heraclea relates, in his treatise on Pindar), whenever the city addresses any supplication to Venus about any important matter, to employ as many courtesans as possible to join in the supplication; and they, too, pray to the goddess, and afterwards are present at the sacrifices. And when the King of Persia was leading his army against Greece (as Theopampus also relates, and so does Timaeus, in his seventh book),

the Corinthian courtesans offered prayers for the safety of Greece, going to the temple of Venus. . . And even private individuals sometimes vow to Venus, that if they succeed in the objects for which they are offering their vows, they will bring her a stated number of courtesans."—[Athenaeus: "Deipnosophistæ": XIII.: 32.

VI.: p. 38.—"The people of her neighbourhood, having had a statue made of Phryne herself, of solid gold, consecrated it in the temple of Delphi, having had it placed on a pillar of Pentelican marble; and the statue was made by Praxiteles. And when Crates the Cynic saw it, he called it 'a votive offering of the profligacy of Greece.' . . And Alexis the Samian says: 'The Athenian prostitutes who followed Pericles when he laid siege to Samos, having made vast sums of money by their beauty, dedicated a statue of Venus at Samos, which some call Venus among the Reeds.'"—[Athenaeus: "Deipnosophistæ": XIII.: 59, 31.

VII.: p. 38.—One having occasion to make himself familiar with that vast department of historical study in which the learning and talent of Gibbon were splendidly used, will do well to bear in mind the portrait of him by Dr. Martineau, which is as just and discriminating as it is unsparing:—

"His whole spirit was unsocial and irreverent; his affections never deep in the sorrows, his moral sense not revolted by the sins, of the beings he presents on his magnificent stage; his imagination resting on the pageantry, the scenery, the mechanism, the dress, the evolutions of national existence, but not penetrating to its real *life;* and his Epicurean cast of character wholly disqualifying him for any appreciation of the genius and agency of Christianity."—["Miscellanies"; Boston ed., 1852: p. 93.

Mr. Lecky has written words as discerning and just:—

"The complete absence of all sympathy with the heroic courage manifested by the martyrs, and the frigid, and in truth most unphilosophical severity, with which the historian has weighed the words and actions of men engaged in the agonies of a deadly struggle, must repel every generous nature; while the persistence with which he estimates persecutions by the number of deaths rather than by the amount of suffering, diverts the mind from the really distinctive atrocities of the Pagan persecutions."—["Hist. of European Morals"; New York ed., 1876: Vol. 1: p. 494.

VIII.: p. 39.—"Numa forbade the Romans to represent God in the form of man or beast, nor was there any painted or graven image of a deity admitted amongst them for the space of the first hundred and seventy years; all which time their temples and chapels were kept free

and pure from images: to such baser objects they deemed it impious to liken the highest, and all access to God impossible, except by the pure act of the intellect."—[Plutarch: "Lives"; Boston ed., 1859 : Vol. 1., p. 138.

IX.: p. 39.—"Her temples [Flora's] are entirely surrounded with wreaths of flowers stitched together; and the splendid table is hidden beneath roses showered upon it. The drunken reveler dances with his hair crowned with chaplets of the linden-tree bark, and unawares is mastered by the witchery of the wine. Drunken he sings at the repellent threshold of his beautiful mistress; his perfumed locks sustain delicate garlands. . . The reason why the harlot-crowd should resort in great numbers to these games, when sought, is found without trouble. She [the Goddess] is none of the severe ones, nor is she great in the matter of high professions: she wishes that her sacred ceremonies should be open to the plebeian multitude. And she admonishes us to use the beauty of our youth, while it is blooming; that the thorn is to be disdained, when the roses have fallen."—[Ovid: Fastor. L. V.: 335–340, 349–354.

"The secrets of Bona Dea are notorious. When the pipe wantonly excites them, and frantic alike with the horn and with wine these Mænads of Priapus rush about, and whirl their hair, and howl: oh, how great is then the licentious longing of their minds! what an utterance is theirs in their lascivious dance! . . Nothing is counterfeited in this sort of sport; all things are done to the life, so that the very son of Laomedon [Priam], frigid with years, might be inflamed, and Nestor himself. Then their fierce lust brooks no delay, then the woman appears without disguise: and by all alike is the shout resounded in the den, etc., etc. . . Would that our ancient rites and public worship might at least be celebrated unstained by iniquities like these."—[Juvenal : Sat. VI.: 314–336.

X.: p. 39.—"How great in our time is the madness of men! They whisper to the gods most villainous prayers; if any one turns an ear toward them, they are dumb; but what they are unwilling that man should know they set forth in words to God. See then if this may not profitably be made our precept: 'So live with men as if God saw thee, so speak with God as if men should hear thee.'"—[Seneca, Epist. x.

"If any one has time to see the things which they do, and the things which they suffer [those who would propitiate the gods], he will find so many things unseemly for men of respectability, so unworthy of freemen, so unlike the doings of sane men, that no one would doubt that they were mad, had they been mad with the minority; but now

he multitude of the insane is the defence of their sanity."—[Seneca : quoted by Augustine: Civ. Dei. VI. 10.

XI.: p. 39.—"As to what had reference to the gods he [Socrates] evidently acted and spoke in conformity with the answer which the priestess of Apollo gives to those who inquire how they ought to proceed with regard to a sacrifice, to the worship of their ancestors, or to any such matter; for the priestess replies that 'they will act piously if they act in agreement with the law of their own country'; and Socrates both acted in this manner himself, and exhorted others to act similarly."—[Xenophon: Memor. I.: 3 : 1.

XII.: p. 39.—"You have gone astray, you have fallen in love, you have been guilty of some adultery, and then have been caught. You are undone, for you are unable to speak. But if you associate with me, indulge your inclination, dance, laugh, and think nothing disgraceful. For if you should happen to be detected as an adulterer, you will make this reply to him: 'that you have done him no injury'; and then refer him to Jupiter, how even he is overcome by love and women, and how could you, who are a mortal, have greater power than a god?"—[Aristophanes: "Clouds": 1077–82.

"And this further I would say to you: why are you, being a Greek, indignant at your son when he imitates Jupiter, and rises against you, and defrauds you of your own wife? Why do you count him your enemy, and yet worship one who is like him? and why do you blame your wife for living in unchastity, and yet honor Venus with shrines? If indeed these things had been related by others, they would have seemed mere slanderous accusations, and not truth. But now your own poets sing these things, and your histories noisily publish them."—[Justin Martyr: Orat. ad Græc.: IV.

"Others of your writers, in their wantonness, minister to your pleasures by vilifying the gods. . . Your dramatic literature, too, depicts all the vileness of your gods. . . This, it will be said however, is all in sport. But if I add—what all know, and will readily admit to be the fact—that in the temples adulteries are arranged, that at the altars pimping is practised, that often in the houses of the temple-keepers and priests, under the sacrificial fillets, and the sacred hats, and the purple robes, amid the fumes of incense, deeds of licentiousness are done, I am not sure but your gods have more reason to complain of you than of Christians."—[Tertullian: Apolog., c. 15.

XIII.: p. 39.—"In regard to the Gods, and to all matters of religion, he [Tiberius] was very careless; especially as being himself addicted to

astrology, and fully persuaded that all things are governed by Fate. Yet he was afraid beyond measure of thunder; and whenever the sky was disturbed he never failed to wear on his head a laurel-crown, because it was denied that that kind of leaf is ever touched by the lightning."—[Suetonius: Tiberius: LXIX. Pliny mentions the same thing in the Nat. Hist.: XV. 40.

XIV.: p. 40.—"Whatever God is, if he is at all other [than the Sun], and in what place soever he exists, he is all sense, all sight, all hearing, all life, all mind, and all contained within himself. . . But it is ridiculous to suppose that this supreme, whatever it is, exercises any care over human affairs. Can we believe, or rather can we doubt about the matter, that it would not be dishonored by such a sad and complicated office? Scarcely is it easy to decide which opinion may the more conduce to the advantage of mankind, since while by some no God is regarded, by others he is shamefully worshipped. . . Another set of people reject this principle [that Fortune rules all], and assign events to the power of the stars, and the laws of one's nativity. . . This opinion begins to get itself established, and the learned and the rude rabble alike are rushing into it. . . Such things as these so envelope the humanity which has no foresight that in the midst of them this is the only certainty, that nothing is certain; nor anything else more wretched than man, or at the same time more proud. . . He [the deity] cannot compass his own death, even if he wished it—that which he gives to man as the best boon in the midst of such manifold pains of life."—[Pliny: Nat. Hist.; II.: 5.

XV.: p. 40.—"Even Varro himself has chosen rather to doubt concerning all things, than to affirm anything [about the gods]. . . This same Varro, then, still speaking by anticipation, says that he thinks that God is the soul of the world, and that this world itself is God; but, as a wise man, though he consists of body and mind, is nevertheless called wise on account of his mind, so the world is called God on account of mind, although it consists of mind and body."—[Augustine: Civ. Dei; VII.: 17, 6.

"Whence, with respect to these sacred rites of the civil theology, Seneca preferred, as the best course to be followed by a wise man, to feign respect for them in act, but to have no real regard for them at heart. 'All which things,' he says, 'a wise man will observe as being commanded by the laws, but not as being pleasing to the gods.' . 'All this ignoble crowd of gods which the superstition of ages has amassed, we ought to adore in such a way as to remember all the while that its worship belongs rather to custom than to reality.' . .

But this man, whom philosophy had made as it were free, nevertheless, because he was an illustrious senator of the Roman people, worshipped what he censured, did what he condemned, adored what he reproached," etc.—[Augustine: Civ. Dei: VI.: 10.

XVI.: p. 40.—"I shall commence to discuss with thee [Memmius] concerning the complete explanation of the heaven, and of the gods, and shall unfold to thee the primordial elements of things; from which Nature produces, builds up, and nourishes things in all departments: into which the same Nature again resolves them when they are destroyed;—these elements when presented in the way of explanation we are wont to call matter, and the generative bodies of things, and to name them the seeds of things, and to assume them as primal bodies, because from them as original all things have existence."—[Lucretius: Rer. Nat.: I.: 49–56.

"What is this [Christian] superstition? Man, and every animal which is born, inspired with life, and nourished, is as a voluntary concretion of the elements, into which again every man and every animal is divided, resolved, and dissipated; so all things flow back again into their source, and are turned again into themselves, without any artificer, or judge, or creator."—[Cæcilius: in "Octavius" of Minucius Felix: v.

XVII.: p. 40.—"Wilt thou call him Fate? thou shalt not err. . . Wilt thou name him Providence? Thou sayest rightly. . . Wilt thou call him Nature? Thou shalt not sin. . . Wilt thou call him the World? Thou shalt not be deceived. For he is all that which thou seest, wholly infused into his various parts, and sustaining himself by his own energy."—[Seneca: Natur. Quæst.: II.: 45.

"For what else is Nature than God, and a divine reason intermixed with the whole world, and with all its parts? . . Thou accomplishest nothing then, most ungrateful of mortals, when thou deniest that thou art indebted to God, but only to Nature; for neither is Nature without God, nor God without Nature; but each is the same thing with the other, and there is no difference in their office."—[De Benef.: IV.: 7, 8.

"This has come to pass, believe me, under whomsoever has been the fashioner of the universe—whether it be God, powerful over all, or incorporeal reason, the skillful artificer of great works, or a divine spirit diffused with an equal attentiveness throughout all things greatest or smallest; or whether it be fate, and an unchangeable series of causes, interlinked each to the others—this, I say, has come to pass, that only the meanest things happen to us under a choice foreign to our own. . . The world, than which nothing is greater or more elab-

orately beautiful, the nature of things has produced."—[Consol. ad Helv.: VIII.

XVIII.: p. 40.—"Plato, accordingly, having learned this in Egypt, and being greatly taken with what was said about one God, did indeed consider it unsafe to mention the name of Moses, on account of his teaching the doctrine of one only God, for he dreaded the Areopagus; but what is very well expressed by him in his elaborate treatise, the Timaeus, he has written in exact correspondence with what Moses said concerning God, though he has done so, not as if he had learned it from him, but as if expressing his own opinion."—[Justin Martyr: Cohor. ad Græc.: XXII.

XIX.: p. 40.—"I shall argue that to speak well of the gods to men is far easier than to speak well of mortals to one another: for the inexperience and utter ignorance of his hearers about such matters is a great assistance to him who has to speak of them, and we know how ignorant we are concerning the gods."—[Plato: Critias: 107.

"All sensible things, which are apprehended by opinion and sense, are in process of creation, and created. Now that which is created must of necessity be created by a cause. But how can we find out the Father and Maker of all this universe? Or, when we have found Him, how shall we be able to speak of Him to all men?"—[Plato: Timaeus: 28.

Origen's comment on these words, when quoted by Celsus, is surely a just one:—

"These words of Plato are noble and admirable; but see if Scripture does not give us the example of a regard for mankind still greater in God the Word, who 'was in the beginning with God,' and who 'was made flesh,' in order that he might reveal to all men truths which, according to Plato, it would be impossible to make known to all men after he had found them himself."—[Origen: adv. Celsus: VII.: 42.

Compare the attitude of Heraclitus toward the people:—

"The mass of men have no intelligence for eternal truth, though it is clear and obvious; . . the order of the world, glorious as it is, for them does not exist. Truth seems to them incredible; they are deaf to it, even when it reaches their ears; to the ass chaff is preferable to gold, and the dog barks at every one he does not know. Equally incapable of hearing and speaking, their best course would be to conceal their ignorance. Irrational as they are, they abide by the sayings of the poets, and the opinions of the multitude, without considering that the good are always few in number; etc."—[Zeller: "Hist. of Greek Philosophy": (Pre-Socratic); London ed., 1881: Vol. 2: pp. 7–10.

XX.: p 40.—"For Moses, one of the Egyptian priests, who had a

certain part of this territory, and who found his condition there irk some, emigrated thence, with many companions, who had a zeal for sacred things. He affirmed and taught that the Egyptians, and likewise the Africans, did not judge rightly, who ascribed to God the likeness of beasts and of cattle, nor the Greeks, who attributed the figure of man to the gods. But God [according to him] is that alone which contains us all, land and sea, what we call the heaven, the universe, and the nature of all things; whose likeness accordingly no one of sane mind will dare to picture as similar to any of these things which are present to us. So, all portraying by images being rejected, a temple and a sanctuary worthy of Him should be established, and He should be worshipped without any representation."—[Strabo: Rer. Geog.: XVI: 2; § 35 (Oxford ed., 1807: II.: 1082).

The doctrine of Moses is obviously conceived by Strabo under the forms of thought familiar to the Stoics.

XXI.: p. 41.—"With the adherents of the Sankhya doctrine, Buddha believed himself to have ascertained that neither the gods nor a supreme all-pervading world-soul exists."—[Duncker: "Hist. of Antiquity": Vol. 4: p. 341.

"As he [Buddha] recognizes not a god upon whom man depends, his doctrine is absolutely atheistic."—[Barth: "Religions of India"; Boston ed., 1882: p. 110.

"These speculations are peculiar to Buddhism; and although they produce contrivance without a contriver, and design without a designer, they are as rational, in this respect, as any other system that denies the agency of a self-existent and ever-living God. . . Inasmuch as Buddhism declares Karma to be the supreme controlling power of the universe, it is an atheistic system. It ignores the existence of an intelligent and personal Deity."—[R. Spence Hardy: "Manual of Buddhism": London ed., 1880: p. 413.

"I will mention two important subjects in regard to which there is a growing conviction in my mind that he [Confucius] came short of the faith of the older sages. The first is the doctrine of God. . . Confucius preferred to speak of Heaven. Instances have already been given of this. Two others may be cited. . . Not once throughout the Analects does he use the personal name. I would say that he was unreligious rather than irreligious; yet . . he prepared the way for the speculations of the literati of the mediæval and modern times, which have exposed them to the charge of atheism."—[Legge: "Chinese Classics"; London ed., 1861: Vol. 1: pp. 99–100.

XXII.: p. 41.—"On one side there is a bias to monotheism running through it [the Roman religion]: there must have been one sin

gle nameless god in existence at its mysteriously veiled commencement, who, in the event, turned into a Jupiter Optimus Maximus, but was never entirely lost to the conscience of the Romans; therefore they continued, even till late times, to invoke him in the most violent and irresistible of natural phenomena. . . In this way they swelled the number of the gods so incalculably that the generality of Romans were far from being acquainted with even the names of all their deities; and we, too, remain in ignorance of many of them, including such as had a worship of their own."—[Döllinger: "The Gentile and the Jew": Vol. 2: pp. 13–14.

"'It is, therefore, more than five thousand years since, in the valley of the Nile, the hymn began to the Unity of God and the immortality of the soul; and we find Egypt in the last ages arrived at the most unbridled Polytheism. The belief in the Unity of the Supreme God, and in his attributes as Creator and Lawgiver of man, whom he has endowed with an immortal soul,—these are the primitive notions, enchased, like indestructible diamonds, in the midst of the mythological superfetations accumulated in the centuries which have passed over that ancient civilization' [Emmanuel Rougé]. . . It is incontestably true that the sublimer portions of the Egyptian religion are not the comparatively late result of a process of development or elimination from the grosser. The sublimer portions are demonstrably ancient: and the last stage of the Egyptian religion, that known to the Greek and Latin writers, heathen or Christian, was by far the grossest and most corrupt."—[Renouf: "Religion of Ancient Egypt": New York ed., 1880: pp. 94–5.

"We have accustomed ourselves to regard a belief in the unity of God as one of the last stages to which the Greek mind ascended from the depths of a polytheistic faith. . . But how can we tell that the course of thought was the same in India? By what right do we mark all hymns as modern, in which the idea of one God breaks through the clouds of a polytheistic phraseology? The belief in a Supreme God, in a God above all gods, may in the abstract seem later than the belief in many gods. . . But there is a monotheism that precedes the polytheism of the Veda; and even in the invocations of their innumerable gods this remembrance of a God, one and infinite, breaks through the mist of an idolatrous phraseology, like the blue sky that is hidden by passing clouds."—[Max Müller: "Hist. of Ancient Sanskrit Literature": London ed., 1859: pp. 558–9.

The wonderfully learned and elaborate treatment of the early monotheism by Cudworth, in his fourth chapter, is doubtless familiar. The thesis which he maintains is this:—

"Wherefore the truth of this whole business seems to be, that the ancient Pagans did physiologize in their theology: and whether look

ing upon the whole world animated as the Supreme God, and consequently the several parts of it as his living members—or else apprehending it at least to be a mirror, or visible image, of the invisible Deity, and consequently all its several parts but so many several manifestations of the Divine power and providence—they pretended that all their devotion towards the Deity ought not to be huddled up in one general and confused acknowledgment of a supreme invisible Being, the creator and governor of all: but that all the several manifestations of the Deity in the world should be made so many distinct objects of their devout veneration. . . We shall afterward make it appear, that the first original of this business proceeded from a certain philosophic opinion amongst the Pagans, that God was diffused throughout the whole world, and was himself in a manner in all things, and therefore ought to be worshipped in all things: but the poets were principally the men who carried it on thus far, by personating the several inanimate parts of the world and things of nature, to make such a multitude of gods and goddesses of them. . . We have now dispatched the first of those three heads, viz., that the Pagans worshipped one and the same Supreme God, under many personal names, so that much of their polytheism was but seeming and fantastical, and indeed nothing but the polyonomy of one Supreme God, they making many poetical and political gods of that one natural God : and thus worshipping God by parts and piecemeal, according to that clear acknowledgment of Maximus Madaurensis before cited."—["Intellectual System, etc."; Andover ed., 1837: Vol. 1: pp. 308, 475, 715.

XXIII.: p. 42.—"Formerly I was a fig-tree trunk, a useless log, when the workman, undecided whether he would make a bench of me or a Priapus, determined that I should be a God: thenceforth I became a God, the greatest terror of thieves and birds; for my right hand restrains the thieves, . . but lime-twigs fixed upon my head frighten the troublesome birds, and forbid them to alight in the new gardens."—[Horace : Sat. I.: 8 : 1–7.

XXIV.: p. 42.—"But not yet had come on that disregard of the gods which possesses the present age: nor did each one then, by his own interpretation, make oaths and laws conformable to his purposes, but, rather, he accommodated to them his own customs of life."—[Livy: Histor.: III.: 20.

XXV.: p. 42.—"And then, if this wall be raised, [I admonish you] that you demand back the empire from Jove; and if he refuses, and does not immediately confess himself in the wrong, that you declare a sacred war against him, and forbid the gods to pass through your

district, when lecherous, as formerly they were accustomed to go down to debauch their Alcmenes, their Alopes, and their Semeles. . . And I advise you to send another bird as herald to men, henceforth to sacrifice to the birds, since the birds have the rule. . . If any one sacrifice to Venus, let him offer wheat to the coot; and if any one sacrifice a sheep to Neptune, let him dedicate wheat to the duck; and if any one sacrifice to Hercules, let him offer honied cakes to the gull; and if any one sacrifice a ram to king Jove, the wren is the king, to whom he ought to slay a male ant before Jove himself."—[Aristophanes. "Birds": 554–70.

XXVI.: p. 42.—"As Athens far surpassed other Hellenic cities in intellectual matters, so too her mysteries, the Eleusinian, had the precedence of all institutions of the kind. They owed this, in part, to the fame of Athens, and in part to the artistic splendour and tasteful beauty of their scenic ornamentation, and in some degree also to the care the Athenians took in cherishing the belief that those who were initiated there acquired the securest guarantee of bliss in the other world. . . The Eleusinia as a whole formed a great solemnity, lasting at least ten days, when much passed in public, before all eyes, the magnificence of which always drew to Athens a crowd of people, including many who had no desire to be initiated. Feast and mystery were treated as an institution of the state, and therefore were under the direction of the republic."—[Döllinger: "The Gentile and the Jew"; Lond. ed., 1862: Vol. 1: pp. 176–7.

"When, at the celebration of the greater Eleusinian mysteries, the mystæ marched in procession to Eleusis, they were greeted at the bridge over the Cephissus with all sorts of jokes and gibes, many of them exceedingly coarse. Even at the chorus dance on the meadow near Eleusis, similar sport was made."—[Uhlhorn: "Conflict of Christianity"; New York ed., 1879: p. 161.

XXVII.: p. 42.—"That there are any departed spirits, and subterranean realms, and the pole [of Charon], and the black frogs in the Stygian whirlpool, and that so many thousand souls cross that water in one bark—not even boys believe, unless they are not yet old enough to be charged a price for a bath."—[Juvenal: Sat. II.: 149–152.

"Dost thou not know what a laugh thy simplicity would excite among the common folk, if thou shouldst expect from any one that he would not perjure himself, but would really think that some deity is present in any of the temples, and at the altar reddened with blood?"—[Sat. XIII.: 34–37.

"But seek your deputy-General [O Cæsar] in some vast eating-house. You will find him lying down with any mere cut-throat; intermixed

with sailors, thieves, and runaway slaves; among hangmen, and the makers of cheap biers, and the silent drums of the priest of Cybele, now prostrate in drunkenness."—[Sat. VIII.: 172–176.

Quintilian refers to the frequent denial by philosophers that the gods had any regard for human affairs, and to the light and easy way in which men accordingly held themselves at liberty to take any oath, as matters of fact properly used by advocates.—[Instit. Orat., V.: 6.

"Happy the man who is able to understand the causes of things, and so has trampled under foot all fear, and the inexorable fate, and the roar of greedy Acheron."—[Virgil: Georg.: II.: 490–492.

XXVIII.: p. 43.—"A discussion has arisen [said Cotta] between Velleius and myself concerning a great matter; . . we were treating of the nature of the Gods. Since this has seemed to me an extremely obscure subject, as indeed it is always wont to seem, I was interrogating Velleius as to the sentiments of Epicurus. . . Therefore I, who am myself a Pontifex, who think that public religious rites and ceremonies ought sacredly to be preserved, not only desire to be myself persuaded of the opinion first of all that there are Gods, but I wish to have it plainly proved. . . Yet I do not think that the reasons which are presented for it by you are sufficiently solid. . . It seems wonderful that one interpreter of the sacrifices should meet another without laughing; it is yet more wonderful that you can refrain from laughing among yourselves. . . As to the voice of the Faun, I certainly have never heard it; I shall believe you, if you tell me that you have heard it; though I do not in the least know what a Faun may be."—[Cicero: Nat. Deor.: I.: 7, 22, 26; III.: 6.

Gibbon does not exaggerate when he says, in his stately antithesis, that the philosophers of antiquity, when they "condescended to act a part on the theatre of superstition, concealed the sentiments of an atheist under the sacerdotal robes, and approached with the same inward contempt, and the same external reverence, the altars of the Libyan, the Olympian, or the Capitoline Jupiter"; or when he adds that "the freedom of the city was bestowed on all the gods of mankind."—["Decline and Fall": Boston ed., 1854: Vol. 1: pp. 168, 170.

XXIX.: p. 43.—"Cecrops and Theseus, who were regarded as having been successive founders of Athens, had temples there. Abdera offered sacrifices to its founder Timesius, Thera to Theras, Tenedos to Tenes, Delos to Anius, Cyrene to Battus, Miletus to Naleus, Amphipolis to Hagnon. In the time of Pisistratus, one Miltiades went to found a colony in the Thracian Chersonesus; this colony instituted a worship for him after his death, 'according to the ordinary usage.' . . Every man who had rendered a great service to the city, from the one

who had founded it to the one who had given it a victory, or had improved its laws, became a god for that city. . . The inhabitants of Acanthus worshipped a Persian who had died among them during the expedition of Xerxes. . . Crotona worshipped a hero for the sole reason that during his life he had been the handsomest man in the city."—[Coulanges: "The Ancient City": Boston ed., 1874: pp. 188–9, 196.

"Hence [like Romulus and Hercules], Liber [Bacchus] became a God, who was born of Semele; and on the same renown of fame the brother-sons of Tyndareus [Castor and Pollux], who are declared to have been not only helpers of the Roman people to victory in their battles, but also messengers announcing their success. . . Why! is not almost the whole of heaven—I will not dwell further on particular instances—filled with those of human-kind? If I should attempt to search into antiquity, and thence to produce the things which Greek writers have asserted, even those who are esteemed the gods of the principal peoples would be found to have been taken up from among us into heaven."—[Cicero: Tuscul. Quaest.: I.: 12, 13.

XXX.: p. 43.—"Indeed at the games which his heir, Augustus, first set forth as consecrated to him, a comet [a hairy star] blazed forth during seven consecutive days, rising at about the eleventh hour; and it was believed to be the soul of Cæsar, now received into heaven; and for this reason a star is placed upon his head in his statue."—[Suetonius: C. J. Cæsar: LXXXVIII.

Concerning Augustus, Suetonius reports, in like manner, that an ancient prediction had pointed out his native city, Velletri, as the birthplace of a Master of the world; that prodigies and strange dreams preceded his birth; that when his father, in Thrace, consulted an oracle about his son, the wine on the altar burst into a flame which reached heaven high; that as an infant he was taken from his cradle by invisible hands, carried to the top of a lofty tower, and left facing the rising sun; that an eagle snatched bread from his hand when he was dining, bore it up into the sky, and then restored it; that as he was entering Rome, after Cæsar's death, suddenly, in a clear sky, a circular rainbow surrounded the sun; etc., etc.—[Octav. August.: XCIV.–XCVI.

XXXI.: p. 43.—"But Rome began to crave a more concrete God than the Capitolian Jove, and found a living and most terrible deity in the person of her Emperor. Earth could offer nothing more divine in the sense of a majesty at once recognized and obeyed, and Paganism did but push its principles to their consequence in deifying the Cæsars; but reason fell to the lowest depth of degradation, and the Egyptians grovelling before the beasts of the Nile outraged humanity less than the

age of the Antonines, with its philosophers and jurisconsults rendering divine honors to the Emperor Commodus."—[Fréd. Ozanam: "Civilization in Fifth Cent.": London ed., 1867: Vol. 1: p. 80.

"From the time of Julius and Augustus his [the Emperor's] person had been hallowed by the office of chief pontiff and the tribunician power; to swear by his head was considered the most solemn of all oaths; his effigy was sacred, even on a coin; to him, or to his Genius, temples were erected and divine honours paid while he lived; and when, as it was expressed, he ceased to be among men, the title of Divus was accorded to him, after a solemn consecration. In the confused multiplicity of mythologies, the worship of the Emperor was the only worship common to the whole Roman world, and was therefore that usually proposed to the Christians on their trial."—[Bryce: "Holy Roman Empire"; London ed., 1876: pp. 22–3.

XXXII.: p. 43.—"There is no more curious fragment of antiquity than the Vision of Judgment which Seneca has left us on the death and deification of Claudius. . . . When Claudius expired in the month of October, his soul, according to the satirist, long lodged in the inflated emptiness of his own swollen carcass, migrated by an easy transition into a kindred pumpkin. The Senate declared that he had become a god; but Seneca knew that he was only transformed into a gourd. The Senate decreed his divinity; Seneca translated it into pumpkinity; and proceeded to give a burlesque account of what had happened in heaven on the appearance of the new aspirant to celestial honours."—[Merivale: "Hist. of the Romans": London ed., 1856: Vol. 5: p. 601.

Yet, a little before, the same philosopher had said, of the same Claudius: "The emperor is divine; the divinity is with and around those blessed by employment in his service. . . Distant be the day, and reserved for the tears of our grand-children, when his divine progenitors shall demand for him the heavens which are his own"!—[Consol. ad Polyb., 31, 32.

XXXIII.: p. 43.—"Already the Senate had commended the womb of Poppaea to the gods, and had undertaken vows for public performance. These things were multiplied and fulfilled [after the birth], and there were added supplications and a temple to Fecundity, etc. These things were temporary, however, the infant having died within the fourth month. But again arose the servile adulations of those decreeing homage to her as a Goddess, with a Divine bed of state, a Temple, and a Priest."—[Tacitus: Annal.: XV.: 23.

XXXIV.: p. 44.—"At the first attack of sickness, he said: 'Alas! I

suspect I am becoming a God' [Vae, puto, Deus fio !]"—[Suetonius: "Vespasian.": XXIII.

XXXV.: p. 44.—"The sun was worshipped at Emesa, under the name of Elegabalus, and under the form of a black conical stone, which, as it was universally believed, had fallen from heaven on that sacred place. . . In a solemn procession through the streets of Rome, the way was strewed with gold dust; the black stone, set in precious gems, was placed on a chariot drawn by six milk-white horses richly caparisoned. . . In a magnificent temple raised on the Palatine mount, the sacrifices of the god Elegabalus were celebrated with every circumstance of cost and solemnity. . . Around the altar a chorus of Syrian damsels performed their lascivious dances, to the sound of barbarian music, whilst the gravest personages of the state and army officiated in the meanest functions, with affected zeal and secret indignation."—[Gibbon: "Decline and Fall," etc.; London ed., 1848: Vol. 1: pp. 188–9.

XXXVI.: p. 44.—"With perfect propriety you give divine honors to your departed emperors, as you worship them in life. The gods will count themselves indebted to you: nay, it will be matter of high rejoicing among them that their masters are made their equals. But when you adore Larentina, a public prostitute—I could have wished that it might at least have been Lais or Phryne—among your Junos, and Cereses, and Dianas; when you instal in your pantheon Simon Magus, giving him a statue and the title of Holy God; when you make an infamous court-page a god of the sacred synod,—although your ancient deities are in reality no better, they will still think themselves affronted by you, that the privilege which antiquity conferred on them alone has been allowed to others."—[Tertullian: Apolog., 13.

XXXVII.: p. 44.—"If a man should be able to assent to this doctrine, as he ought, that we are all sprung from God in an especial manner, and that God is the father both of men and of gods, I suppose that he would never have any ignoble or mean thoughts about himself. . . What then is the nature of God? Flesh? Certainly not. An estate in land? By no means. Fame? No. Is it intelligence, knowledge, right reason? Yes. Herein, then, seek simply the nature of the Good."—[Epictetus: I.: 3: II.: 8.

Of his want of popular success in his teaching, he says himself:—

"Who among us, for the sake of this matter, has consulted a seer? Who among us, as to his actions, has not slept in indifference? Who? Give [name] to me one: that I may see the man whom I have been looking for long, who is truly noble and ingenuous, whether young or old. Name him!"—[II.: 16.

XXXVIII.: p. 45.—"Atheism is but false reasoning, single; but superstition is a disorder of the mind, produced by this false reasoning. . . Atheism is an absolute insensibility to God, which does not recognize goodness: while superstition is a blind heap of passions, which imagine the good to be evil."—[Plutarch: Of Superstit., 2; 6. "Morals": Boston ed., 1874: Vol. 1: pp. 169, 174.

XXXIX.: p. 46.—Theodore Parker was an energetic theist, not a pantheist: yet hardly any passage in his writings is more beautiful in form and fancy than that in which he seeks to show the genesis of poetic and philosophic pantheism:—

"The All of things appears so beautiful to the comprehensive eye, that we almost think it is its own Cause and Creator. The animals find their support and their pleasure; the painted leopard and the snowy swan, each living by its own law; the bird of passage that pursues, from zone to zone, its unmarked path; the summer warbler which sings out its melodious existence in the woodbine; the flowers that come unasked, charming the youthful year; the golden fruit maturing in its wilderness of green; the dew and the rainbow; the frost-flake and the mountain snow; the glories that wait upon the morning, or sing the sun to his ambrosial rest; the pomp of the sun at noon, amid the clouds of a June day; the awful pomp of night, when all the stars come out, and tread their round, and seem to watch in blest tranquillity about the slumbering world; the moon waning and waxing, walking in beauty through the night: daily the water is rough with the winds; they come or abide at no man's bidding, and roll the yellow corn, or make religious music at night-fall in the pines;—these things are all so fair, so wondrous, so wrapt in mystery, it is no marvel that men say, This is divine. Yes, the All is God. He is the light of the morning, the beauty of the noon, and the strength of the sun. . . The soul of all; more moving than motion; more stable than rest; fairer than beauty, and stronger than strength. The power of nature is God."—["Discourse of Religion"; Boston ed., 1842: pp. 89–90.

XL.: p. 46.—"Know, at the outset, that heaven and earth, and the watery plains, and the moon's lucent orb, and Titan's shining stars, a spirit within keeps alive: a mind pervading each limb stirs the whole mass, and mingles with the mighty body. Hence spring the races of men and beasts, and living things with wings, and the strange forms which the ocean bears beneath his marble surface."—[Virgil: Æneid: VI.: 724, *et seq.*

"As Plato's real opinion, however, we can only maintain this much, that the [world] soul—diffused throughout the universe, and by virtue of its nature ceaselessly self-moving, according to fixed laws—causes

the division as well as the motion of matter in the heavenly spheres: and that its harmony and life are revealed in the order and courses of the stars. The Timaeus also connects the intelligence of the World-Soul with its motion and harmonious distribution."—[Zeller: "Plato, and the Older Academy"; London ed., 1876: p. 357.

Perhaps as distinct a statement as any of the pantheistic scheme of thought is the following, from the Upanishads:—

"He is my self within the heart; smaller than a corn of rice, smaller than a barley-corn, smaller than a mustard-seed, smaller than a canary-seed,—yea, than the kernel of a canary-seed! He also is my self, within the heart; greater than the earth, greater than the sky, greater than heaven, greater than all these worlds. He from whom all works, all desires, all sweet odours and tastes proceed, who embraces all this, who never speaks and is never surprised, He, my self within the heart, is that Brâhman."—[Quoted in Rhys Davids' Lects. on "Indian Buddhism"; New York ed., 1882: pp. 209–10.

"The personal Brahman, like the impersonal, was the result of theory and meditation; in both, Brahman was a product of reflection, without life and ethical force, without participation in the fortunes of men and states, without love and anger, without sympathy and pity; a colourless, abstract, super-personal, and therefore impersonal being, the strictest opposite of that mighty personality into which the Jehovah of the Hebrews grew, owing to the historical, practical, and ethical development of the conception."—[Duncker: "History of Antiquity"; London ed., 1880: Vol. 4: p. 160.

XLI.: p. 47.—"Rightly understood, the Persian doctrine knows but of one true perfect God, under a personal conception; and he only appears in the Zend writings with all the properties and prerogatives of deity. His name Ormuzd [Ahura-Mazda] signifies 'the eternally wise'; he is the all-wise and all-powerful creator and sovereign of the world. . . Over against the author of all that is good and pure, there stands a hostile being, an evil spirit called Druckhs (Lie). . . But is he from Eternity? The Parsi doctrine knows of no abstract and absolute dualism; nay, according to one passage, 'the good as well as the evil spirit was created by Ormuzd'; and Ahriman is always placed far below Ormuzd."—[Döllinger: "The Gentile and the Jew"; London ed., 1862: Vol. 1: pp. 385–7.

"This merely philosophical doctrine is not to be confounded with his theology, according to which he [Zarathushtra] acknowledged only one God, as will be clearly seen from the second Gâtha."—[Haug: "Religion of the Parsis"; London ed., 1878: p. 149.

As striking an instance as will probably ever be given, in a highly developed civilization, of the way in which men limit God's power or

reject His unity, when reasoning from the sadder phenomena of the world, and discarding the Christian Revelation, is presented by Stuart Mill in his "Essays on Religion." The resolute and serious Englishman simply goes back to the thought of one section of his Aryan ancestors, thousands of years before:—

"Nearly all the things which men are hanged or imprisoned for doing to one another, are Nature's every-day performances. Killing, the most criminal act recognized by human laws, Nature does once to every being that lives; and in a large proportion of cases, after protracted tortures, such as only the greatest monsters whom we read of ever purposely inflicted on their living fellow-creatures. . . Nature impales men, breaks them as if on the wheel, casts them to be devoured by wild beasts, burns them to death, crushes them with stones like the first Christian martyr, starves them with hunger, freezes them with cold, poisons them by the quick or slow venom of her exhalations, and has hundreds of other hideous deaths in reserve, such as the ingenious cruelty of a Nabis or a Domitian never surpassed. . . Nature has *Noyades* more fatal than those of Carrier; her explosions of fire-damp are as destructive as human artillery; her plague and cholera far surpass the poison-cups of the Borgias. . . Anarchy, and the Reign of Terror, are overmatched in injustice, ruin, and death, by a hurricane and a pestilence. . . . . One only form of belief in the supernatural—one only theory respecting the origin and government of the universe—stands wholly clear both of intellectual contradiction and of moral obliquity. It is that which, resigning irrevocably the idea of an omnipotent creator, regards Nature and Life, not as the expression throughout of the moral character and purpose of the Deity, but as the product of a struggle between contriving goodness and an intractable material, as was believed by Plato, or a Principle of Evil, as was the doctrine of the Manicheans."—[Mill: "Essays on Religion"; New York ed., 1874· pp. 28–31, 116.

XLII.: p. 47.—"Who knows not, O Bithynian Volusius, what monsters crazy Egypt worships! One part of the people adores the crocodile; another trembles before an ibis glutted with serpents. The golden image of the sacred tailed-monkey shines among the effigies of the gods, where the magic chords resound from Memnon broken in twain, and ancient Thebes with her hundred gates lies overwhelmed in ruin. At one point they venerate fish from the sea, at another fish of the river, at yet another whole cities worship a dog; no one Diana. A leek and an onion it is impious to dishonor and break with the teeth. O holy nations, for whom such Deities grow in their gardens"!—[Juvenal: Sat. XV.: 1–11.

XLIII.: p. 48.—"He [Heraclitus] personifies this divine element

[Fire], and says that men are mortal gods, and gods immortal men our life is the death of the gods, and our death their life."—[Zeller: "Hist. of Greek Philosophy": [Pre-Socratic]; London ed., 1881: Vol. 2: p. 84.

XLIV.: p. 48.—"The fact is, Theism is also a tradition, and not, as is claimed, a universal intuition of the soul. It is no more a universal intuition than the Holy Ghost is a universal intuition, than miraculous mediation is a universal intuition. It is the intuition of such souls only as happen to come within the range of that particular pencil of light with which Hebrew tradition has streaked the world's history. The larger portion of the human family have always been, and are still, without that illumination, and without that idea: and he who fancies that outside of this historic beam he would have had the idea of God which he now has, confounds traditional experience with original intuition. . . The idea of one only God, self-existent, almighty, wise and good, Creator and Father of all, is a Hebrew tradition. The conceptions which simulate this idea in other faiths will be found, on closer inspection, to have but little affinity with it."—[Frederick H. Hedge, D.D., *Christian Examiner*, September, 1864: pp. 150–151.

"And if we are asked how this one Abraham possessed not only the primitive intuition of God as He had revealed Himself to all mankind, but passed through the denial of all other gods to the knowledge of the One God, we are content to answer that it was by a special Divine Revelation. We do not indulge in theological phraseology, but we mean every word to its fullest extent. The Father of Truth chooses His own prophets, and He speaks to them in a voice stronger than the voice of thunder. It is the same inner voice through which God speaks to all of us. That voice may dwindle away, and become hardly audible: it may lose its Divine accent, and sink into the language of worldly prudence: but it may also, from time to time, assume its real nature with the chosen of God, and sound into their ears as a voice from Heaven."—[Max Müller: "Chips from a German Workshop"; New York ed., 1881: Vol. 1: pp. 367–8.

"However, this must be confessed, that under the guidance of Divine Providence, the great and beautiful doctrine of one God seems most early embraced by the great Jewish Lawgiver: incorporated in his national legislation: defended with rigorous enactments, and slowly communicated to the world. At our day it is difficult to understand the service rendered to the human race by the mighty soul of Moses, and that a thousand years before Anaxagoras was born. His name is ploughed into the history of the world. His influence can never die."—[Theodore Parker: "Discourse of Religion"; Boston ed. 1842: p. 101.

XLV.: p. 49.—"Clearchus, who was the scholar of Aristotle, and inferior to no one of the Peripatetics, says that Aristotle his master related what follows of a Jew: . . 'The man was by birth a Jew, and came from Coelo-Syria. . . Now this man, when he was hospitably treated by a great many, came down from the upper country to the places near the sea, and became a Grecian, not only in his language, but in his soul also: insomuch that when we ourselves happened to be in Asia, about the same places whither he came, he conversed with us, and with other philosophical persons, and made a trial of our skill in philosophy: and, as he had lived with many learned men, he communicated to us more information than he received from us.' This is Aristotle's account of the matter, as given us by Clearchus."—[Josephus: adv. Apion: 1: 23.

"This philosopher [Aristotle], seeing that a court was about to be summoned to try him, on the ground of his being guilty of impiety, on account of certain of his philosophical tenets which the Athenians regarded as impious, withdrew from Athens, and fixed his school in Chalcis, defending his course by saying: 'Let us depart from Athens, that we may not give the Athenians a handle for incurring guilt a second time, as formerly in the case of Socrates.'"—[Origen: adv. Celsus: 1: 65.

XLVI.: p. 50.—"The rays of light which bear witness to the existence of these worlds circling in their unfathomable depths, have many of them required millions of years to reach our planet. Many of those brilliant orbs might have become extinct ages ago, and yet their rays, sent forth up to the moment of their destruction, would still announce their past glory to countless worlds. Thus with every improvement of the telescope not only the magnitude, but also the age, of the visible universe increases; and as we dive deeper and deeper into the abysses of celestial space, we also plunge deeper and deeper into the ocean of the past; and if we could fly to those islands of light, which even our giant telescopes are scarce able to reveal, we still should be only on the threshold of new worlds, and how far should we have to fly before we reached the regions of formless void, if such there be"!—[Hartwig "Harmonies of Nature"; New York ed., 1866: pp. 9–10.

XLVII.: p. 52.—"But, in the market-place of the Athenians, there are other works which are not obvious to every one, and among the rest an altar of Pity: which divinity, as she is above all others beneficial to human life, amid the mutability of human affairs, is alone among all the Greeks reverenced by the Athenians."—[Pausanias: 'Descript. of Greece": I.: 17.

XLVIII.: p. 54.—"Cæsar, the Dictator, they say, having on one occasion accidentally had a fall in his chariot, was always in the habit, immediately on taking his seat, of repeating three times a certain formula, with the view of ensuring safety upon the journey; a thing that to my own knowledge is done by many persons at the present day."—[Pliny: Hist. Nat.: XXVIII.: 4.

XLIX.: p. 55.—"It is becoming to a man to speak what is good concerning the Deities, for so is blame the less. . . To me it is impossible to call either of the Blessed Ones a glutton; I stand aloof from such a thought."—[Pindar: Olymp. Ode: I.

"It is said of Pindar, that when he was a young man, as he was going to Thespia, being wearied with the heat, as it was noon, and in the height of summer, he fell asleep, at a small distance from the public road; and that bees, as he was asleep, flew to him, and wrought their honey on his lips. This circumstance first induced Pindar to compose verses. But when his reputation spread through all Greece, the Pythian deity raised his glory to a still greater height, by ordering the Delphi to assign to Pindar an equal part of those first-fruits which were offered to Apollo."—[Pausanias: "Descript. of Greece": IX.: 23.

L.: p. 55.—"They [the tales preserved at Athens] speak of the gods in prose as well as verse, . . and as they proceed not far from the beginning they narrate the birth of the gods, and how after they were born they behaved to one another. Whether these stories have a good or a bad influence I should not like to be severe on them, because they are ancient; but I must say that, looking at them with reference to the duties of children to their parents, I cannot praise them, or think that they are useful, or at all true. . . He who would be dear to God must, as far as is possible, be like him, and such as he is. . . And this is the conclusion, which is also the noblest and truest of all sayings: That for the good man to offer sacrifice to the gods, and hold converse with them by means of prayers and offerings, and every kind of service, is the noblest and best of all things, and also the most conducive to a happy life, and very fit and meet. But with the bad man, the opposite of this holds; . . and from one who is polluted, neither a good man nor God is right in receiving gifts."—[Plato: "Laws": X.: 886; IV.: 716.

LI.: p. 55.—"To the Gods he [Socrates] simply prayed that they would give him good things; as believing that the Gods knew best what things are good. . . He said that it would not become the Gods to delight in large rather than in small sacrifices; since, if such were the case, the offerings of the bad would often be more acceptable to them than those of the good; . . but he thought that the Gods had

the most pleasure in the offerings of the most pious."—[Xenophon: Memor., I.: 3; 2, 3.

LII.: p. 55.—

"But pride begets the mood
Of wanton, tyrant power;
Pride, filled with many thoughts, yet filled in vain,
Untimely, ill-advised,
Scaling the topmost height,
Falls to the abyss of woe,
Where step that profiteth
It seeks in vain to take."

[Sophocles: Œdipus, the King: (Plumptre's Trans.); 874–878.

The injuries which the Gods send are often, however, irrespective of character in those who suffer them:—

"Such ills, at any rate, were those I fell on,
The Gods still leading me; nor can I think
My father's soul, if it returned to life,
Would plead against me here."

["Œdipus, at Colonos": 995–999.

"Let no man, in his scorn of present fortune,
And thirst for other, mar his good estate;
Zeus is the avenger of o'er-lofty thoughts,
A terrible controller. Therefore now,
Since voice of God bids him be wise of heart,
Admonish him with counsel true and good
To cease his daring sacrilegious pride."

[Æschylus: "The Persians": (Plumptre's Trans.); 821–827.

Yet the same poet says also, by the chorus:

"Who, Zeus excepted, doth not pity thee
In these thine ills? But He,
Ruthless, with soul unbent,
Subdues the heavenly host, nor will he cease
Until his heart be satiate with power,
Or some one seize with subtle stratagem
The sovereign might that so resistless seemed."

["Prometheus Bound": 167–174.

LIII.: p. 55.—"The God of Christians is a God who makes the soul feel that He is its only good; that all its repose is in Him, and that it will have no joy but in loving Him; who makes it at the same time abhor the obstacles which restrain it, and hinder it from loving Him with all its strength. The self-love and concupiscence which arrest it become insupportable to it. This God makes the soul feel that it has this

self-love deeply grounded in it, and that He alone can cure it."—[Pascal: "Pensées": Sec. Par., Art. XV.: 2.

LIV.: p. 56.—"One of their most striking features [of the Foraminifera] is their marvellous minuteness. James Plancus, who first discovered them in the strand of Rimini, in the year 1731, counted about 6,000 of their shells in a single ounce of drift-sand; and Professor Schultze, of Bonn, found no less than a million and a half in the same quantity of pulverized quartz, from the shore of Mola di Gaeta. . . On examining a plate of mosaic through a microscope of very moderate strength, it looks no better than the roughest patchwork of a savage, while the unparalleled perfection of the butterfly's wing first comes to light under a strong magnifying power. . . Each scale is itself a masterpiece of art; and many thousands of these minute gems are required to deck the wings of a single butterfly. No monarch is more richly robed than this mean little insect, which each summer brings forth in millions."—[Hartwig: "Harmonies of Nature"; New York ed., 1866: pp. 103, 204–5.

LV.: p. 57.—"Do you not then believe that the gods take thought for men? . . Nor did it satisfy the gods to take care of the body only, but, what is most important of all, they implanted in him the soul, his most excellent part. For what other animal has a soul to understand, first of all, that the gods, who have arranged such a vast and noble order of things, exist? What other species of animals, besides man, offers worship to the gods? . . What, then, must they do, before you will think that they take thought for you?"—[Xenophon: Memor.: I.: 4: 11, 13, 14.

LVI.: p. 57.—"Is it not something worth knowing, worth knowing even to us after the lapse of four or five thousand years, that before the separation of the Aryan race, before the existence of Sanskrit, Greek, or Latin, before the gods of the Veda had been worshipped, and before there was a sanctuary of Zeus among the sacred oaks of Dodona, one supreme deity had been found, had been named, had been invoked by the ancestors of our race, and had been invoked by a name which has never been excelled by any other name?"—[Max Müller: "Science of Religion"; New York ed., 1872: p. 27. See also pp. 71–72.

"If I thoroughly appreciated these first words of the Lord's Prayer, 'Our Father, which art in Heaven,' and really believed that God, who made heaven and earth, and all creatures, and has all things in His hand, was my Father, then should I certainly conclude with myself that I also am a lord of heaven and earth; that Christ is my brother, Gabriel my servant, Raphael my coachman, and all the angels my at-

'endants at need, given unto me by my heavenly Father, to keep me n the path, that unawares I knock not my foot against a stone."—[Luther : Table Talk: XI.

"When the ancients, invoking Jupiter, called him *Pater hominum deorumque*, they did not intend to say that Jupiter was the father of gods and men, for they never considered him as such; they believed, on the contrary, that the human race existed before him. The same title of *Pater* was given to Neptune, to Apollo, to Bacchus, to Vulcan, and to Pluto. These, assuredly, men never considered as their fathers. So, too, the title of *Mater* was applied to Minerva, Diana, and Vesta, who were reputed virgin goddesses. . . The idea of paternity, therefore, was not attached to this word. The old language had another word which properly designated the father, and which, as ancient as *Pater*, is likewise found in the language of the Greeks, of the Romans, and of the Hindus—*gânitar*, γεννητής, *genitor*. The word *pater* had another sense. In religious language they applied it to the gods; in legal language to every man who had a worship and a domain. The poets show us that they applied it to every one whom they wished to honor. . . It contained in itself not the idea of paternity, but that of power, authority, majestic dignity."—[Coulanges : "The Ancient City"; New York ed., 1874 : pp. 116–117.

"The Hindu supreme God is as remote as possible from being a realization of the idea 'my Father'; he is set far beyond Olympus, on the highest and most inaccessible Alpine summits of a chilling and cheerless solitude, separated by a whole series of demiurges from all care of the universe, or participation in the concerns of his creatures."—[Prof. W. D. Whitney : "Oriental and Linguistic Studies": First Series; New York ed., 1872 : p. 94.

"The word Father was, in its original sense [among the Aryans], a title of dignity. It denotes not a physical relation, but an office. So clearly was this conception marked, even in the full development of Roman Law, that, as Ulpian tells us, a childless man, or even a ward, might be a Pater-familias."—[W. E. Hearn : "Aryan Household"; London ed., 1879 : p. 85.

LVII. : p. 58.—" You have often heard me speak of an oracle or sign which comes to me, and is the divinity which Meletus ridicules in the indictment. This sign I have had ever since I was a child. The sign is a voice which comes to me, and always forbids me to do something which I am going to do, but never commands me to do anything; and this is what stands in the way of my being a politician. . . Hitherto the familiar oracle within me has constantly been in the habit of opposing me, even about trifles, if I was going to make a slip or error about anything. . . But the oracle made no sign of opposition, either

as I was leaving my house and going out in the morning, or when I was going up into this court, or, while I was speaking, at anything which I was going to say": *et seq.*—[Plato: "Apology": 31, 40.

"The whole *personnel* of the man had something out of the common and remarkable in it. There was no one to compare him with, was the thought that struck his contemporaries; and people felt the effects of his society as that of an irresistible enchanter. The turn he had for imparting himself to every one, on every opportunity, his ready will, nay eagerness, to engage in single combat with the first and best disputants, joined with the rare gifts of making himself understood by all, great and simple, in their ordinary forms of speech, of developing the germs of investigation and proof in them, while entangling them by concessions the consequences of which they never dreamed of; the artistic power of well-weighed dialectic, with which he destroyed unreal knowledge; an ironical instinct, drawing everything into the grasp of his own dissecting processes of thought, while simultaneously undeceiving himself and others;—all this contributed to make him a vision of wonder, past imitation, and a deep and lasting mover of souls. . . From the time the oracle at Delphi answered his disciple, Chærephon, that no one on earth was wiser than Socrates, he considered himself as a missionary, consecrated to the service of the deity, and his exertions in teaching as obedience to that divine voice."—[Döllinger: "The Gentile and the Jew": London ed., 1862: Vol. 1: pp. 273–4.

LVIII.: p. 60.—Sokr. "It is necessary therefore to wait until one shall learn what ought to be his attitude towards gods and towards men."

Alk. "When then, Sokrates, will this time come, and who will instruct us? For I think nothing would give me more pleasure than to see that man."

Sokr. "He that watches over you. But I think that, just as Homer says that Athene took away the cloud from the eyes of Diomedes, 'that he might recognize gods and men,' so you ought first to take away from your soul the cloud that now rests upon it, and then use the means which will enable you to discriminate good from evil."—[Alkibiades II.: 150 D.

Athenæus says that by some in antiquity this Dialogue was attributed to Xenophon [Deipnos. XI.: 114]. Modern critics generally regard it as non-Platonic; though Mr. Grote affirms without hesitation its Platonic authorship, supposing it to have been written, perhaps, in the philosopher's early life.—["Plato": London ed., 1867: Vol. 1: pp. 348-361.

LIX.: p. 61.—"An expansion, a corresponding transformation of

the senti nent concerning outward nature, could only proceed from an essential change in the attitude of man toward the physical world. This change was of two kinds. On the one hand, modern contemplation feels intimations in nature of the existence of a universal Spirit, of which the human spirit is really a part, or with which at least it has profound affinities; then also it perceives, in the infinite variety of the phenomena which strike the senses, as it were so many mirrors to reflect the vicissitudes of its own special state; it flatters itself that it can overhear and understand the language of nature, in that majestic silence, that unchangeable purity, that immutable grandeur, in which it seeks and always finds an asylum for escape from the assaults of trouble, and from the foulness and the pettiness of the human condition."—[Friedlaender: "Mœurs Romaines": Paris ed., 1867: Tom. II.: pp. 491–2.

LX.: p. 62.—The vehemence with which Francis Newman rejects Christianity, as a religion supernaturally inspired, only adds emphasis to words like the following:—

"The great doctrine on which all practical religion depends,—the doctrine which nursed the infancy and youth of human nature,—is, 'the sympathy of God with the perfection of individual man.' Among Pagans this was so marred by the imperfect character ascribed to the Gods, and the dishonourable fables told concerning them, that the philosophers who undertook to prune religion too generally cut away the root, by alleging that God was mere Intellect, and wholly destitute of Affection.* But, happily, among the Hebrews the purity of God's character was vindicated; and with the growth of conscience in the highest minds of the nation the ideal image of God shone brighter and brighter. The doctrine of his Sympathy was never lost, and from the Jews it passed into the Christian church. This doctrine, applied to that part of man which is divine, is the well-spring of Repentance and Humility, of Thankfulness, Love, and Joy. It reproves, and it comforts; it stimulates and animates. This it is which led the Psalmist to cry, 'Whom have I in heaven but Thee? there is none upon earth that I desire beside Thee.' This has satisfied prophets, apostles, and martyrs, with God as their Portion. This has been passed from heart to heart for full three thousand years, and has produced bands of countless saints."—["Phases of Faith": London ed., 1881: pp. 173–4.

LXI.: p. 63.—The contrast between the hard atheism and the rever-

* Prof. Newman adds this note: "Horace and Cicero speak the mind of their educated contemporaries, in saying that 'We ought to pray to God *only* for external blessings, but trust to our own efforts for a pure and tranquil soul,'—a singular reversing of spiritual religion"!

ent theism which still face each other in cultivated modern society could hardly be more sharply presented than in the two extracts which follow. Prof. Clifford, in language as startling as any in literature, expels the Creator from the universe, to fill the vacant throne with the creature, of whose imagination he conceives the Divine to have been the product :—

"For, after all, such a helper of men, outside of humanity, the truth will not allow us to see. The dim and shadowy outlines of the superhuman deity fade slowly away from before us; and as the mist of his presence floats aside, we perceive with greater and greater clearness the shape of a yet grander and nobler figure—of Him who made all Gods, and shall unmake them. From the dim dawn of history, and from the inmost depth of every soul, the face of our father Man looks out upon us, with the fire of eternal youth in his eyes, and says: 'Before Jehovah was, I am.'"—["Lectures and Essays": London ed., 1879: Vol. 2: p. 243.

On the other hand, are the noble words of James Martineau:—"The universe gives us the scale of God, and Christ his spirit. We climb to the infinitude of his nature by the awful pathway of the stars, where whole forests of worlds silently quiver here and there, like a small leaf of light. We dive into his eternity, through the ocean waves of time, that roll and solemnly break on the imagination, as we trace the wrecks of departed things upon our present globe. The scope of his intellect, and the majesty of his rule, are seen in the tranquil order and everlasting silence that reign through the fields of his volition. And the spirit that animates the whole is like that of the Prophet of Nazareth; the thoughts that fly upon the swift light throughout creation, charged with fates unnumbered, are like the healing mercies of One who passed no sorrow by. . . A faith that spreads around and within the mind a Deity thus sublime and holy, feeds the life of every pure affection, and presses with omnipotent power on the conscience; and our only prayer is, that we may walk as children of such light!"—["Studies of Christianity": Boston ed., 1866: p. xx.

NOTES TO LECTURE III.

NOTE I.: PAGE 70.—"Buddha had known his own earlier existences. The tradition of the Singhalese ascribes to him 550 earlier lives, before he saw the light as the son of Çuddhodana. He had lived as a rat and a crow, as a frog and a hare, as a dog and a pig, twice as a fish, six times as a snipe, four times as a golden eagle, four times as a peacock and as a serpent, ten times as a goose, as a deer, and as a lion, six times as an elephant, four times as a horse and as a bull, eighteen times as an ape, four times as a slave, three times as a potter, thirteen times as a merchant, twenty-four times as a Brahman and as a prince, fifty-eight times as a king, twenty times as the god Indra, and four times as Mahabrahman. Buddha had not only known his own earlier existences, but those of all other living creatures; and this supernatural knowledge, this divine omniscience, was ascribed to those who after him attained the rank of Arhats."—[Duncker: "History of Antiquity"; London ed., 1880: Vol. 4: p. 487.

II.: p. 70.—The "Discussion with Townley," from which these sentences are quoted, is not contained in the "Collected Writings" of Holyoake [2 vols.]: but the following, from his essay on "The Logic of Death," appear to bear the same significance:—

"Man witnesses those near and dear to him perish before his eyes, and despite his supplications. He walks through no rose-water world, and no special Providence smooths his path. . . Man is weak, and a special Providence gives him no strength—distracted, and no counsel,—ignorant, and no wisdom—in despair, and no consolation—in distress, and no relief—in darkness, and no light. The existence of God, therefore, whatever it may be in the hypotheses of philosophy, seems not recognizable in daily life. It is in vain to say, 'God governs by general laws.' General laws are inevitable fate. General laws are atheistical. They say, practically, 'we are without God in the world—man, look to thyself: weak though thou mayest be, Nature is thy hope.' And even so it is. Would I escape the keen wind's blast, I seek shelter, from the yawning waves I look up, not to Heaven, but to naval architecture. In the fire-damp, Davy is more to me than the Deity of

creeds. All nature cries, with one voice, 'Science is the Providence of man.'"—[p. 7.

III.: p. 71.—"And first as to their birth. Their ancestors [of the brave Athenian dead] were not strangers, nor are these their descendants sojourners only, whose fathers have come from another country; but they are the children of the soil, dwelling and living in their own land. And the country which brought them up is not like other countries, a step-mother to her children, but their own true mother: she bore them, and nourished them, and received them, and in her bosom they now repose. . . At the time when the whole earth was sending forth and creating diverse animals, tame and wild, this our mother was free and pure from savage monsters, and out of all animals selected and brought forth man, who is superior to the rest in understanding, and who alone has justice and religion. And a great proof that she was the mother of us and of our ancestors, is that she provided the means of support for her offspring. . . And when she had herself nursed them, and brought them up to manhood, she gave them gods, to be their rulers and teachers."—[Plato: Menexenus: 237–8.

Euripides, in the Ion, refers familiarly to the 'earth-born Athenian people,' who have risen to great renown. (29, 589, 737.)

"The Athenians were the first who laid aside arms, and adopted an easier and more luxurious way of life. Quite recently, the old-fashioned refinement of dress still lingered among the elder men of their richer class, who wore under-garments of linen, and bound back their hair in a knot, with golden clasps in the form of grasshoppers; and the same customs long survived among the elders of Ionia, having been derived from their Athenian ancestors."—[Thucydides: I.: 6.

IV.: p. 72.—"This plant, which by its nature should be akin to our common milk-weed, furnishes like the latter an abundant milky juice, which, when fermented, possesses intoxicating qualities. In this circumstance, it is believed, lies the explanation of the whole matter [of the Soma-ritual]. The simple-minded Aryan people, whose whole religion was a worship of the wonderful powers and phenomena of nature, had no sooner perceived that this liquid had power to elevate the spirits and produce a temporary frenzy, under the influence of which the individual was prompted to, and capable of, deeds beyond his natural powers, than they found in it something divine; it was to their apprehension a god, endowing those into whom it entered with godlike powers; the plant which afforded it became to them the king of plants; the process of preparing it was a holy sacrifice; the instruments used therefor were sacred. . . Soma is there addressed [in certain hymns of the Veda] as a god, in the highest strains of adulation and veneration; all powers be-

long to him; all blessings are besought of him, as his to bestow."—[Prof. W. D. Whitney: "Oriental and Linguistic Studies": First Series; New York ed., 1872: pp. 10–11.

V.: p. 74.—"Every one will admit that a nature thus gifted, and having all the supposed conditions of the philosophic nature perfect, is a plant that rarely grows among men—there are not many of them."—[Plato: "Republic": VI.: 491.

"It is clear, then, that some men are free by nature, and others are slaves; and that, in the case of the latter, the lot of slavery is both advantageous and just. . . It is evident that some persons are slaves, and others freemen, by the appointment of nature; and also that in some instances there are two distinct classes, for the one of whom it is expedient to be a slave, and for the other to be a master; and that it is right and just that some should be governed, and that others should exercise that government for which they are fitted by nature. . . A slave can have no deliberative faculty, a woman but a weak one, a child an imperfect one. . . A slave is one of those things which are by nature what they are."—[Aristotle: "Politics": I.: 5, 6, 13.

VI.: p. 74.—"If any habitation there be for the shades of the virtuous: if, as is supposed by philosophers, great souls are not extinguished with the body: may you [O Agricola] tranquilly there repose, and call us, your household, from weak regret and womanish lamentations to the contemplation of your virtues, which it is not permissible either to mourn for or bewail. Let us adorn thee with a true admiration, rather than with any fleeting praises, and, if nature will supply help, with our eager emulation."—[Tacitus: Agric. Vit.: XLVI.

VII.: p. 74.—"Since the Brâhman sprang from the most exalted part, since he was the first-born, since he possesses the Véda, he is by right the chief of the whole creation. Him, the Being who exists of himself, produced in the beginning from his own mouth: that, having performed holy rites, he might present clarified butter to the Gods, and cakes of rice to the progenitors of mankind, for the preservation of this world. What created being then can surpass Him, with whose mouth the Gods of the firmament continually feast on clarified butter, and the manes of ancestors on hallowed cakes?"—["Laws of Menu": chap. 1: 93–5: Works of Sir W. Jones; London ed., 1807: Vol. 7: p. 106.

"The Brahmans are nearest to Brahman: in them the essence of Brahman, the holy spirit, the power of sanctification, lives in greater force than in the rest; they emanated from Brahman before the others; they are the first-born order. . . Even though the theory of the

World-soul remained unintelligible to the many, they understood that the Brahmans, who busied themselves with sacrifice, prayers, and sacred things, stood nearer to the deity than they did; they understood that if they misconducted themselves toward the sacred race, or disregarded the vocation of birth, they must expect endless torments in hell, and endless regenerations in the most loathsome worms and insects, or in the despised class of the Çudras—'those animals in human form.'"—[Duncker: "History of Antiquity"; London ed., 1880: Vol. 4: pp. 134, 142–3.

"Caste is not merely the symbol of Hinduism; but, according to the testimony of all who have studied it on the spot, it is its stronghold. It is this, much more than their creeds, which attaches the masses to these vague religions, and gives them such astonishing vitality."—[A. Barth: "Religions of India"; Boston ed., 1882: Preface, p. xvii.

VIII.: p. 75.—"These souls [of gods, men, and animals] go forth from Brahman like sparks from a crackling fire—a metaphor common in the book of the law—they are of one essence with Brahman, and parts of the great World-soul. This soul is in the world, but also outside and above it: to it must everything return, for all that is not Brahman is impure, without foundation, and perishable. . . There is only one Being: this is the highest soul, and besides this there is nothing; what seems to exist beyond this is mere illusion. . . Nature is nothing but the play of illusion, appearing in splendour, and then disappearing. . . The movement and action of living beings is not caused by the sparks of Brahman dwelling in them—for Brahman is consistently regarded as single and at rest—but by the bodies and senses, which, being of themselves appearance and deception, adopt and reflect the deception of Maya."—[Duncker: "History of Antiquity"; London ed., 1880: Vol. 4: pp. 300–301.

IX.: p. 75.—"Here lay the secret of Buddha's success. He addressed himself to castes and outcasts. He promised salvation to all; and he commanded his disciples to preach his doctrine in all places and to all men. A sense of duty, extending from the narrow limits of the house, the village, and the country, to the widest circle of mankind, a feeling of sympathy and brotherhood towards all men; the idea, in fact, of humanity, was in India first pronounced by Buddha. . . 'Nothing is stable on earth,' he used to say, 'nothing is real. Life is like the spark produced by the friction of wood. It is lighted, and is extinguished,—we know not whence it came or whither it goes. It is like the sound of a lyre, and the wise man asks in vain from whence it came and whither it goes.' . . Difficult as it seems to us to conceive

it, Buddha admits of no real cause of this unreal world. He denies the existence not only of a Creator, but of any Absolute Being. According to the metaphysical tenets, if not of Buddha himself, at least of his sect, there is no reality anywhere, neither in the past nor in the future. True wisdom consists in perceiving the nothingness of all things, and in a desire to become nothing, to be blown out, to enter into Nirvâna. Emancipation is obtained by total extinction, not by absorption into Brahman, or by a recovery of the soul's true estate. If to be is misery, not to be must be felicity; and this felicity is the highest reward which Buddha promised to his disciples."—[Max Müller: "Chips," etc.; New York ed., 1881: Vol. 1: pp. 252, 207, 227–8.

"We shall confine ourselves to the remark that there is not a shadow of evidence that the social problem was ever agitated among the semi-agricultural, semi-pastoral tribes, in the midst of which Buddha spent his life, or that there was any thought of disputing the right of the Brahmans, which indeed was at bottom their great privilege, to be the bearers of the Veda, and by claim of blood to be the ministers of certain religious rites. . . One fact more is enough to discredit this theory [that Buddhism represented a reaction against the *régime* of caste]: it is that Buddhism, at the time when it was dominant, never in the slightest interfered with caste in the countries where it happened still to exist; and not only did it not do so—it was it which in all probability imported caste into countries where it did not yet exist, viz., into the Dekhan, Ceylon, the isles of Sunda, and wherever a considerable number of Hindu people followed in its train."—[Barth: "Religions of India"; Boston ed., 1882: p. 125.

Oldenburg says, as quoted by Kuenen: "We can understand how in our times Buddha should have had the rôle assigned to him of a social reformer, who broke the oppressive chains of caste, and won a place for the poor and humble in the spiritual kingdom which he founded. But if any one would really sketch the work of Buddha, he must, for truth's sake, distinctly deny that the glory of any such deed, under whatever form it may be conceived, really belongs to him. If we permit ourselves to speak of the democratic element in Buddhism, we must at any rate keep the full prominence of this fact before our eyes: that the idea of reforming the life of the state, in any direction whatsoever, was absolutely foreign to the circles in which Buddhism arose."—["National and Universal Religions"; New York ed., 1882: pp. 262–3.

X.: p. 77.—"'Shall I further add that the Hellenic race is all united by ties of blood and friendship, and alien and strange to the barbarians?' 'Very good,' he said. 'And therefore when Hellenes fight with barbarians, and barbarians with Hellenes, they will be described

by us as being at war when they fight, and by nature in a state of war?'"—[Plato: "Republic": V.: 470.

XI.: p. 80.—"All Brahminical acts, services, sacraments, imply an effort or scheme on the part of the creature to raise himself to God. All Christian acts, services, sacraments, imply that God has sought for the creature, that He might raise him to Himself. The differences in our thoughts of God, of the priest, of the sacrifice, all go back to this primary difference."—[F. D. Maurice: "Religions of the World"; London ed., 1877: pp. 183–4.

XII.: p. 80.—This tone of questioning doubt in the ethnic religions, contrasting strongly with the authoritative instructions of the Hebrew and the Christian Scriptures, is well illustrated in the translation of the 129th hymn of the tenth book of the Rig-Veda:—

"Comes this spark from earth,
"Piercing and all pervading, or from heaven?
"Then seeds were sown, and mighty powers arose—
"Nature below, and power and will above—
"Who knows the secret? who proclaimed it here,
"Whence, whence, this manifold creation sprang?
"The gods themselves came later into being—
"Who knows from whence this great creation sprang?
"He from whom all this great creation came,
"Whether his will created or was mute,
"The Most High Seer that is in highest heaven,
"He knows it—or perchance even He knows not."

[Max Müller: "Chips," etc.; New York ed., 1881: Vol. 1: p. 77.

A sentence quoted from Dr. Haug's translation of the Avesta illustrates the same thing:—

"That I will ask Thee, tell me it right, thou living God! Who is holding the earth, and the skies above it? Who made the waters, and the trees of the field? Who is in the winds and storms that they so quickly run? Who is the Creator of the good-minded beings, thou Wise?"—[Vol. 1: pp. 123–4.

XIII.: p. 80.—"All good poets, epic as well as lyric, compose their beautiful poems not as works of art, but because they are inspired and possessed; . . for they tell us that they gather their strains from honied fountains, out of the gardens and dells of the Muses: thither, like the bees, they wing their way; and this is true. For the poet is a light and winged and holy thing, and there is no invention in him until he has been inspired and is out of his senses, and the mind is no

longer in him: when he has not attained to this state, he is powerless, and is unable to utter his oracles. . . For in this way the God would seem to indicate to us, and not allow us to doubt, that their beautiful poems are not human, and the work of man, but divine, and the work of the gods; and that the poets are only the interpreters of the gods by whom they are severally possessed."—[Plato: "Ion": 533, 534.

"The poet [of the ancient Epic]—like the prophet whom he so much resembles,—sings under heavenly guidance, inspired by the goddess to whom he has prayed for her assisting impulse. She puts the word into his mouth, and the incidents into his mind; he is a privileged man, chosen as her organ, and speaking from her revelations. As the Muse grants the gift of song to whom she will, so she sometimes in her anger snatches it away, and the most consummate human genius is then left silent and helpless."—[Grote: "History of Greece": London ed., 1872: Vol. 1: p. 323.

"The god himself chooses the organs of his communications: and, as a sign that it is no human wisdom and art which reveals the divine will, Apollo speaks through the mouth of feeble girls and women. The state of inspiration is by no means one of specially heightened powers, but the human being's own powers—nay, own consciousness—are, as it were, extinguished, in order that the divine voice may be heard all the louder; the secret communicated by the god resembles a load oppressing the breast it visits: it is a *clairvoyance* from which no satisfaction accrues to the mind of the seer. This seer or sibyl is accordingly not herself capable of revelation; the things announced by her are as incomprehensible to her as to her hearers; so that an interpretation is necessary to enable men to avail themselves of the prophecy."—[Curtius: "History of Greece"; New York ed., 1871: Vol. 2: p. 14.

XIV.: p. 81.—"Zeus, or the king, is a judge, not a law-maker; he issues decrees or special orders to settle particular disputes, or to restrain particular men." Poseidôn, though second in power only to Zeus, "has no share in those imperial and superintending capacities which the Father of gods and men exhibits." To Zeus belong "the commanding functions of the supreme God, judicial and administrative, extending both over gods and men."—[Grote: "Hist. of Greece"; London ed., 1872: Vol. 2: p. 24 (note); Vol. 1: pp. 52, 57.

"The conclusion is inevitable that the decisive precepts which we find in the collection [Laws of Menu] must have been put together and written down about the year 600 [B.C.]. The introduction [which attributes the laws to the Highest being, and which 'is completely ignored in the body of the text'] belongs undoubtedly to a later period. . . In any case it is clear that the laws of Menu are the oldest book of law in

India, in their contents and theory of law."—[Duncker: "Hist. of Antiquity"; London ed., 1880: Vol. 4: pp. 195, 196, 197 (note).

"This book gives striking evidence of the mixture characteristic of the Indian nature; a mixture of superstitious fancy and keen distinction, of vague cloudiness and punctilious systematising, of soaring theory and subtle craft, of sound sense and over-refinement in reflection."—[p. 192.

XV.: p. 82.—The whole passage, from which the familiar words quoted in the text are taken, is singularly lofty and impressive:—

"Two things fill the soul with ever new and increasing admiration and awe, the oftener and the more steadily one holds them in contemplation: the starry Heavens above me, and the moral Law within me. I need not search for or imagine either of them, as if they were held in darkness, or were in a transcendental sphere, beyond the circle of my sight. I see them before me, and associate them immediately with the consciousness of my existence. The first acts upon me from the place which I occupy in the exterior world of the senses, and extends the connection in which I stand into immeasurable vastness, with worlds upon worlds, and systems of systems, even moreover into the boundless times of their periodic motion, its commencement and its duration. The second begins its action with my invisible self, my own personality, and stations me in a world which has true infinitude, but which is only to be traced by the intellect, and with which—as thereby also at the same time with all yonder visible worlds—I recognize myself as in a connection not merely accidental, but universal and necessary."—[Kant: "Sämmtliche Werke": Leipzig: 1867–8: Band V.: S. 167, f.

XVI.: p. 82.—"In the moral and ritual law, as in a shell, is hidden the sweet kernel of a promise, that he [God] will one day exhibit the ideal of righteousness in living form, and give the penitent sinner pardon for all his transgressions, and the power to fulfill the law. Without such assurance the law were bitter irony."—[Schaff: "History of Christian Church"; New York ed., 1882: Vol. 1: p. 67.

XVII.: p. 85.—"Let there be one word concerning all marriages. Every man shall follow, not after the marriage which is most pleasing to himself, but after that which is most beneficial to the state. . . When plays are ordered with a view to children having the same plays, and amusing themselves after the same manner, and finding delight in the same playthings, the more solemn institutions of the state are allowed to remain undisturbed. . He who changes the sports is secretly changing the manners of the young, and making the old to be dishonored among them, and the new to be honored. . . Let our

decree be as follows:—No one, in singing or dancing, shall offend against the public and consecrated models, and the general fashion among the youth, any more than he would offend against any other law. . . Shall we make a law that the poet shall compose nothing contrary to the ideas of the lawful, or just, or beautiful, or good, which are allowed in the state? Nor shall he be permitted to show his compositions to any private individuals, until he shall have shown them to the appointed judges, and the guardians of the law, and they are satisfied with them. . . Nor shall any one dare to sing a song which has not been approved by the judgment of the guardians of the laws, not even if his strain be sweeter than the songs of Thamyras and Orpheus; but only such poems as have been judged sacred and dedicated to the Gods, and such as are the works of good men, works of praise or blame, which have been deemed to fulfil their design fairly."—[Plato: "Laws": VI.: 773; VII.: 797, 800, 801; VIII.: 829.

XVIII.: p. 85.—"We here see a broad line between Christianity and other systems, and a striking proof of its originality and elevation. Other systems were framed for communities; Christianity approached men as Individuals. It proposed, not the glory of the state, but the perfection of the individual mind. So far from being contrived to build up political power, Christianity tends to reduce and gradually to supplant it, by teaching men to substitute the sway of truth and love for menace and force, by spreading through all ranks a feeling of brotherhood altogether opposed to the spirit of domination, and by establishing principles which nourish self-respect in every human being, and teach the obscurest to look with an undazzled eye on the most powerful of their race."—[Dr. Channing: Works; Boston ed., 1843: Vol. 3: p. 365.

XIX.: p. 85.—"The Fates lead us, and whatever awaits any one in life the first hour of his birth has determined. One cause depends on another cause, and the long order of things draws with it all events, whether public or private."—[Seneca: De Provid.: v.

"In the same way as the water of rushing streams does not flow back upon itself, nor even tarry in its course, because that which comes behind pushes forward what precedes: so the eternal series of Fate governs [or rolls on] the order of things—whose first law is to stand immovably by what is decreed. But what do you understand Fate to be? I consider it that necessity of all things and actions which no force may break. If you think that this is to be prevailed upon by sacrifices, and by offering the white head of a lamb, you do not understand Divine things."—[Nat. Quaest.: II.: 35, 36.

XX.: p. 86.—"If some aspiring party of this day, the great Orleans

family, or a branch of the Hohenzollern, wishing to found a kingdom, were to profess, as their only weapon, the practice of virtue, they would not startle us more than it startled a Jew eighteen hundred years ago, to be told that his glorious Messiah was not to fight, but simply to preach. It is indeed a thought so strange, both in its prediction and in its fulfilment, as urgently to suggest to us that some Divine Power went with him who conceived and proclaimed it."—[J. H. Newman: "Grammar of Assent": New York ed., 1870: p. 444.

XXI.: p. 86.—"Sprung for the most part from a primitive worship of natural forces, repeatedly transformed by popular imagination and admixture of every kind, pagan religions were limited by their own past. It was impossible to get out of them, what was never in them, —theism, edification."—[Renan: "Hibbert Lectures"; London ed., 1880: p. 33.

"There was no exposition of doctrine in the mysteries, and no course of dogmatical instruction; the address was not made to the understanding, but to the sense, the imagination, and the divining instincts of the initiated. . . For the whole was a drama, the prelude to which consisted in purifications, sacrifices, and injunctions with regard to the behaviour to be observed. The adventures of certain deities, their sufferings and joys, their appearance on earth, and their relations to mankind, their death, or descent to the nether world, their return, or their rising again,—all these, as symbolizing the life of nature, were represented in a connected series of theatrical scenes. . . The priest-class had no deposit of religious doctrine, either to guard or to propound; for amongst the Greeks generally there was nothing taught about religion, and the legends of the gods were handed down from mouth to mouth, or by the universal reading or recitation of the works of the poets. . . No sort of intellectual capacity, or special education, or training beforehand, was required of the priest. It is highly characteristic that Plutarch, while specifying the various classes of persons from whom a knowledge of religious things might be gained, should make no mention of priests, though he does of poets, lawgivers, and philosophers; quite in keeping with which Dio Chrysostom reckons as sources of religion, besides the universal sense of it which is common among men,—poets, lawgivers, sculptors and painters, and lastly philosophers; and so to him also it never occurred that advice on religious matters could be obtained from priests. Therefore it is not to be wondered at that Plato should not have thought of requiring any single intellectual qualification from the priests of his ideal Republic."—[Döllinger: "The Gentile and the Jew"; London ed., 1862: Vol. 1: pp. 126, 203, 210.

XXII.: p. 86.—'Thornton observes [History of China], 'It may ex

cite surprise, and probably incredulity, to state that the golden rule of our Saviour, Do unto others as you would that they should do unto you—which Mr. Locke designates as the most unshaken rule of morality, and foundation of all social virtue,—had been inculcated by Confucius, almost in the same words, four centuries before.' I have taken notice of this fact in reviewing both The Great Learning and The Doctrine of the Mean. I would be far from grudging a tribute of admiration to Confucius for it. . . Tsze-kung asks if there be one word which may serve as a rule of practice for all one's life, and is answered: 'Is not Reciprocity such a word? What you do not want done to yourself, do not do to others.' . . When a comparison, however, is drawn between it and the rule laid down by Christ, it is proper to call attention to the positive form of the latter,—'all things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them.' The lesson of the Gospel commands men to do what they feel to be right and good. It requires them to commence a course of such conduct, without regard to the conduct of others to themselves. The lesson of Confucius only forbids men to do what they feel to be wrong and hurtful. So far as the point of priority is concerned, moreover, Christ adds, 'This is the law and the prophets.' The maxim was to be found substantially in the earlier revelations of God.

"But the worth of the two maxims depends on the intention of the enunciators in regard to their application. . . Confucius delivered his rule to his countrymen only, for their guidance in their relations [the five relations of society] of which I have had so much occasion to speak. The rule of Christ is for man as man, having to do with other men, all with himself on the same platform, as the children and subjects of the one God and Father in heaven."—[Legge: "Chinese Classics": Proleg. Ch. V.: Sec. II: § 8.

"As a mother, even at the risk of her own life, protects her son, her only son, so let a man cultivate good-will without measure—unhindered love and friendliness toward the whole world, above, below, around." --[Buddhist doctrine of Duty.] Rhys Davids: Lects. on "Indian Buddhism"; New York ed., 1882: p. 111.

"The moral code [of Buddhism] becomes comparatively powerless for good, as it is destitute of all real authority. Gótama taught the propriety of certain observances, because all other Buddhas had done the same; but something more is required before man can be restrained from vice, and preserved in the way of purity. . . There is properly no law. The Buddhist can take upon himself certain obligations, or resolve to keep certain precepts; as many or as few as he pleases; and for any length of time he pleases. It is his own act that makes them binding; and not any objective authority. Even when he takes the obligations, there is this convenient clause in the form that he repeats

to the priest: 'I embrace the five (or eight) precepts, to obey them severally, *as far as I am able*, from this time forward.' The power of the precepts is further diminished, as they are repeated in Pali, a language seldom understood by the lay devotee."—[R. Spence Hardy: "Manual of Buddhism"; London ed., 1880: pp. 525–6.

"The question was once put to him [Aristotle] how we ought to behave to our friends; and the answer he gave was, 'As we should wish our friends to behave to us.'"—[Diogenes Laërtius: V.: XI.

"Socrates: 'Are we to rest assured, in spite of the opinion of the many, and in spite of consequences whether better or worse, of the truth of what was then said, that injustice is always an evil and a dishonor to him who acts unjustly?' 'Yes.' 'Then we must do no wrong?' 'Certainly not.' 'Nor when injured injure in return, as the many imagine; for we must injure no one at all. . . Then we ought not to retaliate or render evil for evil to any one, whatever evil we may have suffered from him. . . This is the voice which I seem to hear murmuring in my ears, like the sound of the flute in the ears of the mystic; that voice, I say, is humming in my ears, and prevents me from hearing any other.'"—[Plato: "Crito": 49, 54.

XXIII.: p. 89.—"Those blessed women, whose hearts God had sown deepest with the orient pearl of faith; they who ministered to him in his wants, washed his feet with tears of penitence, and wiped them with the hairs of their heads,—was it in vain he spoke to them? . . His word swayed the multitude as pendent vines swing in the summer wind; as the Spirit of God moved on the waters of chaos, and said, 'Let there be light,' and there was light. No doubt many a rude fisherman of Galilee heard his words with a heart bounding and scarce able to keep in his bosom, went home a new man, with a legion of angels in his breast, and from that day lived a life divine and beautiful. . . To them the word of Jesus must have sounded divine; like the music of their home sung out in the sky, and heard in a distant land, beguiling toil of its weariness, pain of its sting, affliction of despair."—[Theodore Parker: "Discourse of Religion"; Boston ed., 1842: pp. 305–308.

XXIV.: p. 90.—"Upon an exact and strict comparison of a man's self with the moral law (its holiness and rigor), true humility must infallibly result; but from the very circumstance that we can know ourselves capable of such an inward legislation, and that the physical man feels himself compelled to stand in awe of the ethical man in his own person, there results also, at the same time, a feeling of exaltation, and the highest possible self-estimation. . . The summary of the Moral

Law does, therefore, like every other precept in the Gospel, represent the perfection of the moral sentiment, in an ideal of holiness not attainable by any creature, but which is the archetype toward which it behooves us to approximate, exerting ourselves thitherward in an unbroken and a perpetual progression. . . Verily, it can be nothing less than what advances man, as part of the physical system, above himself, connecting him with an order of things unapproached by sense."—[Kant: "Metaphysic of Ethics": (Semple's trans.); Edinburgh ed., 1869: pp. 243, 116, 120.

XXV.: p. 91.—"When I [Socrates] do not know whether death is a good or an evil, why should I propose a penalty [another one] which would certainly be an evil? . . Let us reflect in another way, and we shall see that there is great reason to hope that death is a good; for one of two things: either death is a state of nothingness and utter unconsciousness, or, as men say, there is a change and migration of the soul from this world to another. Now if you suppose that there is no consciousness, but a sleep like the sleep of him who is undisturbed even by the sight of dreams, death will be an unspeakable gain. . . But if death be the journey to another place, and there, as men say, all the dead are, what good, O my friends and judges, can be greater than this? . . The hour of departure has arrived, and we go our ways—I to die, and you to live. Which is better, God only knows."—[Plato: "Apology": 37, 40, 42.

XXVI.: p. 91.—"All experience shows that if we would have pure knowledge of anything we must be quit of the body, and the soul in herself must behold all things in themselves; then I suppose that we shall attain that which we desire, and of which we say that we are lovers, and that is wisdom: not while we live, but after death, as the argument shows; for if while in company with the body the soul cannot have pure knowledge, one of two things seems to follow—either knowledge is not to be attained at all, or, if at all, after death. For then, and not till then, the soul will be in herself alone, and without the body. . . Then the foolishness of the body will be cleared away, and we shall be pure, and hold converse with other pure souls, and know of ourselves the clear light everywhere; and this is surely the light of truth."—[Plato: "Phaedo": 66, 67.

This doctrine is connected, however, with that of the preëxistence of the soul:—

"There can be no doubt that if these absolute ideas [of beauty, goodness, and essence in general] existed before we were born, then our souls must have existed before we were born; and if not the ideas, then not the souls. . . If the soul existed before birth, and in coming to

life and being born can be born only from death and dying, must she not after death continue to exist, since she has to be born again? . . Like children, you are haunted with a fear that when the soul leaves the body, the wind may really blow her away and scatter her: especially if a man should happen to die in stormy weather, and not when the sky is calm."—["Phaedo": 76, 77.

XXVII.: p. 91.—"Are we, then, to call no other man happy as long as he lives, but is it necessary, as Solon says, to look to the end? But if we must lay down this rule, is he then happy when he is dead? Or is this altogether absurd, especially in us who assert happiness to be a kind of energy? . . What sort of fearful things, then, has the courageous man to do with? the greatest: for no man is more able than he to endure terrible things, but death is the most terrible of all things; for it is a limit; and beyond it, it is thought that to the dead there is nothing, either good or bad."—[Aristotle: Nic. Ethics: I.: 10; III.: 6.

XXVIII.: p. 91.—"There are some who conceive Death to be the departure of the soul from the body. There are others who think that no such departure takes place, but that together soul and body perish, and the soul is extinguished with the body. They who think that the soul departs—some of them believe it to be immediately dissolved, others that it continues to exist for a long time, and others still that it lasts forever. Yet further, there is a great difference of opinion as to what the soul itself may be, or where it resides, or whence it comes. . . 'I see that you are high in contemplation, and desire to flit into the heaven.' 'I hope it may be that that shall happen to us. But grant, what they insist upon, that souls do not continue: I see ourselves deprived, if that should be the case, of the hope of a happier life.' 'But what of evil does that opinion present? Admit that the soul perishes, as well as the body. Is there any distress, or any feeling whatever, after death, in the body? . . Not indeed, therefore, in the soul remains any sense. The soul is nowhere; where then is the evil, since there is no third subsistence' [besides the body and the soul]? . . For if that final day does not bring extinction, but only change of abode what can be more desirable? But if, on the other hand, it puts an end to us, and utterly destroys, what can be better than in the midst of the hard labors of life to fall asleep, and so shutting the eyes to become unconscious in an eternal slumber?"—[Cicero: Tuscul. Quaest. I.: 9, 34, 49.

Any higher thought of the soul naturally approached pantheism:—

"Strive forward then [in your ancestors' steps] said he [Africanus], and habitually consider this, not that thou art mortal, but only this body: for thou art not that which the outward form presents to us; but the mind of each one that is himself, not that figure which can be

pointed out by the finger. Know then thyself to be a god; if indeed that be god which flourishes, which feels, which remembers, which foresees, which thus rules, and regulates, and moves the body over which it is set, as the chief god is over the world itself. And as that eternal god on every hand moves the mortal world, so the ever-during soul moves the frail body."—[De Republica : VI. : 17.

XXIX. : p. 91.—In the letter written by Servius Sulpicius to Cicero after the death of Tullia, he seeks to associate all the arguments which philosophy could suggest to comfort the eloquent statesman, his friend, in his great grief: but these are drawn wholly from the public calamities out of which Tullia had passed by death, from the general lot of ruin and decay in which cities and states, as well as persons, were involved, from the fact that she must at any rate have died ere long, etc., etc. His only reference to a future life is in the suggestion that *if* those in the land of shadows retain any feeling about what here takes place, she would herself wish her father to moderate his grief. Cicero, in reply, admits the wisdom and weight of his friend's suggestions, and confesses that he should feel it a meanness not to bear his calamity as Sulpicius advises; but he gives no hint of any expectation, for himself or his daughter, of a life after death.—[See Epist. ad. Divers. : IV. : 5, 6.

XXX. : p. 91.—The entire uncertainty of Seneca concerning the state of the soul after death is illustrated in many passages:—

"He has fled away wholly, leaving nothing of himself in the world, and has altogether departed from it; . . carried to highest places, where he has intercourse with the happy souls, and where the sacred company has received him, the Scipios, Catos, who have been at any rate despisers of this life, and who are now set in freedom by the blessing of death. . . Death is both the solution and the termination of all griefs : beyond which our evils do not extend : which replaces us in the tranquillity in which we lay before we were born. If any one will be sorrowful for the dead, then let him be sorrowful also for those who are not born. Death is neither a good nor an evil. For that may be either good or evil which is in itself anything; but really what in itself is nothing, and reduces all things to nothingness, conducts us to no fortune. . . And when the time shall come at which the world shall extinguish itself, that it may be renewed, these things [forces and forms of nature] shall destroy each other by their own energy, and stars shall rush against stars, and, all material things being set on fire, whatever now shines by reason of its skillful adjustment shall be consumed in one flame. We also, that are blessed souls, and allotted to eternity, when it shall seem good to God to again disturb

these things, all falling in confusion together, we then, even as a small addition to this immense ruin, shall be returned into our ancient elements."—[Ad. Marc. Consol.: 25, 19, 26.

"Death is non-existence; that which was before birth: and what that may be, now I know—that will be after life which was before it. If a man feel anything of torment on account of this, it must needs follow that the same had been felt before we were brought forth into the light; but then we had no consciousness of vexation. I pray you, would you not count a man a great fool if he should think it a worse condition for a candle when it is blown out than that had been before it was lighted? We, in like manner, are lighted, and again extinguished; and in the interval we suffer somewhat. But in either of the other conditions is the highest security."—[Epist.: LIV.

XXXI.: p. 91.—"Man knows nothing without instruction; he can not speak, nor walk, nor eat; and, in short, he can do nothing spontaneously, at the dictate of nature, except weep. Therefore many there have been who have thought it the best thing not to have been born, or, if born, as quickly as possible to be annihilated. . . To all men, after their last day, remains the same state which was before their first day; nor is there after death any other sensation left, either in body or in soul, than there was before birth. But this same vanity of ours projects itself even into the future, and in the very hour of death falsely represents to itself a future life; at one time conferring upon us an immortality of the soul; at another, a transmigration; at another, a consciousness of lower regions; etc. . . All these are the inventions of puerile raving, and of that mortality which is so eager never to cease. . . What absolute madness is this, to think that life may re-commence after death! . . Nor can he [God] give immortality to mortals, or recall into life those who are dead; nor can he bring it to pass that one who has once lived shall not have lived; or that he who has borne honors shall not have borne them; nor has he any prerogative over past events, except that of bringing oblivion upon them."—[Pliny: Nat. Hist.: VII.: 1, 56: II.: 5.

XXXII.: p. 91.—"For it is unknown what may be the nature of the soul; whether it may be born with us, or on the other hand may be introduced [after birth] into those born; and whether it may perish with us, dissolved by death, or may visit the shades of Orcus, and its vast pools; or whether, by divine arrangement, it may insert itself into other animals, as our Ennius sang, who first brought a crown of perennial leaf from pleasant Helicon."—[Lucretius: De Rer. Nat.: I. 113–120.

"Death, therefore, is nothing, and does not in the least concern us,

since the very nature of the soul is to be regarded as mortal. . Thus we shall no longer exist, when the separation shall have taken place of the body and the soul, of which we are now joined together in unity. You may understand that to us, who shall not then be, nothing whatever will be able to happen, or to move any feeling; not if the earth were to be mingled with the sea, and the sea with the heavens."—[III.: 842–854.

XXXIII.: p. 91.—Horace expresses no doubt the common feeling of his day, in his familiar lines:—

"Pale Death, with impartial foot, knocks at the hovels of the poor and the palaces of kings. O happy Sextius, the brief sum of life forbids us to commence anything far-reaching. Presently Night will oppress thee, and the ghosts celebrated in fable, and the cheerless house of Pluto."—[L. I.: Car. 4: 13–17.

"We are all pushed in the same direction: later or more quickly the forth-coming lot of all is shaken in the urn, embarking us in Charon's boat, for eternal exile."—[L. II.: Car. 3: 25–28.

The practical philosophy of the best among the Greeks was probably that expressed by Euripides, in lines quoted by Symonds in his "Studies of the Greek Poets":

> 'Let those who live do right ere death descendeth;
> The dead are dust; mere nought to nothing tendeth.'
>
> [Second Series; London ed., 1876: p. 291.

XXXIV.: p. 91.—The doctrine of Epictetus concerning man's relationship to God, seems a noble one:—

"If a man should be able to accept this doctrine, as he ought, that we are all sprung from God in an especial manner, and that God is the Father both of men and gods, I suppose that he would never have any ignoble or mean thoughts about himself. . . Why should not such a man call himself a citizen of the world? why not a son of God? and why should he be afraid of anything which happens among men?"—[I.: 3, 9.

But respecting the future life of the soul his words are full of sorrowful darkness:—

"He [God] gives the signal for retreat, opens the door, and says to you, Go! Go whither? To nothing terrible, but to the place from which you came; to your friends and kinsmen, to the elements; what there was in you of fire, goes to fire; of earth, to earth; of air, to air; of water, to water; no Hades, nor Acheron, nor Cocytus, nor Pyriphlegethon, but all is full of gods and dæmons. When a man has such things to think on, and sees the sun, the moon and stars, and enjoys earth and sea, he is not solitary nor even helpless."—[III.: 13.

XXXV.: p. 91.—Plutarch inferred the probability of a future life from the assumed propriety of worship to the gods:—

"And therefore, if you please, not concerning ourselves with other deities, let us go no further than the God Apollo, whom we here call our own; see whether it is likely that he, knowing that the souls of the deceased vanish away like clouds and smoke, exhaling from our bodies like a vapor, requires that so many propitiations, and such great honors, be paid to the dead, and such veneration be given to deceased persons, merely to delude and cozen his believers! And therefore, for my part, I will never deny the immortality of the soul, till somebody or other, as they say Hercules did of old, shall be so daring as to come and take away the prophetical tripod, and so quite ruin and destroy the oracle."—["Morals": Boston ed., 1874: Vol. 4: p. 169.

"What means all this [the death of distinguished persons]? Thou hast embarked, thou hast made the voyage, thou art come to shore: Get out. If indeed to another life, there is no want of gods, even there. But if to a state without sensation, thou wilt cease to be held by pains and pleasures, and to be a slave to the vessel, which is as much inferior as that which serves it is superior; for the one is intelligence and deity, and the other is earth and corruption. . . As here the mutation of these [buried] bodies after a certain continuance, whatever it may be, and their dissolution, make room for other dead bodies; so the souls which are removed into the air, after subsisting for some time, are transmuted, and diffused, and assume a fiery nature by being received into the seminal intelligence of the universe, and in this way make room for the fresh souls which come to dwell there. . . Pass then through this little space of time conformably to nature, and end thy journey in content, just as an olive falls off when it is ripe, blessing nature which produced it, and thanking the tree on which it grew."—[Marcus Aurelius: "Meditations": III.: 3; IV.: 21: 48.

XXXVI.: p. 91.—A striking example of this modern uncertainty of sceptics concerning immortality, is given by the words of the late Prof. Clifford:—

"And this same judgment [that we must wait before deciding] applies necessarily to another abstract and general conclusion from an unproved doctrine about body and mind; the conclusion that a man's consciousness survives the decay of his body. Such a conclusion can be at best, in the present state of knowledge, a hope, a conjecture, an aspiration; it can have no claim to be regarded as a known fact. . . Of such a doctrine, surely, if of any doctrine, we ought to say: 'Do not take this for established truth; be prepared to find that it is otherwise; only for the moment we are of opinion that it may possibly be so.'"—[W. K. Clifford: "Lectures and Essays"; London ed., 1879: Vol. 2: pp. 319–320.

XXXVII. : p. 92.—"In it were to be set up two statues of himself, of a certain prescribed height, the one in bronze, the other in marble. . . Couches and benches were also to be provided for those days on which the chamber was to be opened, and even garments for the guests. Orchards and other property are assigned for the proper maintenance and repair of the sepulchre. . . Of the nature of the meal [eaten at the tomb] we do not know much. It is called by two very different names—the one *silicernium*, supposed to have reference to the silence of the Manes, in whose presence and honour it was held; the other *alogia*, interpreted by St. Augustine of the irrational intemperance and excess with which it was sometimes accompanied. Certainly silence was not imposed upon those who partook of the feast; they were often expressly exhorted to be merry and glad, to eat and drink and refresh themselves without anger, strife, or melancholy—*sine bile, sine querelâ*. . . This was one of the reasons why the Roman sepulchres took up so much room, always largely in excess of modern requirements."—["Roma Sotterranea": (Northcote and Brownlow), London ed., 1879: Part 1: pp. 58–62.

The custom above described naturally connects itself with the Etruscan fashions:—

"These [Etruscan] cities of the dead are constructed on the precise model of the cities of the living. The tombs themselves are exact imitations of the house. There is usually an outer vestibule, apparently appropriated to the annual funeral feast; from this a passage leads to a large central chamber, which is lighted by windows cut through the rock. This central hall is surrounded by smaller chambers, in which the dead repose. These chambers contain the corpses, and are furnished with all the implements, ornaments, and utensils used in life. The tombs are in fact places for the dead to live in. The position and surroundings of the deceased are made to approximate as closely as possible to the conditions of life. . . Nothing is omitted which can conduce to the amusement or comfort of the deceased. Their spirits were evidently believed to inhabit these house-tombs after death, just as in life they inhabited their houses. . . The Turanian creed was Animistic. This creed taught that in the ghost-world the spirits of the departed are served by the spirits of those utensils and ornaments which they have used in life. It thus became the pious duty of the survivors to place in the tombs, and to dedicate to the perpetual service of the deceased, the most precious treasures which they possessed. These constitute the costly objects which the Etruscan tombs have yielded in such profusion, and which now crowd the shelves of our museums."—[Taylor: "Etruscan Researches"; London, 1874: pp. 46–8, 270.

XXXVIII.: p. 92.—"The transformation of the Egyptian religion

is nowhere more apparent than in the view of the life beyond the grave which is exhibited on a tablet which has already been referred to, that of the wife of Pasherenptah. The lady thus addressed her husband from the grave: 'Oh my brother, my spouse, cease not to drink and to eat, to drain the cup of joy, to enjoy the love of woman, and to make holiday; follow thy desires each day, and let not care enter thy heart, as long as thou livest upon earth. For as to Amenti, it is the land of heavy slumber and of darkness, an abode of sorrow for those who dwell there. They sleep in their forms; they wake not any more to see their brethren; they recognize not their father and their mother: their heart is indifferent to their wife and children. Every one [on earth] enjoys the water of life, but thirst is by me. . . As to the god who is here, 'Death-Absolute' is his name. He calleth on all, and all men come to obey him, trembling with fear before him. . . One feareth to pray to him, for he listeneth not. No one comes to invoke him, for he is not kind to those who adore him: he has no respect to any offering which is made to him.'"—[Renouf: "Religion of Ancient Egypt"; New York ed., 1880: pp. 251–3.

XXXIX. : p. 92.—The discussion by Burnouf of the proper import of the word Nirvâ*n*a, especially as originally used among the early and the Southern Buddhists, is too extended and elaborate to be reproduced or even sketched in a note. Those wishing to examine it will find it in his "Introduction a l'histoire du Buddhisme Indien" (deuxième ed., Paris, 1876), pp. 16–18, 459–465; and especially in the Appendice, pp. 525–530. His positive conclusion is, many times repeated in this learned and authoritative work, that extinction, annihilation, passing into nothingness, represent the significance of Nirvâ*n*a.

"He [Gotama] had discarded the theory of the presence, within each human body, of a soul which could have a separate and eternal existence. . . In no case is there, therefore, any future life in the Christian sense. At a man's death, nothing survives but the effect of his actions. . . Buddhism sees no distinction of any fundamental character, no difference except an accidental or phenomenal difference, between gods, men, plants, animals, and things. All are the product of causes that have been acting during the immeasurable ages of the past; and all will be dissolved."—[Rhys Davids: Lectures on "Indian Buddhism"; New York ed., 1882: pp. 93, 109, 214.

"Buddhism knew not the Divine, the Eternal, the Absolute; and the Soul, even as the I, or as the mere Self, was represented in the orthodox metaphysics of Buddhism as transient, as futile, as a mere phantom. No person who reads with attention the metaphysical speculations on the Nirvâ*n*a contained in the Buddhist canon, can arrive at any other conviction than that the Nirvâ*n*a, the highest aim, the *sum-*

mum bonum of Buddhism, is the absolute Nothing."—[Max Müller "Science of Religion"; New York ed., 1872: p. 140.

XL.: p. 92.—"The reader will be prepared by the preceding account not to expect to find any light thrown by Confucius on the great problems of the human condition and destiny. He did not speculate on the creation of things, or the end of them. He was not troubled to account for the origin of man, nor did he seek to know about his hereafter. He meddled neither with physics nor metaphysics. The testimony of the Analects about the subjects of his teaching is the following: 'His frequent themes of discourse were the Book of Poetry, the Book of History, and the maintenance of the rules of Propriety.' 'He taught letters, ethics, devotion of soul, and truthfulness.' 'Extraordinary things, feats of strength, states of disorder, and spiritual beings, he did not like to talk about.' . . His end was not unimpressive, but it was melancholy. He sank behind a cloud. Disappointed hopes made his soul bitter. . . Nor were the expectations of another life present with him as he passed through the dark valley. He uttered no prayer and he betrayed no apprehensions."—[Legge: "Chinese Classics": Proleg. Ch. V.: Sec. II: § 6; I.: § 9.

XLI.: p. 93.—"According to the ancient creed of Paganism, expressed in the well-known lines at the commencement of the Iliad, the souls of departed heroes did indeed survive death; but these souls were not themselves; they were the mere shadows or ghosts of what had been; 'themselves' were the bodies, left to be devoured by dogs and vultures. The Apostle's teaching, on the other hand, is always that, amidst whatever change, it is the very man himself that is preserved; and, if for the preservation of this identity any outward organization is required, then, although 'flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of heaven,' God from the infinite treasure-house of the new heavens and new earth will furnish that organization, as He has already furnished it to the several stages of creation in the present order of the world."—[Dean Stanley: "Com. on Ep. to Corinthians"; London ed., 1876: pp. 326–7.

"I find Him such after the suffering of death as He was before it—save His recent scars. The immortality, therefore, which is held before me in the Christian scheme, is no such thing as a nucleus of conscious mist, floating about in a golden fog, amid millions of the same purposeless, limbless sparks. It is an immortality of organized material energies;—it is the same welded mind-and-matter human nature, fitted for service, apt to labour, and capable of all those experiences, and furnished for all those enterprises, and armed for those endurances, which, seeing that they are thus provided for, and are one may say

thus foreshown in the Christian resurrection, put before me a rational solution of these now imminent trials, of these hard experiences, of these frustrated labours, and of these fiery sufferings, the passing through which so much perplexes and disheartens me now; which at once find their reason when I see them in their intention as the needed schooling for an immortality, in the endless fortunes of which this mind-and-matter structure shall have room to show what things it can do and bear, and what enterprises of love it shall devise, and shall bring to a happy consummation, it may be cycles of centuries hence."—[Isaac Taylor: "Restoration of Belief"; Boston ed., 1867: pp. 329–330.

XLII.: p. 96.—"Even where the severest doctrine of exclusion has prevailed, the fundamental sentiment of Christian faith has saved the heart from the most withering of all passions,—the blight of *scorn*. Human nature may appear beneath the eye of an austere believer in an awful, but never in a contemptible light. The very crisis in which it is suspended can belong to no mean existence. What it has lost is too great a glory, what it has incurred is too deep a terror, to be conceivable except of a being on a grand scale. He is no worm for whom the eternal abysses are built as a dungeon, and the lightnings are brandished as a scourge. Accordingly, the very alienations of intolerance itself have acquired a higher and more respectable character than in ancient faiths. The sort of feeling with which the Jew spurned 'the Gentile dog' is sanctioned by piety no more. The Oriental curl of the lip is scarcely traceable on the features of Christendom; and is replaced by an expression of tragic sorrow and earnestness, where lights of admiring pity flash through the darkest clouds."—[James Martineau: "Studies of Christianity"; Boston ed., 1866: pp. 317–318.

XLIII.: p. 96.—"'What is your name? place of abode?' Fouquier asks: according to formality. 'My name is Danton,' answers he; 'a name tolerably known in the Revolution; my abode will soon be Annihilation (*dans le Néant*), but I shall live in the Pantheon of History.' . . Camille makes answer: 'My age is that of the *bon Sansculotte Jésus:* an age fatal to Revolutionists.'"—[Carlyle: "French Revolution"; Boston ed., 1839; Vol. 3: p. 319.

The same title had been before applied in the same way, by the Jacobin Societies, eulogizing Marat!—[Vol. 2: pp. 211–12.

XLIV.: p. 97.—"He who does not know Him [Christ], knows nothing of the order of the world, and nothing of himself. For not only do we know God by Jesus Christ, but we only know ourselves by Jesus Christ. . . In him is all our goodness, our virtue, our life, our light, our hope; without him, there is for us only misery, darkness, and despair,

and we shall see only obscurity and confusion in the nature of God, and in our own nature."—[Pascal : "Pensées": Sec. Par., Art. XV.: 2.

XLV.: p. 98.—"The man who became so famous under the name of Gregory VII. was, like the greater number of those who attained eminence in the church, of obscure origin. The date of his birth, even, is not exactly known; but we may place it between the years 1015 and 1020. He first saw the light at Soano, a small town of Tuscany, where his father, who was named Bonic or Bonizon, followed the trade of a carpenter. The son of the carpenter at Soano received at his baptism the German name of Hildebrand, modified by the Italian pronunciation to Hellebrand, which has been translated by his contemporaries 'pure flame,' or 'brand of hell,' according to the affection or the detestation by which the writer was actuated."—[Villemain : "Life of Gregory the Seventh"; London ed., 1874 : Vol. 1 : p. 231.

XLVI. : p. 99.—

> "Oh, would that nature had denied me birth
> 'Midst this fifth race, the iron age of earth ;
> That long before within the grave I lay,
> Or long hereafter could behold the day !
> Corrupt the race, with toils and griefs opprest,
> Nor day nor night can yield a pause of rest ;
> Still do the gods a weight of care bestow,
> Though still some good is mingled with the woe !"
>
> [Hesiod : "Works and Days": [Elton's trans.]: 227–234.

> "Happiest beyond compare
> Never to taste of life ;
> Happiest in order next,
> Being born, with quickest speed
> Thither again to turn
> From whence we came."
>
> [Sophocles : Œdipus, at Colonos : [Plumptre's trans., 1873] 1225–1229.

"For it is becoming for us formally to assemble and lament for one who is born, who is advancing to meet so many evils; but to offer glad gratulations to the dead, to whom at last rest has been given."—[Euripides : Quoted by Clement of Alex.: Strom. III.: 3. Quoted also by Cicero : Tuscul. Quaest.: I.: 48.

"Do not then consider life a thing of any value. For look to the immensity of time behind thee, and to the time before thee, another boundless space. In this infinity, then, what is the difference between him who lives three days, and him who lives for three generations!"—[Marcus Aurelius : "Meditations": IV.: 50.

"It would be a man's happiest lot to depart from mankind without having had any taste of lying and hypocrisy and luxury and pride. However, to breathe out one's life when a man has had enough of these things, is the next best voyage, as the saying is."—[IX.: 2.

XLVII.: p. 99.—"Physiology distinctly and categorically pronounces against any individual immortality, and against all ideas which are connected with the figment of a separate existence of the soul. . . It is impossible to demonstrate the admissibility of punishment, or to prove that there is any such thing as amenability or responsibility" [Vogt]. "Man is produced from wind and ashes. . Man is the sum of his parents and his wet-nurse, of time and place, of wind and matter, of sound and light, of food and clothing; his will is the necessary consequence of all these causes, governed by the laws of nature, just as the planet in its orbit, as the vegetable in its soil. Thought consists in the motion of matter, it is a translocation of the cerebral substance; without phosphorus there can be no thought; and consciousness itself is nothing but an attribute of matter" [Moleschott]. The watchword of this school is, in short: "We are what we eat" [Feuerbach]; or, as Czolbe expresses it, man is "nothing more than a mosaic figure, made up of different atoms, and mechanically combined in an elaborate shape."—[See Christlieb: "Modern Doubt and Christian Belief": New York ed.: pp. 146, 158.

"If we look into ourselves, we discover propensities which declare that our intellects have arisen from a lower form; could our minds be made visible, we should find them tailed. . . All that is elevated, all that is lovely, in human nature has its origin in the lower kingdom. The philosophic spirit of inquiry may be traced to brute curiosity, and that to the habit of examining all things in search of food. Artistic genius is an expansion of monkey imitativeness. Loyalty and piety, the reverential virtues, are developed from filial love. Benevolence and magnanimity, the generous virtues, from parental love. The sense of decorum proceeds from the sense of cleanliness; and that from the instinct of sexual display. . . How easy it would be to endure without repining the toils and troubles of this miserable life, if indeed we could believe that, when its brief period was past, we should be united to those whom we have loved, to those whom death has snatched away, or whom fate has parted from us by barriers cold and deep and hopeless as the grave. But we do not believe it; and so we cling to our tortured lives, dreading the dark Nothingness, dreading the dispersal of our elements into cold unconscious space. As drops in the ocean of water, as atoms in the ocean of air, as sparks in the ocean of fire with in the earth, our minds do their appointed work and serve to build up the strength and beauty of the one great Human Mind which grows

from century to century, from age to age, and is perhaps itself a mere molecule within some higher mind."—[Winwood Reade : "Martyrdom of Man"; New York ed.: pp. 394–5, 243–4.

XLVIII. : p. 99.—"The word of Schleiermacher: 'in the midst of finiteness to become one with the Infinite, and to be eternal in every moment': this is all which modern science knows how to say concerning Immortality.

"Herewith is our task for the present ended. While eternity is the unity in all things, in its aspect as a future life it is the last enemy which speculative criticism has to fight, and if possible to overcome." —[Strauss : "Christliche Glaubenslehre": Band II.: S. 739.

XLIX. : p. 99.—"Children, and the lower classes of most countries, seem to be actually fond of dirt; the vast majority of the human race are indifferent to it; whole nations of otherwise civilized and cultivated human beings tolerate it in some of its worst forms, and only a very small minority are consistently offended by it. . . In the times when mankind were nearer to their natural state, cultivated observers regarded the natural man as a sort of wild animal, distinguished chiefly by being craftier than the other beasts of the field; and all worth of character was deemed the result of a sort of taming, a phrase often applied by the ancient philosophers to the appropriate discipline of human beings. . . The most criminal actions are to a being like man not more unnatural than most of the virtues. . . The mere cessation of existence is no evil to any one; the idea is only formidable through the illusion of imagination": though the loss of friends, dying before us "will always suffice to keep alive in the more sensitive natures the imaginative hope of a futurity, which, if there is nothing to prove, there is as little in our knowledge and experience to contradict. . . It seems to me not only possible but probable, that in a higher, and above all a happier condition of human life, not annihilation but immortality may be the burdensome idea."—[John Stuart Mill : "Essays on Religion"; New York ed., 1874: pp. 48, 46, 62, 122.

It was of Mill that Holyoake wrote: "No more generous, self-reliant, self-regardless thinker than he ever entered the adventurous pass of Death!"—[Essay on Mill: London, 1873: p. 29.

NOTES TO LECTURE IV.

NOTE I.: PAGE 104.—"I myself, when a young man, used sometimes to go to the sacrilegious entertainments and spectacles; I saw the priests raving in religious excitement, and heard the choristers; I took pleasure in the shameful games which were celebrated in honor of gods and goddesses, of the virgin Cœlestis, and Berecynthia, the mother of all the gods. And on the day consecrated to her purification, there were sung before her couch productions so obscene and filthy to the ear—I do not say of the mother of the gods, but of the mother of any senator or honest man—nay, so impure that not even the mother of the foul-mouthed players themselves could have formed one of the audience." —[Augustine, Civ. Dei: II.: 4.

II.: p. 104.—"They [the Christians] affirmed this to have been the whole of their guilt, or their error, that they were accustomed to meet, on a stated day, before it was light, and to sing a hymn responsively among themselves to Christ, as to God; binding themselves also, by a solemn oath, not to do any wickedness, but that they would not commit any fraud, theft, or adultery, would not falsify their word, nor deny a trust when they should be called to account for it; after which it was their custom to separate, and then to reässemble, to eat in common a harmless meal. . . After this I judged it the more necessary to seek what the truth might be, by putting to the torture two female servants who were said to officiate among them [probably as deaconesses]. But I found nothing else than a perverse and extravagant superstition."—[Pliny: Ep.: X. XCVII.

III.: p. 104.—"'Let us pass on,' says he [Celsus], 'to another point. They [Christians] cannot tolerate temples, altars, or images. In this they are like the Scythians, the nomadic tribes of Libya, the Seres who worship no god, and some other of the most barbarous and impious nations of the world. . . Celsus proceeds to say that we 'shrink from raising altars, statues, and temples; and this,' he thinks, 'has been agreed upon among us as the badge or distinctive mark of a secret and forbidden society.'"—[Origen, adv. Celsus: VII.: 62; VIII.: 17.

"Hence we are called Atheists. And we confess that we are Athe-

ists, so far as gods of this sort are concerned, but not with respect to the most true God, the Father of righteousness and temperance, and the other virtues, who is free from all impurity. But both Him and the Son who came forth from Him, . . and the prophetic Spirit, we worship and adore, knowing them in reason and in truth."—[Justin Martyr: Apol. I.: vi.

IV.: p. 104.—The figure referred to is well enough represented in Lundy's "Monumental Christianity" [New York ed., 1876], p. 61. The stucco which contains it is preserved in the museum of the Vatican, as a precious relic of early Christianity at Rome; and the words of Tertullian would seem to indicate that such a figure was understood by some in his time to represent the Lord of the Christians:—

"Like some others, you are under the delusion that our god is an ass's head. Cornelius Tacitus first put this notion into people's minds. . . But the said Tacitus (the very opposite of *tacit* in telling lies) informs us that when C. Pompeius captured Jerusalem, he entered the temple to see the *arcana* of the Jewish religion, but found no image there. Yet surely if worship were rendered to any visible object, the very place for its exhibition would be the shrine. . . Perhaps it is this which displeases you in us, that while your worship [of beasts] is universal, we worship only the ass!"—[Apolog. XVI.

So Caecilius says, in the "Octavius" of Minucius Felix:—

"I hear that they [Christians] adore the head of an ass, that basest of creatures, consecrated by I know not what silly persuasion,—a worthy and appropriate religion for such manners."—[IX.

The reference of the Palatine graphite to Christ is not, however, universally conceded by the students of Christian antiquities.

V.: p. 105.—"And on the day called Sunday, all who live in cities or in the country gather together to one place, and the memoirs of the apostles, or the writings of the prophets are read, as long as time permits; then, when the reader has ceased, the president verbally instructs, and exhorts to the imitation of these good things. Then we all rise together and pray, and, as we before said, when our prayer is ended, bread and wine and water are brought, and the president in like manner offers prayers and thanksgivings, according to his ability, and the people assent, saying AMEN; and there is a distribution to each, and a participation of that over which thanks have been given, and to those who are absent a portion is sent by the deacons. And they who are well to do, and willing, give what each thinks fit; and what is collected is deposited with the president, who succors the orphans and widows, and those who, through sickness or any other cause, are in want, and those who are in bonds, and the strangers sojourning

among us, and in a word takes care of all who are in need. But Sunday is the day on which we all hold our common assembly, because it is the first day, on which God, having wrought a change in the darkness and matter, made the world; and Jesus Christ our Saviour on the same day rose from the dead."—[Justin Martyr: Apol. I.: LXVII.

VI.: p. 107.—"To maintain that the sacrifice of atonement was the only original offering of the Greeks, and to derive all other forms from it, would be inadmissible. To acknowledge in practice the supremacy and power of the divinity, to present it with a pledge, as it were, of homage and subjection to its will, to return thanks for gifts received, or protection afforded,—this was the primitive signification of many sacrifices. . . Even the Greek idea of the envy of the gods, and the necessity of appeasing this jealousy by a voluntary cession of a portion of their goods, was the foundation of many sacrifices. . . It was the prevalent idea, that for a man to obtain any thing of the gods, he must of necessity make them an offering to correspond. 'Presents win the gods, as well as kings,' was an old proverb."—[Döllinger: "The Gentile and the Jew"; London ed., 1862: Vol. 1: pp. 229, 233–4.

VII.: p. 108.—"In the provinces 1,500 temples are dedicated to his [Confucius'] worship, where on the first and fifteenth day of each month sacrificial services are performed before his image, and once in the spring and the autumn the local officials go in state to take part in acts of specially solemn worship. According to the *Shing meaou che*, or 'History of the Temples of the Sage,' as many as 6 bullocks, 27,000 pigs, 5,800 sheep, 2,800 deer, and 2,700 hares, are sacrificed on these occasions; and at the same time 27,000 pieces of silk are offered on his shrine."—[Douglas: "Confucianism and Taouism"; London ed., 1879: p. 165.

The religion of Zoroaster is often praised for the care which it enjoined in the treatment of certain animals, especially the cow, the cock and the dog. One occasion of this was the importance of such animals to a pastoral people: as Auramazda says in the Vendidad of the Avesta, 'No thief or wolf comes to the village or the fold and carries away anything unobserved, if the dog is healthy, in good voice, and among the flocks. The houses would not stand firm upon the earth if there were not dogs in the villages and flocks.' Therefore the dogs must receive good food; especially the watch-dog must be provided with milk, fat, and flesh, his 'proper food.' Dogs with young are to be treated as carefully as pregnant women: sick dogs, with the same medicines as sick men. All men who beat dogs are warned that their souls will go from the world full of terror and sick. To kill a water-dog is the greatest of crimes. Yet Athenæus tells us that with the

King of Persia a thousand animals were daily slaughtered in sacrifice: camels, hares, oxen, apes, deer, and especially sheep: and Herodotus says that when Xerxes marched into Hellas the Magians sacrificed a thousand oxen on the summit of Pergamos, soliciting victory.—[See Duncker: "History of Antiquity"; London ed., 1881: Vol. 5: pp. 208–9, 174.

"The Rig-Veda was mainly a collection of sacrificial chants and ritual. Brahmans, no less than Kshatriyas and Vaiçyas, were accustomed to invoke the spirits of light in the early dawn, to offer gifts at morning, mid-day, and evening, to Agni: above all to celebrate sacrifices at the changes of the moon or the seasons. . . The idea that every sacrifice when offered correctly was efficacious, that a magic power resided in it, that the assistance and therefore a part of the divine power or nature was gained by the sacrifice, could not fail to retain the service of sacrifice in full force in the new doctrine. . . We see from the rules of the Brahmanas that offerings, consecrations, and sacrifices were not diminished but rather increased by the idea of Brahman, and the number of the sacrificing priests was greater. . . An incorrect word, a false intonation, may destroy the efficacy of the entire sacrifice. For this reason the rules for the great sacrifice, especially for the sacrifice of horses, fill up whole books of the Brahmanas."—[Duncker: "History of Antiquity"; London ed., 1880: Vol. IV.: pp. 162, 273–4.

"In fine, a great many of these sacrifices [the Vedic] require animal victims. In the domestic ritual the act of sacrificing them is resolved for the most part into a purely symbolic act, but in the developed ritual it remained longer in force. Several ishtis are very bloody. . . In general, the more recent the texts are the more does the number of the symbolic victims increase, and that of the real ones diminish; but even with these abatements the Brahmanical cultus remained for long an inhuman one."—[A. Barth: "Religions of India"; Boston ed., 1882: p. 57.

"Dr. Haug maintains that some hymns of a decidedly sacrificial character should be ascribed to the earliest period of Vedic poetry. He takes, for instance, the hymn describing the horse sacrifice, and he concludes from the fact that seven priests only are mentioned in it by name, and that none of them belongs to the class of the Udgâtars (singers) or Brahmans (superintendents), that this hymn was written before the establishment of these two classes of priests. As these priests are mentioned in other Vedic hymns, he concludes that the hymn describing the horse sacrifice is of a very early date. Dr. Haug strengthens his case by a reference to the Zoroastrian ceremonial."—[Max Müller: "Chips," etc.; New York ed., 1881: Vol. 1: p. 105.

VIII.: p. 108.—"But what man sought, Divine salvation and Divine counsel, this is even now, and was then more than now, the most difficult and mysterious thing that man can seek, besides being to him a something inexhaustible, in relation to which he stands ever freshly conscious of a new need. In his attitude toward this he therefore felt readily inclined to any endeavor and to the hardest service, indeed ready for the most grievous and strange efforts: the something Awful standing over against men constrained them to give up all things for it, or to hazard all things in order to draw near to it, and to attract it to themselves. But man can only give up what is human in order thereby to gain what is Divine; and already a darkling impulse led him to believe that he would the more readily win the superlative Divine gift the more mightily he, through the greatest sacrifice of all his inferior possessions, sought the higher things. Now all work of such practical giving up, whereby the man presses in immediately to the Godhead, and seeks not only to move that, but more thoroughly to come into contact with it, in order to be in turn touched by it and made blessed, we may comprehensively name Sacrifice, to apply to it a universal word. . . But the conclusion from such a feeling must finally be that human life is incomparably the highest and most wonderful sacrifice possible to be offered — be it that of a sacrificed stranger, or that which is dearest, of one's own child, or even of one's self, converted into an offering. So human sacrifice was placed appropriately as the pinnacle and consummation of all these expressions of the awe of man before God."—[Ewald: "Die Alterthümer des Volkes Israel"; Göttingen, 1866: S. 32, 36, f.

IX.: p. 108.—"Among these [Indian] victims, which consist of all imaginable kinds of domestic and wild animals, there is one which recurs with an ominous frequency, viz., man. Not only are there traces of human sacrifice preserved in the legends, as well as in the symbolism of the ritual, but this sacrifice is expressly mentioned and formally prescribed. . . Neither is there room to doubt that the blood of human victims not unfrequently flowed on the altars of these gloomy goddesses, before the horrible images of Durgâ, Kâlî, Câṇḍikâ, and Câmundâ. Formal testimonies go to confirm the many allusions to this practice which occur in the tales and dramas. In the sixteenth century the Mohammedans found it established in northern Bengal; in the seventeenth, the Sikhs confess that their great reformer, Guru Govind, prepared himself for his mission by the sacrifice of one of his disciples to Durgâ; in 1824 Bishop Heber met with people who told him that they had seen young boys offered in sacrifice at the gates of Calcutta; and almost as late as our own time, the Thugs professed to murder their victims in honour of Kâli."—[A. Barth: "The Religions of India"; Boston ed., 1882: pp. 57, 203–4.

"To this black Goddess [Cáli, wife of Siva] with a collar of golden skulls, as we see her exhibited in all her principal temples, human sacrifices were anciently offered, as the Vedas enjoined; but in the present age they are absolutely prohibited, as are also the sacrifices of bulls and horses: kids are still offered to her; and, to palliate the cruelty of the slaughter, which gave such offence to Buddha, the Brahmans inculcate a belief that the poor victims rise into the heaven of Indra, where they become the musicians of his band."—[Sir William Jones: Works; London, 1817: Vol. 3: p. 383.

X. : p. 108.—"When Themistocles was about to sacrifice, close to the admiral's galley, there were three prisoners brought to him, fine-looking men, and richly dressed in ornamented clothing and gold, said to be the children of Artayctes and Sandace, sister to Xerxes. As soon as the prophet Euphrantides saw them, and observed that at the same time the fire blazed out from the offerings with a more than ordinary flame, . . he took Themistocles by the hand, and bade him consecrate the three young men for sacrifice, and offer them up, with prayers for victory, to Bacchus the Devourer. . . Themistocles was much disturbed at this strange and terrible prophecy, but the common people, . . calling upon Bacchus with one voice, led the captives to the altar, and compelled the execution of the sacrifice, as the prophet had commanded."—[Plutarch: "Lives"; Boston ed., 1859: Vol. 1: p. 247.

"For it once happened, that while the inhabitants of this place [Potmæ] were sacrificing, they became so outrageous, through intoxication, that they slew the priest of Bacchus. As a punishment for this action, they were afflicted with a pestilent disease; and at the same time were ordered by the Delphic Oracle to sacrifice to Bacchus a boy in the flower of his youth. However, not many years after this, they say that the god changed the sacrifice of a boy for that of a goat."—[Pausanias: "Descript. of Greece": IX.: 8.

XI. : p. 108.—"There grew up even in Athens the horrible custom of nourishing every year, at cost of the State, two poor forsaken persons, male and female, and then at the festival of Thargelia of putting them to death for the expiation of the people, as though they had assumed their sins. . . The same expiatory custom existed in the Phocæan colony, Massilia. . . So in Cyprus, in the cities Amathus and Salamis, a man was every year sacrificed to Zeus; in the latter city, in the month Aphrodisios, one to Agraulus, and in later times to Diomedes. . . In general it may with certainty be assumed that human expiatory sacrifices prevailed in all parts of Greece; among no other people are there found more or more various accounts of such offerings than among the Hellenists. . . As often as any great and

general calamity threatened the existence of the Roman state, by order of the books of fate human victims were sacrificed. . . It was not until the year 657 of the city, or 97 years before Christ, that the Senate issued a decree forbidding human sacrifices. But in spite of this we read that the dictator J. Cæsar, A.D. 708, or 46 years before Christ, commanded a sacrifice of two men, with the traditionary solemnities, upon the Campus Martius, by the Pontifices and the Flamen Martis Augustus, after the defeat of L. Antonius, immolated four hundred senators and knights upon the altar of the deified Julius, at the Ides of March, 713, or 41 years before Christ.* Even in the times of Adrian, the beautiful Antinous died a voluntary sacrifice for the Emperor; and the annual immolation of men to Jupiter Latiaris, upon the Alban Mount, is said to have continued even into the third century of our era. As it was in Greece and Rome, so it was among almost all the oriental and occidental countries. . . Not any and every human being was immolated, but the innocent children were selected; and among these, the preference was given to the only child, or to the first-born. . . At Carthage there was a metallic statue of Chronos, in a bending posture, with hands stretched out, and raised upwards. This statue was heated, till it glowed, by a kiln beneath; into its arms were placed the children destined for sacrifice; from its arms they fell into the gulf of fire beneath, dying in convulsions, which were said to be of laughter. The childless were wont to buy children of the poor. 'The mother,' says Plutarch, 'stands by, without shedding a tear, or uttering a sigh; around the image of the god all resounds with the noise of kettle-drums and flutes, that the crying and wailing be not heard.'" . . Human sacrifices were familiar, also, among Egyptians Persians, Arabians, and the Northern nations generally.—[Prof. Ernst von Lasaulx: quoted, with ample references, in Thomson's Bampton Lects.; London ed., 1853: pp. 255–262.

"In the year 270 A.D., further proof was given that, in spite of the late decree issued by Hadrian, recourse was still had from time to time to this means of appeasing the angry gods [by human sacrifice] in dangers threatening the state, when, on an irruption of the Marcomanni, the Emperor Aurelian offered the Senate to furnish it with prisoners

* The authorities for the statement concerning Augustus are Dio Cassius XLVIII.: 14; Suetonius (who makes the number three hundred, of either rank), Octav. August. XV.; and Seneca, De Clem. I. 11. Suetonius speaks of them as 'slaughtered after the custom of sacrifices [more hostiarum] at an altar raised to the Divine Julius'; and Seneca distinguishes between the Roman blood with which Augustus stained the Actian sea, the life which he destroyed in Sicilian waters, or in his proscriptions, and his cruelty at the Perusian altars. Probably the last was an act of political vengeance, to which a sort of religious sanction was sought to be given.

of all nations for certain expiatory sacrifices to be performed."—[Döllinger: "Gentile and Jew"; London ed., 1862: Vol. 2: p. 87.

References to human sacrifices at Rome occur in Pliny, Hist. Nat. XXVIII.: 3; XXX.: 1; and in Plutarch, "Lives": Boston ed., 1859: Vol. II.: p. 240; "Morals": Boston ed., 1874: Vol. II.: p. 248.

XII. : p. 108.—Among the notices of human sacrifices, and of the later offerings of human blood to the gods, which are found in the Christian Fathers, are the following:—

"Why did we not even publicly profess that these were the things which we esteemed good, and prove that these are the divine philosophy, saying that the mysteries of Saturn are performed when we slay a man, and that when we drink our fill of blood, as it is said we do, we are doing what you do before that idol you honour, and on which you sprinkle the blood not only of irrational animals, but also of men, making a libation of the blood of the slain by the hand of the most illustrious and noble man among you."—[Justin Martyr: Apol. II.: XII.

"Wherefore, having seen these things, and moreover also having been admitted to the mysteries, and having everywhere examined the religious rites performed by the effeminate and the pathic, and having found among the Romans their Latiarian Jupiter delighting in human gore and the blood of slaughtered men, and Artemis not far from the great city [at Aricia] sanctioning acts of the same kind, . . retiring by myself I sought how I might be able to discover the truth."—[Tatian: "To the Greeks": XXIX.

"Children were openly sacrificed in Africa to Saturn as lately as the proconsulship of Tiberius, who exposed to public gaze the priests suspended on the sacred trees overshadowing their temple, so many crosses on which the punishment which justice craved overtook their crimes; as the soldiers of our country still can testify, who did that very work for the proconsul. And even now that sacred crime still continues to be done in secret."—[Tertullian: Apologet.: IX.

"Among the people of Cyprus, Teucer sacrificed a human victim to Jupiter, and handed down to posterity that sacrifice, which was lately abolished by Hadrian, when he was emperor. There was a law among the people of Tauris, a fierce and inhuman nation, that strangers should be sacrificed to Diana; and this sacrifice was practised through many ages. . . Nor, indeed, were the Latins free from this cruelty, since Jupiter Latialis is even now worshipped with the offering of human blood. . . Are not our countrymen, who have always claimed for themselves the glory of gentleness and civilization, found to be more inhuman by these sacrilegious rites?"—[Lactantius: "Div. Institutes" I. . 21.

XIII.: p. 108.—"Marius, finding himself hard put to it in the Cimbrian war had it revealed to him in a dream, that he should overcome his enemies if he would but sacrifice his daughter Calpurnia. He did it, preferring the common safety before any private bond of Nature, and he got the victory. There are two altars in Germany, where about that time of the year may be heard the sound of trumpets."—[Ref. to Dorotheus' Italian History.] [Plutarch: "Parallels": Boston ed., "Morals": 1874: Vol. 5: p. 463.

XIV.: p. 109.—"He [Julian, when preparing for his Persian expedition] offered repeated victims on the altar of the gods; sometimes sacrificing one hundred bulls, and countless flocks of animals of all kinds, and white birds, which he sought for everywhere by land and sea; so that every day individual soldiers who had stuffed themselves like boors with too much meat [at the idol-feasts], or who were senseless from the eagerness with which they had drunk, were placed on the shoulders of passers-by, and carried to their homes through the streets from the public temples where they had indulged in feasts which deserved punishment rather than indulgence."—[Ammian. Marcellin.: "Roman History": XXII.: 12: 6.

XV.: p. 109.—"Let it be argued, as it easily may—very learnedly—on grounds metaphysical, and on grounds ethical, that the Christian doctrine of Propitiation for sin (stated without reserve) is 'absurd,' and that it is 'impossible,' and that it is 'immoral,' and that it is everything that ought to be reprobated, and to be met with an indignant rejection:—let all such things be said, and they will be said to the world's end—it will to the world's end also be true that each human spirit, when awakened toward God, as to His moral attributes, finds rest in that same doctrine of the vicarious sufferings of the Divine Person, and finds no rest until it is *there* found."—[Isaac Taylor: "Restoration of Belief"; Boston ed., 1867: p. 320.

XVI.: p. 110.—"He, therefore, our God and Lord, . . declaring Himself constituted a priest forever, offered up to God the Father His own body and blood under the species of bread and wine: and under the symbols of these same things He delivered His own body and blood to be received by His apostles, whom He then constituted priests of the New Testament; and He commanded them, and their successors in the priesthood, to offer them; even as the Catholic Church has always understood and taught. . . And forasmuch as, in this divine sacrifice which is celebrated in the mass, that same Christ is contained and immolated in an unbloody manner, who once offered Himself in a bloody manner on the altar of the cross; the holy Synod teaches, that this

sacrifice is truly propitiatory, and that by means of it this is effected, that we obtain mercy, and find grace in seasonable aid, if we draw nigh unto God, contrite and penitent, with a sincere heart and upright faith, with fear and reverence."—[Canons and Decrees of Council of Trent: Sess. XXII.: cc. 1, 2.

XVII.: p. 112.—"Shall I offer victims and sacrifices to the Lord, such as He has produced for my use, that I should throw back to Him His own gifts? It is ungrateful, when the victim proper for sacrifice is a good disposition, and a pure mind, and a sincere judgment [or conscience]. Therefore he who cultivates innocence supplicates God; he who cultivates justice makes offerings to God; he who abstains from fraudulent practices propitiates God; he who snatches man from danger slaughters the most acceptable victim. These are our sacrifices, these are our rites of God's worship; thus, among us, he who is most just is he who is most religious."—[Minucius Felix: "Octavius": XXXII.

"I believe that the true Christian philosopher cannot but discern, through all the deviations and all the aberrations in that history of the religious mind which he has to observe and to record during fifteen centuries, and through all the bitter contention and conflicting anathemas of priests and theologians, . . one sublime and original thought, which, even in dark misunderstanding and in deep corruption, constitutes the redeeming feature and the Divine power in the minds of believers. This thought is nothing less than that great fundamental Christian idea of the reunion of the mind of mortal man with God, by thankful sacrifice of self, in life, and therefore also in worship. The critically sifted and restored documents which I subjoin, [Reliquiæ Liturgicæ]—speak that language with touching simplicity and irresistible energy."—[Bunsen: "Christianity and Mankind": London ed., 1854: Vol. 7: p. 4.

XVIII.: p. 113.—"Many stories are related of his youthful piety, his self-inflicted austerities, and his charity. One day he met a poor woman weeping bitterly; and when he inquired the cause, she told him that her only brother, her sole stay and support in the world, had been carried into captivity by the Moors. Dominick could not ransom her brother; he had given away all his money, and even sold his books to relieve the poor; but he offered all he could,—he offered himself, to be exchanged as a slave in place of her brother. The woman, astonished at such a proposal, fell upon her knees before him."—[Mrs. Jameson: "Legends of Monastic Orders"; London ed., 1872: p. 360.

A picture in one of the lunettes of the great cloister in the convent of San Marco at Florence, commemorates this action, early ascribed to the founder of the Dominicans who long occupied the convent.

XIX.: p. 114.—"'Do not imagine,' writes the Father Superior, 'that the rage of the Iroquois, and the loss of many Christians and many catechumens, can bring to nought the mystery of the cross of Jesus Christ, and the efficacy of his blood. We shall die; we shall be captured, burned, butchered: be it so. Those who die in their beds do not always die the best death. I see none of our company cast down. On the contrary, they ask leave to go up to the Hurons, and some of them protest that the fires of the Iroquois are one of their motives for the journey. . . Thus died Jean de Brébeuf, the founder of the Huron mission, its truest hero, and its greatest martyr. He came of a noble race,—the same, it is said, from which sprang the English Earls of Arundel; but never had the mailed barons of his line confronted a fate so appalling, with so prodigious a constancy. To the last he refused to flinch, and 'his death was the astonishment of his murderers.' . . Lalemant, physically weak from childhood, and slender almost to emaciation, was constitutionally unequal to a display of fortitude like that of his colleague. . . It was said that, at times, he seemed beside himself: then, rallying, with hands uplifted, he offered his sufferings to Heaven as a sacrifice."—[Parkman: "Jesuits in North America"; Boston ed., 1880: pp. 316, 389–91: see, also, pp. 98, 214–33, 252–5, 303–5; 405–7; *et al.*

XX.: p. 116.—"I do not believe the ancients ever did use simultaneous harmony, that is, music in different parts; for without thirds and sixths it must have been insipid; and with them the combination of many sounds and melodies, moving by different intervals, and in different time, would have occasioned a confusion, which the respect that the Greeks had for their language and poetry would not suffer them to tolerate."—[Charles Burney: "Hist. of Music"; London ed., 1776: Vol. 1: p. 149.

"Greek music was confined to twanging the gut-strings of instruments made in the fashion of either the harp or the guitar, and to blowing reeds or pipes, analogous to the principle of our fife or flute, and our clarinette or hautboy. . . I feel therefore obliged to conclude, upon the evidence before us, that in the great days of Terpander, Alcæus, Sappho, and Pindar, there was little that we could call harmony, and that Music was practically in a rude state."—[Mahaffy: "Rambles and Studies in Greece"; London ed., 1878: pp. 436, 450.

"As to the practice of music, it seems to have been carried to no very great degree of perfection by the Romans; the tibia and the lyre seem to have been the only instruments in use among them, and on these there were no performers of such distinguished merit as to render them worthy of the notice of posterity. . . Further we may venture to assert, that neither their religious solemnities, nor their triumphs,

their shows, or theatrical representations, splendid as they were, contributed in the least to the improvement of music, either in theory or practice."—[Hawkins: "Gen. Hist. of Music"; London ed., 1776: Vol. 1: pp. xlv., xlviii.

"Perhaps no one thing is more likely to strike the reader in the foregoing account than the very limited amount of invention among the Greeks, if there was even any at all, as to musical instruments. These seem to be all Asiatic or African. Even the word 'lyre' has not been traced to a Greek root, and we have representations of many-stringed lyres in Egyptian paintings before the Greeks were a nation. . . We can find no new principle for stringed instruments discovered by a Greek, nor anything new in pipes. All was ready made for them, together with their system of music. The Greeks were even inapt pupils; for although they had many strings ever before their eyes, they did but reduce the number, after a time, to bring the instruments down to their own level. They practised a certain amount of harmony, but not so much as earlier nations. . . On a first perusal of Greek authors on music, I had formed a much higher estimate of the nation, in comparison with others, than a subsequent more general acquaintance will sustain. . . The Greeks played and sang in minor keys only, and their Seventh of the key was the old minor Seventh, a whole tone below the octave, in ascending as well as descending."—[Chappell: "Hist. of Music"; London ed., 1874: Vol. 1: pp. 302, 25.

"It has been already stated that the musical scale and instruments of the Greeks, originally very narrow, were materially enlarged by borrowing from Phrygia and Lydia; and these acquisitions seem to have been first realized about the beginning of the seventh century B.C., through the Lesbian player Terpander, the Phrygian (or Greco-Phrygian) flute-player Olympus, and the Arkadian or Bœotian flute-player Klonas."—[Grote: "History of Greece"; London ed., 1872: Vol. 3: p. 299.

For the great indebtedness of the Greeks to the Egyptians, in regard to music, see Chappell's "History of Music," London ed., 1874: Vol. 1, pp. 47, 52, 60, 66, *et al.*

XXI.: p. 117.—"We must however make some allusion to the origin of this custom in the church, of singing responsive hymns. Ignatius, third bishop of Antioch in Syria from the apostle Peter, who also had conversed familiarly with the apostles themselves, saw a vision of angels hymning in alternate chants the Holy Trinity: after which he introduced the mode of singing which he had observed in the vision into the Antiochian Church, whence it was transmitted by tradition to all the other churches. Such is the account which we have received in relation to these responsive hymns."—[Socrates: Eccl. Hist.: VI.: 8.

"The organ, that special creation of Christian art, alone worthy to mingle its mystic voice with the pomp of the only truly divine worship,—the organ owes to the monks the perfection of its construction; and it is owing to them that it passed into general use. Cassiodorus, an illustrious monk of the sixth century, has given at once the most ancient and the most exact description of this king of instruments. . . Thus it is to an illustrious monk, St. Gregory the Great, that ecclesiastical music, the highest expression of the art, owes its origin. It is to a monk [Guido Aretino] that modern music owes the increase of simplicity which has made its study less difficult. They were monks who in the solitude of the Thebaïd, as well as in the monasteries of the Black Forest, during fourteen hundred years, enriched the store of musical science by their researches and their treatises. They were, finally, poor monks who from the eighth to the twelfth century composed, in the solitude of the cloister and under the inspiration of prayer, those immortal masterpieces of the Catholic liturgy, misunderstood, mutilated, parodied or proscribed by the barbarous taste of modern liturgists, but in which true knowledge does not hesitate to acknowledge in our days an ineffable delicacy of expression, an inimitable mingling of the pathetic and the powerful, the flowing and the profound, a soft and penetrating strength, and, to say all in few words, a beauty always natural, always fresh, always pure, which never becomes insipid, and which never grows old."—[Montalembert: "Monks of the West"; London ed., 1879: Vol. VI.: pp. 241–2, 245–6.

XXII.: p. 117.—"At the time of the institution of the Cantus Ambrosianus, an order of clergy was also established, whose employment it was to perform such parts of the service as were required to be sung. These were called Psalmistæ; and though by Bellarmine and a few other writers they are confounded with the Lectors, yet were they by the canonists accounted a separate and distinct order."—[Hawkins: "History of Music"; London ed., 1776: Vol. 1: p. 1.

"The first rise and institution of these singers [Psalmistæ], as an order of the clergy, seems to have been about the beginning of the fourth century. For the Council of Laodicea is the first that mentions them, unless any one thinks perhaps the Apostolical Canons to be a little more ancient. The reason of instituting them seems to have been to regulate and encourage the ancient psalmody of the church. For from the first and apostolical age singing was always a part of Divine service, in which the whole body of the church joined together. . . In after ages we find the people enjoyed their ancient privilege of singing all together; which is frequently mentioned by St. Austin, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Basil, and many others, who give an account of the psalmody and service of the church in their own ages."—[Bingham: "Antiq. of Christ. Church": B. III. · chap. VII.

"How greatly did I weep in Thy hymns and canticles, deeply moved by the voices of Thy sweet-speaking church! The voices flowed into mine ears, and the truth was poured forth into my heart, whence the agitation of my piety overflowed, and my tears ran over; and blessed was I therein! . . . At this time [under Ambrose] it was instituted that, after the manner of the Eastern Church, hymns and psalms should be sung, lest the people should pine away in the tediousness of sorrow:* which custom, retained from then till now, is imitated by many, yea, by almost all of Thy congregations throughout the rest of the world."—[Augustine: "Confessions": IX.: 6, 7.

XXIII.: p. 118.—"We no longer employ the ancient psaltery, and trumpet, and timbrel, and flute, which those expert in war and contemners of the fear of God were wont to make use of in the choruses at their festive assemblies. But let our genial feeling in drinking be twofold, in accordance with the law. For if 'thou shalt love the Lord thy God,' and then 'thy neighbour,' let its first manifestation be toward God, in thanksgiving and psalmody, and the second towards our neighbour in decorous fellowship."—[Clement of Alex.: "Instructor": II.: 4.

"Whatever remains of the day, now that the sun is sloping toward the evening, let us spend it in gladness, nor let even the hour of repast be without heavenly grace. Let the temperate meal resound with psalms. You will provide a better entertainment for your dearest friends, if, while we have something spiritual to listen to, the sweetness of religious music charm our ears."—[Cyprian: Ep. ad Donat. 16.

"Between the two [husband and wife] echo psalms and hymns; and they mutually challenge each other which shall better chant to their Lord. Such things, when Christ sees and hears, He joys. To these He sends His own peace."—[Tertullian: ad Uxor.: II.: 8.

"His palace [that of Theodosius Junior] was so regulated that it differed little from a monastery; for he, together with his sisters, rose early in the morning, and recited responsive hymns, in praise of the Deity."—[Socrates: Eccl. Hist.: VII.: 22.

"We ourselves have observed, when on the spot [in the Thebaïd], many crowded together in one day, some suffering decapitation, some the torments of flames; so that the murderous weapon was completely blunted, and having lost its edge broke in pieces; and the executioners themselves, wearied with slaughter, were obliged to relieve one another. Then, also, we were witnesses to the most admirable ardor of

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* Soldiers at the time surrounded the Basilica, to prevent the congregation from leaving it. The people and the Bishop remained thus shut up, in the buildings belonging to it, for several days.

mind, and the truly divine energy and alacrity, of those that believed in the Christ of God. . . They received, indeed, the final sentence of death with gladness and exultation, so far as even to sing and send up hymns of praise and thanksgiving, until they breathed their last."—[Eusebius: Eccl. Hist.: VIII.: 9.

"I shall say nothing of what he [the elder Valentinian] did at Antioch, except to mention his being struck with wonder at the freedom and cheerfulness of one most faithful and steadfast young man, who, when many were seized to be tortured, was tortured during a whole day, and sang under the instrument of torture, etc."—[Augustine: Civ. Dei; XVIII.: 52.

XXIV.: p. 118.—From the multitudinous testimonies of great Christian writers to the spiritual efficacy of music, three may be selected:—

"I am no musician, and want a good ear, yet I am conscious of a power in music which I want words to describe. It touches chords, reaches depths in the soul, which lie beyond all other influences—extends my consciousness, and has sometimes given me a pleasure which I have found in nothing else. Nothing in my experience is more mysterious, more inexplicable. An instinct has always led men to transfer it to Heaven, and I suspect the Christian under its power has often attained to a singular consciousness of his immortality. Facts of this nature make me feel what an infinite mystery our nature is, and how little our books of science reveal it to us."—[Letter of Dr. Channing: "Life of J. Blanco White"; London ed., 1845: Vol. 3: p. 195.

"Let us take another instance, of an outward and earthly form, or economy, under which great wonders unknown seem to be typified; I mean musical sounds, as they are exhibited most perfectly in instrumental harmony. . . To many men the very names which the science employs are utterly incomprehensible. To speak of an idea or a subject seems to be fanciful or trifling, to speak of the views which it opens upon us to be childish extravagance; yet is it possible that that inexhaustible evolution and disposition of notes, so rich yet so simple, so intricate yet so regulated, so various yet so majestic, should be a mere sound, which is gone and perishes? Can it be that those mysterious stirrings of heart, and keen emotions, and strange yearnings after we know not what, and awful impressions from we know not whence, should be wrought in us by what is unsubstantial, and comes and goes, and begins and ends in itself? It is not so; it cannot be. No: they have escaped from some higher sphere; they are the outpourings of eternal harmony, in the medium of created sound; they are echoes from our Home; they are the voice of Angels, or the Magnificat of Saints, or the living laws of Divine Governance or the Divine Attributes; something are they besides themselves, which we

cannot compass, which we cannot utter,—though mortal man, and he perhaps not otherwise distinguished above his fellows, has the gift of eliciting them."—[J. H. Newman: "University Sermons"; London ed., 1880: pp. 346–7.

"The interim of convenient rest before meat may both with profit and delight be taken up in recreating and composing their travailed spirits with the solemn and divine harmonies of Music heard or learned; either whilst the skillful organist plies his grave and fancied descant in lofty fugues, or the whole symphony with artful and unimaginable touches adorn and grace the well-studied chords of some choice composer; sometimes the lute, or soft organ-stop, waiting on elegant voices either to religious, martial, or civil ditties; which, if wise men and prophets be not extremely out, have a great power in dispositions and manners, to smooth and make them gentle from rustic harshness and distempered passions."—[Milton: "Of Education": Prose Works; London ed., 1753: Vol. 1: p. 147.

XXV.: p. 118.—"The excellence of the Hebrew devotional hymns has never been surpassed. Heathenism, Christianity, with all their science, arts, literature, bright and many-colored, have little that approaches these. They are the despair of imitators; still the uttered prayer of the Christian world. Tell us of Greece, whose air was redolent of song; its language such as Jove might speak; its sages, heroes, poets, honored in every clime,—they have no psalm of prayer and praise like these Hebrews, the devoutest of men, who saw God always before them, ready to take them up when father and mother let them fall."—[Theo. Parker: "Discourse of Religion"; Boston ed., 1842: p. 372.

XXVI.: p. 118.—"St. Jerome tells us that 'at the funeral of the famous lady, Paula, the psalms were sung in Syriac, Greek, and Latin, because there were men of each language present at the solemnity.' . . Aurelius Cassiodore, writing upon these words of the Psalmist, 'She shall be brought unto the king in raiment of divers colors,' says, 'This variety signified that diversity of tongues, wherewith every nation sang to God in the church, according to the difference of their own country-language.'"—[Bingham: "Antiq. of Christ. Church": XIII: 4: § 1.

XXVII.: p. 119.—Canon Liddon gives the following examples of "early apostolical hymns, sung, as it would seem, in the Redeemer's honour":—

1 Timothy 1 : 15; 3 : 16; 2 Timothy 2 : 11–13; Titus 3 : 4–7; Ephesians 5 : 14.—[Bampton Lectures; New York ed., 1868: p. 327–8.

To these may perhaps be added 1 Peter 3: 10–12; with several passages in the Apocalypse.—[See Schaff: "Hist. of Church": Vol. I.: p. 464.

XXVIII.: p. 119.—"Two or three hymns appear to have come down to us from a remote antiquity. Basil [who died A.D. 379] cites an Evening Hymn by some unknown author, which he describes as in his time very ancient, handed down from their fathers, and in use among the people."—[Coleman: "Ancient Christianity"; Phila. ed., 1852: p. 333.

The Greek form of this hymn is given by Daniel, Thesaurus Hymnologicus, III.: 5; and the following is one of the translations of it:—

"Jesus Christ, Joyful Light of the holy! Glory of the eternal, heavenly, holy, blessed Father! Having now come to the setting of the sun, beholding the evening light, we praise the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit of God. Thou art worthy to be praised of sacred voices at all seasons, O Son of God, who givest life: wherefore the universe glorifieth Thee."

XXIX.: p. 119.—"'Early in the morning they sing a hymn of praise to Christ as to a God,' are the words of Pliny. In the most ancient Greek Church this Hymn [the Gloria in Excelsis] is entitled 'The Morning Hymn.' The contents of this ascription of praise, here given in its original form, correspond entirely to the description of Pliny. Christ is, in conjunction with the Father, the object of invocation and praise. . . The first two verses—the angels' song of praise in the second chapter of Luke—are, as it were, the text for this more expansive Christian inspiration: the form is that of the Jewish psalmody."—[Bunsen: "God in History"; London ed., 1870: Vol. 3: p. 59.

XXX.: p. 119.—The Hymn of Clement has been translated by Dr. H. M. Dexter, of whose fine metrical version the first and last stanzas are these:—

"Shepherd of tender youth,
Guiding in love and truth
Through devious ways;
Christ, our triumphant King,
We come Thy name to sing,
Hither our children bring,
To shout Thy praise!
. . . . . .
"So now, and till we die,
Sound we Thy praises high,
And joyful sing:
Infants, and the glad throng
Who to Thy Church belong,
Unite to swell the song,
To Christ, our King!"

[Schaff: "Christ in Song"; New York ed., 1868: pp. 675–6.

"Whatever psalms and hymns were written by the brethren from the beginning, celebrate Christ, the Word of God, by asserting his Divinity."—[Quoted by Eusebius, from another author: Eccl. Hist.: V.: 28.

XXXI.: p. 119.—"We may make application of all which has been here said to the metrical forms of the classical poetry of Rome. These the Church found ready made to her hand, and in their kind having reached a very high perfection. . . But these which she thus inherited, while she was content of necessity to use, yet could not satisfy her. The Gospel had brought into men's hearts longings after the infinite and the eternal, which were strange to it, at least in their present intensity, until now. . . Now heaven had been opened, and henceforward the mystical element of modern poetry demanded its rights; vaguer but vaster thoughts were craving to find the harmonies to which they might be married forever. The boundless could not be content to find its organ in that of which the very perfection lay in its limitations and its bounds."—[Trench: "Sacred Latin Poetry"; London ed., 1849: pp. 7, 8.

XXXII.: p. 120.—"It [the Apostles' Creed] is not a logical statement of abstract doctrines, but a profession of living facts and saving truths. It is a liturgical poem, and an act of worship. . . It is intelligible and edifying to a child, and fresh and rich to the profoundest Christian scholar, who, as he advances in age, delights to go back to primitive foundations and first principles. It has the fragrance of antiquity, and the inestimable weight of universal consent. It is a bond of union between all ages and sections of Christendom. . . The Apostles' Creed is no piece of mosaic, but an organic unit, an instinctive work of art, in the same sense as the Gloria in Excelsis, the Te Deum, and the classical prayers and hymns of the Church."—[Schaff: "Creeds of Christendom"; New York ed., 1877: Vol. 1: pp. 15,23.

"I believe the words of the Apostles' Creed to be the work of the Holy Ghost; the Holy Spirit alone could have enunciated things so grand, in terms so precise, so expressive, so powerful. No human creature could have done it, nor all the human creatures of ten thousand worlds. This Creed, then, should be the constant object of our most serious attention. For myself, I cannot too highly admire or venerate it."—[Luther: "Table-Talk": CCLXIV.

XXXIII.: p. 121.—"It is now thoroughly recognized that there are five main Groups, or Families, of Liturgies; which are distinguished from each other chiefly, though not solely, by the different arrangements of their parts. Three of these are Oriental; one holds an inter-

mediate position; . . and one is purely Western. It is not easy to find a satisfactory nomenclature for these Groups. Sometimes they are connected with the name of the Apostle, or Apostolic man, who evangelized the locality in which the chief Liturgy of each group is supposed to have originated. Sometimes they are connected with the name of the Mother Church to which each chief Liturgy is thought to have belonged, viz., Jerusalem, Alexandria, Edessa, Ephesus, and Rome respectively. . . From an original Greek S. James sprang the numerous Syriac Liturgies (amounting to some eighty) and the Liturgy of S. Basil, belonging to Cesarea, and thence again that of S. Chrysostom, belonging to Constantinople, on one side, and the Armenian Liturgy on the other."—[Hammond: "Liturgies, Eastern and Western"; Oxford ed., 1878: pp. xvi., xvii.

XXXIV.: p. 121.—"But it satisfies me [placet] that if you have found any thing, whether in the Roman, the Gallic, or any other church, which may better please Almighty God, you shall carefully select it, and shall establish, by special instruction, in the church of the English, which is yet new to the faith, whatever you may have been able to collect from many churches. For things are not to be beloved on account of localities, but places are to be loved for the sake of good things. Choose, therefore, from individual churches, whatsoever things are pious, are religious, are correct; and these, collected as into one bouquet [fasciculum], place in customary use among the minds of the English."—[Gregory the Great: Answer to Augustine's Second Question. Bede: Hist. Eccles.: I.: XXVII.

XXXV.: p. 121.—"Of the petitions which are comprised in our litany, it may be observed that they are generally of remote antiquity in the English church. Mabillon has printed a litany of the Church of England, written probably in the eighth century, which contains a large part of that which we repeat at the present day, and which preserves exactly the same form of petition and request which is still retained. The still more ancient litanies of the abbey of Fulda, of the Ambrosian missal, and of Gelasius, Patriarch of Rome, together with the Diaconica or Irenica of the liturgies and offices of the churches of Constantinople, Cæsarea, Antioch, Jerusalem, etc.—all these ancient formularies contain very much the same petitions as the English litany."—[Palmer: "Origines Liturgicæ"; Oxford ed., 1836: Vol. 1: p. 288.

XXXVI.: p. 122.—"One cannot but lament, during this Paschal season, the utter disuse [in the English service] of the Alleluia, which gave so joyous a character to more ancient services. So deeply was this felt among every class of people that one of the commonest of

April flowers still retains, in Sussex, the name of Alleluia. The fare well to Alleluia, in the Mozarabic rite, is touchingly beautiful. It here takes place on the first Sunday in Lent, the ancient commencement of the Fast. After that noble hymn, the Alleluia Perenne, the Capitula are as follows:—'Alleluia in heaven and in earth; it is perpetuated in heaven, it is sung in earth. There it resounds everlastingly; here sweetly. There happily; here concordantly. There ineffably; here earnestly. There without syllables; here in musical numbers. There from the angels; here from the people.' . . So the French Breviaries, on this second Sunday after Easter, celebrate the return of Alleluia. After the beautiful lesson from S. Augustine—'The days have come for us to sing Alleluia. *Now* these days come only to pass away, and pass away to come again, and typify the Day which does not come and pass away, to which, when we shall have come, clinging to it, we shall not pass away'—they give the responses, etc."—[J. M. Neale: "Essays on Liturgiology"; London ed., 1867: pp. 65–6.

XXXVII.: p. 122.—"They [the hours of prayer] were seven in number. Matins, the first, third, sixth, and ninth hours, vespers, and compline. Matins were divided into two parts, which were originally distinct offices and hours; namely, the nocturn, and matin lauds. The nocturns or vigils were derived from the earliest periods of Christianity. . . The lauds, or more properly matin lauds, followed next after the nocturns, and were supposed to begin with day-break. . . Prime, or the first hour, followed lauds. This was first appointed as an hour of prayer in the monastery of Bethlehem, about the beginning of the fifth century. The third, sixth, and ninth hours of prayer are spoken of by the early Fathers of the second and third centuries. . . Vespers, or evensong, is mentioned by the most ancient Fathers. . . Compline, or completorium, was the last service of the day. This hour of prayer was first appointed by the celebrated abbot Benedict, in the sixth century."—[Palmer: "Origines Liturgicæ"; Oxford ed., 1836: Vol. 1: pp. 201–4.

The sumptuous richness of these "Books of Hours"—making any elaborate and costly elegance of modern *éditions de luxe* commonplace in comparison—shows how willing a minister art was to piety in the Middle Age; perhaps how far piety had become the fashion with the wealthy. In the catalogue of a single private English library—the "Huth Catalogue"—which happens to be at hand, are enumerated and described forty-four copies of the "Horæ Beatæ Mariæ Virginis," in different languages, and the following abridged description of one of these gives only a fair impression of a large class of such dainty and cherished volumes:—

"A splendidly illuminated MS. on 230 leaves of fine vellum, by a

French artist of the first excellence (7 by 5 inches). This beautiful volume is supposed to have been executed for Philip de Comines, and presented by him to some person of distinction. The large miniatures are thirty-seven in number, and many of them represent subjects of very unusual occurrence. [Among them are: Salvator Mundi, most expressively painted, with gold background; St. John in Patmos, with a landscape of exquisite beauty; the virgin and child, in a jeweled frame; the Adoration of the Magi, a very brilliant and delicate painting, with exquisite background; the Agony in the Garden, a wonderfully painted night-scene; St. John the Baptist in the Wilderness, a work of great beauty; St. Agatha seated in a garden, in a golden robe; etc., etc.] Besides these exquisite paintings, there are borders of very great beauty round every page, each one being entirely different. They are alternately painted in brilliant colors, and in a lustrous brown, heightened with gold. The Calendar is also treated in a similar manner."

A copy of the mere modern fac-simile of the famous "Hours of Anne of Brittany," made by M. Curmer in Paris, in 1861, has a commercial value reckoned in hundreds of dollars.

XXXVIII.: p. 123.—"Animism is not itself a religion, but a sort of primitive philosophy, which not only controls religion, but rules the whole life of the natural man. It is the belief in the existence of souls or spirits, of which only the powerful—those on which man feels himself dependent, and before which he stands in awe—acquire the rank of divine beings, and become objects of worship. These spirits are conceived as moving freely through earth and air, and, either of their own accord, or because conjured by some spell, and thus under compulsion, appearing to men. But they may also take up their abode, either temporarily or permanently, in some object, whether living or lifeless it matters not; and this object, as endowed with higher power, is then worshipped, or employed to protect individuals and communities."—[Tiele: "Hist. of Religion"; Boston ed., 1881: p. 9.

"To worship private gods, or new gods, or foreign gods, brings in a confusion of religions, with unknown ceremonies not recognised by the priests. It is accordingly proper that one worship the gods accepted by our ancestors, as they themselves submitted to this law. . . The Greeks, and we after them, judge better [than do the Persian Magi, who esteem the whole earth the common temple and house of the gods]; who, in order to augment piety toward the gods, have preferred that they should inhabit the same cities which we ourselves do. For this opinion advances religion as a matter of great advantage to cities."—[Cicero: De Legibus: II.: 10, 11.

"We have already seen that the proper destination of the Hellenic

temples was not to serve as places of religious assembly for public devotion, but that they secured a shelter for the image of the god, and a habitation for the deity supposed to be attached to his image. . . In fact they attributed to the hallowing rite, or consecration, by which the statue when finished was fitted for religious purposes, the power to attract the deity himself, so that he dwelt in the image as the soul does in the body. . . Thus the blessing of the image was described [by Minucius] as the act whereby the god was inducted into the image, and had a particular abode assigned to him."—[Döllinger: "The Gentile and the Jew"; London ed., 1862: Vol. 1: pp. 239, 241.

XXXIX.: p. 125.—"On the day when he pronounced these words ['the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth'], he was indeed the Son of God. He for the first time gave utterance to the idea upon which shall rest the edifice of the everlasting religion. He founded the pure worship, of no age, of no clime, which shall be that of all lofty souls to the end of time. Not only was his religion, that day, the benign religion of humanity, but it was the absolute religion: and if other planets have inhabitants endowed with reason and morality, their religion cannot be different from that which Jesus proclaimed at Jacob's well. Man has not been able to abide by this worship: we attain the ideal only for a moment. . . But the gleam shall become the full day, and, after passing through all the circles of error, humanity will return to these words, as to the immortal expression of its faith and its hopes."—[Renan: "Life of Jesus"; New York ed., 1864: p. 215.

XL.: p. 126.—"The church is itself this drama. It is a petrified mystery, a Passion in stone: or, rather, it is the Sufferer himself. The whole edifice, amid the austerity of its architectural geometry, is as a living human body. The nave, extending its two arms, is the Man on the cross: the crypt, the subterranean church, is the Man in the tomb: the tower, the spire—it is still He, but erect, and rising to heaven. In the choir, which declines in the direction of the nave, you see His head drooping in the agony: you recognize His blood in the vivid purple of the windows. . . There is something here stronger than arms of Titans: What is it? The breath of the Spirit! That light breath which passed before the face of Daniel, carrying away kingdoms and dashing empires to pieces, it is that which has swelled these vaulted arches, and wafted these towers to the sky. It has penetrated every part of this vast body with a powerful and harmonious life, and has drawn out of a grain of mustard seed the vegetation of this marvellous tree. . . Ascend to those aerial deserts, to the last points of the spires, where only the slater mounts, in danger and with trembling, you will

often find—left alone, under God's eye, to the stroke of the eternal winds—some delicate piece of workmanship, some masterpiece of sculptured art, in carving which the devout workman has occupied his life. Not a name is on it, not a mark, not a letter: he would have thought such a thing something subtracted from the glory of God"!—[Michelet: "Histoire de France"; Paris ed., 1855: Tom. II.: pp. 662, 673, 683.

XLI.: p. 127.—"When the person that descended to Trophonius returns, the sacrificers immediately place him on a throne, which they call the throne of Mnemosyne, and which stands not far from the adytum. Then they ask him what he has either seen or heard, and afterwards deliver him to certain persons who bring him to the temple of Good Fortune, and the Good Dæmon, while he is yet full of terror, and without any knowledge either of himself or of those that are near him. Afterwards, however, he recovers the use of his reason, and laughs just the same as before. I write this not from hearsay, but from what I have seen happen to others, and from what I experienced myself when I consulted the oracle of Trophonius."—[Pausanius: "Descript. of Greece": IX.: 39.

"We went, first of all, to see the site of Trophonius' oracle. As the gorge becomes narrower, there is, on the right side, a small cave, from which a sacred stream flows to join the larger river. Here numerous square panels, cut into the rock to hold votive tablets, now gone, indicate a sacred place to which pilgrims came to offer prayers for aid, and thanksgiving for success. The actual seat of the oracle is not certain, and is supposed to be some cave or aperture now covered by the Turkish fort on the rock immediately above; but the whole glen, with its beetling sides, its rushing river, and its cavernous vaulting, seems the very home and preserve of superstition."—[Mahaffy: "Rambles and Studies in Greece"; London ed., 1878: p. 238.

XLII.: p. 128.—"The Supreme Being, Brahma, is a cold Impersonality, out of relation with the world, unconscious of His own existence, and of ours, and devoid of all attributes and qualities. The so-called personal God, the first manifestation of the Impersonal, turns out on examination to be a myth; there is no God apart from ourselves, no Creator, no Holy Being, no Father, no Judge—no one, in a word, to adore, to love, or to fear. And as for ourselves, we are only unreal actors, on the semblance of a stage. The goal already referred to, is worthy of such a creed, being no less than the complete extinction of all spiritual, mental, and bodily powers, by absorption into the Impersonal."—[Jacob: "A Manual of Hindu Pantheism. The Vedântasâra"; Boston ed., 1881: p. 123.

"It can scarcely be understood how the followers of an atheistical

creed can make, consistently with their opinions, an attempt at prayer Such an act of devotion implies the belief in a being superior to men, who has a controlling power over them, and in whose hands their destinies are placed. . . The Burmese, in general, under difficult circumstances, unforeseen difficulties, sudden calamities, use always the cry, *Phra kaiba*—God assist me—to obtain from above assistance and protection. . . Whence that involuntary cry for assistance, but from the innate consciousness that above man there is some one ruling over his destinies? An atheistical system may be elaborated in a school of metaphysics, and forced upon ignorant and unreflecting masses, but practice will ever belie theory."—[Bp. Bigandet: "The Life or Legend of Gaudama"; London ed., 1880: Vol. 1.: pp. 78–9 (note).

XLIII.: p. 128.—"Kumârila always speaks of Buddha as a Kshatriya who tried to become a Brahman. For instance: 'And this very transgression of Buddha and his followers is represented as if it did him honour. For he is praised because he said, 'Let all the sins that have been committed in this world fall on me, that the world may be delivered.' It is said that if he thus transgressed the duty of a Kshatriya, and entered the life of a Brahman and preached, it was merely for the good of mankind; and that in adopting for the instruction of excluded people a law which had not been taught by the Brahmans, he took the sin upon himself and was benefiting others.'"—[Müller: "History of Sanskrit Literature"; London ed., 1859: pp. 79–80 (note).

XLIV.: p. 131.—"But among us you will find uneducated persons, and artisans, and old women, who, if they are unable in words to prove the benefit of our doctrine, yet by their deeds exhibit the benefit arising from their persuasion of its truth; they do not rehearse speeches, but exhibit good works."—[Athenagoras: "Plea for Christians": XI.

"The following are the rules laid down by them [Christians]: 'Let no one come to us who has been instructed, or who is wise or prudent, for such qualifications are deemed evil by us; but if there be any ignorant, or unintelligent, or uninstructed, or foolish persons, let them come with confidence.' By which words, acknowledging that such individuals are worthy of their God, they manifestly show that they desire and are able to gain over only the silly, and the mean, and the stupid, with women and children."—[Celsus: quoted by Origen: III.: 44.

"Not only do the rich among us pursue our philosophy, but the poor enjoy instruction gratuitously; for the things which come from God surpass the requital of worldly gifts. Thus we admit all who desire to hear, even old women and striplings; and, in short, persons of

every age are treated by us with respect, but every kind of licentiousness is kept at a distance."—[Tatian: "Address to the Greeks": XXXII

XLV.: p. 131.—"Thus do we render thanks to Thee, according to our feeble power, our God and Saviour, Christ; supreme Providence of the mighty Father, who both savest us from evil, and impartest to us Thy most blessed doctrine: thus we essay, not indeed to celebrate Thy praise, but to speak the language of thanksgiving. For what mortal is he who shall worthily declare Thy praise, of Whom we learn that Thou didst from nothing call creation into being, and illumine it with Thy light: that Thou didst regulate the confusion of the elements, by the laws of harmony and order! But chiefly we mark Thy loving-kindness, in that Thou hast caused those whose hearts inclined to Thee, to desire earnestly a divine and blessed life; and hast provided that, like merchants of true blessings, they might impart to many others the wisdom and happiness which they had received—themselves, meanwhile, reaping the everlasting fruit of virtue."—[Constantine: Orat. to Assembly: XI.: (Eusebius' Life; pp. 258–9.)

"Hence it [the martyr's death] is followed by hymns and psalms, and songs of praise to the all-seeing God; and a sacrifice of thanksgiving is offered in memory of such men, a bloodless, a harmless sacrifice, wherein is no need of the fragrant frankincense, no need of fire; but only enough of pure light [of tapers] to suffice the assembled worshippers."—[p. 262.]

XLVI.: p. 131.—"This rugged but fine old hymn, of which the author is not known, is probably of date as early as the eighth or ninth century; such is Mohnike's conclusion. I have alluded already to the manner in which these grand old compositions were recast in the Romish Church at the revival of learning, which was, in Italy at least, to so great an extent a revival of Paganism. This is one of the few which have not utterly perished in the process, in which some beauty has survived the transformation."—[Trench: "Sacred Latin Poetry"; London ed., 1849: p. 291.

NOTES TO LECTURE V.

NOTE I.: PAGE 138.—"Table IV.: Prov. 1; as to the immediate destruction of monstrous or deformed offspring.—Prov. 11; relating to the control of the father over his children, the right existing during their whole life to imprison, scourge, keep to rustic labor in chains, to sell or slay, even though they may be in the enjoyment of high state offices."—[Ortolan: "Hist. of Roman Law"; Prichard and Nasmith's ed., 1871: pp. 106–7.

The first of these Provisions is referred to by Cicero, De Leg.: III.: 8.

Dionysius, "Archæologia," 2, 26, 27, is an authority for the nature and place of the second Provision.

"The House Father had the *jus vitæ necisque*—the power of life and death over his children. He could remove them from the family, either without further provision, or by way of sale. In matters of property, whatever the son acquired was held for his father's use. If a legacy were left to him, the father received it. If he made a contract, the benefit of that contract, but not its burthen, enured to the father. The son was bound to marry at the father's command, but his wife and children were not in his own Hand. They, like himself, were subject to the all-pervading rule of the father. . . In a word, the son had no remedy, either civil or criminal, against his father, for any act, forbearance, or omission, of any kind whatever."—[W. E. Hearn: "Aryan Household"; London ed., 1879: pp. 91–2.

The statement of Coulanges is unquestionably correct:—"The law that permitted a father to sell or even to kill his son—a law that we find both in Greece and in Rome—was not established by a city. . . Private law existed before the city. When the city began to write its laws, it found this law already established, living, rooted in the customs, strong by universal observance."—["The Ancient City"; New York ed., 1874: p. 111.

II.: p. 139.—"He [Claudius] next married Plantia Urgulanilla, whose father had had the honor of a triumph, and Ælia Pætina, whose father was of consular rank. He divorced each; Urgulanilla, on account of the infamies of her lewdness, and the suspicion of mur

der. . . Claudia, really the daughter of Boter, his own freedman, although born five months before his divorce, he commanded to be exposed, and to be thrown naked at her mother's threshold."—[Suetonius, "Claudius": XXVI., XXVII.

Minucius Felix refers to the exposure of children to wild beasts and birds, and the practice of crushing them by strangling into a miserable kind of death, as continuing in his day.—["Octavius": XXX.

III.: p. 139.—"But now the new-born infant is committed to some Greek chambermaid, to whom is added one or another taken from among the slaves, very often the vilest of all, and not fit for any serious office whatever. By the nonsensical stories and deceptions of these people, the tender and uninstructed minds are directly imbued; nor does any one in all the house have the least thought of what he may say or do in the presence of the young master; while even the parents themselves accustom their little ones neither to probity nor to modesty, but to licentiousness and contemptuous talk."—[Tacitus: Orator. Dial.: XXIX.

IV.: p. 139.—"Let then these follies, which are hardly less than old-womanish, be expelled, representing that it is a miserable thing to die before one's time. . . These very persons, if a young child dies, think that this is to be borne with an undisturbed mind; that if indeed an infant in the cradle dies, there is to be no complaint whatever. Yet from such a child nature has more sharply exacted the return of what she had given."—[Cicero: Tuscul. Quaest.: I.: 39.

V.: p. 139.—"On the day on which he [Augustus] was born, when action was being taken in the Senate in regard to Catiline's conspiracy, and when Octavius, in consequence of his wife's being in child-birth, came later than usual, it is a fact well known and commonly reported that P. Nigidius, hearing the occasion of his tardiness, when he had learned the hour of the delivery, declared that a master of the world had been born."—[Suetonius: "Octav. Augustus": XCIV.

Dion Cassius adds that he who had made the prediction then restrained Octavius, who was troubled at this, and determined to destroy the child; and that the matter was one of notoriety at the time.—[XLV.; Leipsic ed., 1863: Vol. 2: p. 169.

Possibly both spoke in jest; but the power of doing what Octavius threatened is implied in the jest.

According to Herodotus, Hippocrates was advised by Chilon never to marry, or if he took a wife to send her away, if he had a son to disown him. He disregarded the advice, and became the father of Peisistratus.—[I.: 59.

"Within our own memory, the populace pierced with their sharp iron styles Erixo, a Roman knight, in the forum, because he had killed his son with whips. With difficulty did the authority of Augustus Cæsar snatch him from the furious hands as well of fathers as of sons." —[Seneca: De Clem.: I.: 14.

VI. : p. 140.—"For now, in the first place, if you had been disposed to follow out my command, it was proper that she should be dispatched; not that you should feign her death in words, and in reality give the hope of her life. But this I omit:—compassion, maternal affection: I allow it. But how well was her future provided for by you! What did you wish? Think. Most clearly your daughter was delivered by you to this old woman; either that through you she might get gain, or that the child might openly be sold."—[Terence: Heaut.: IV.: 1: 634–640.

See also Apuleius: "Golden Ass": X. (Ep. 14).

VII. : p. 140.—"Nor was it in the power of the father to dispose of the child as he thought fit: he was obliged to carry it before certain Tryers, at a place called Lesche; there were some of the elders of the tribe to which the child belonged; their business it was to carefully view the infant, and if they found it stout and well-made, they gave order for its rearing; . . but if they found it puny and ill-shaped, they ordered it to be taken to what was called the Apothetae, a sort of chasm under Taygetus; as thinking it neither for the good of the child itself, nor for the public interest, that it should be brought up, if it did not from the outset appear to be made to be healthy and vigorous. . . I myself have seen several of the youths endure whipping to death at the foot of the altar of Diana, surnamed Orthia."—[Plutarch: "Lives"; Boston ed., 1859: Vol. 1: pp. 105, 108.

VIII. : p. 140.—"The proper officers will take the offspring of the good parents to the pen or fold, and there they will deposit them with certain nurses who dwell in a separate quarter; but the offspring of the inferior, or of the better when they chance to be deformed, they will conceal in some mysterious, unknown place. Decency will be respected."—[Plato: "Republic": v.: 460.

"With respect to the exposing or bringing up of children, let it be a law that nothing imperfect or maimed shall be brought up; but, to avoid an excess of population, let some law be laid down, if it be not permitted by the habits and customs of the people, that any of the children born shall be exposed; for a limit must be fixed to the population of the state. But if any parents have more children than the number prescribed, before life and sensation begin an abortion must be brought about."—[Aristotle: "Politics": VII.: 16.

It will be remembered by those who have read Becker's "Charicles" that the discovery in manhood of a son who had been abandoned in infancy, is the fact by which that interesting and instructive portrait of Greek manners is brought to its climax:—

"'By Olympian Zeus'! shouted Sophilos, 'that man has found it; and I am he. With this very ring I had my third child exposed, because, fool that I was, two male heirs seemed quite enough to me at that time. One-and-twenty years have rolled by since then; that is thine age, and thou art my son'!"—["Charicles; or Private Life of Ancient Greeks"; London ed., 1866: p. 201.

The plan of Plato to regulate the plays of children by the state, has been illustrated in an extract from the "Laws" (VII. : 797) in a previous note.—[Lect. III.: note XVII.

IX.: p. 140.—"We destroy rabid dogs, we kill a fierce and unmanageable ox, and on sick sheep we let drive the iron, lest they should infect the flock; we deprive of life unnatural offspring; likewise we drown children if they are born disabled and monstrous. It is not wrath, but reason, so to separate things useless from those that are sound."—[Seneca: De Ira: I.: 15.

"Dost thou wish to know how slight a benefit it may be thus to give life to a child? If thou hadst exposed me [implying that this was at the option of the father], certainly it would have been an injury to have begotten me."—[De Benef.: III.: 31.

Even Socrates, it is to be noticed, speaks carelessly, almost sneeringly, of the anguish of young mothers when their first children were taken from them.—[Theatetus: 151.

X.: p. 141.—"The mere tie of blood-relationship was of no account among the Romans. They used the words *parens*, *parentes*, in the strict sense of 'begetting,' and not as the English, who apply the term both to father and mother, nor as the French, who include in it the whole [body of] relations. . . The tie of family was not the tie of blood; it was not the tie produced by marriage and by generation, but a bond created by civil law—a bond of power. . . This idea of power as the basis of the Roman family must be taken in its most absolute, most despotic sense. A single individual, the head, was the master, the proprietor of all the others, of all the patrimony; body and estate, all were his. As for himself, he was independent."—[Ortolan: "Hist. of Roman Law"; Prichard and Nasmith's ed., 1871: pp. 129, 578–79.

"By the eldest, at the moment of his birth, the father, having begotten a son, discharges his debt to his own progenitors: the eldest son, therefore, ought before partition to manage the whole patrimony. That son alone, by whose birth he discharges his debt, and through

whom he attains immortality, was begotten from a sense of duty : the rest are considered by the wise as begotten from love of pleasure."—[Laws of Menu; IX.: 106, 107; Sir W. Jones' Works: London ed., 1807: Vol. 8: pp. 18, 19.

XI.: p. 141.—"The greatest reverence is due to a boy : if you are making ready for anything base, do not despise the years of the child, but let your infant son stand in the way of the sin about to be committed. . . It is a matter for gratitude that you have given a citizen to your country and people, if you bring it to pass that he shall be fit for service to the state, useful to her lands, useful in the transaction of affairs both of war and of peace. For it will be a matter of the greatest concern in what pursuits and in what moral habits you shall instruct him."—[Juvenal: Sat. XIV.: 47–49, 70–74.

XII.: p. 142.—"The question which relates to the children who were born free, and then exposed, and who, being afterward supported by others, have been trained in slavery, has often been discussed ; but nothing is found in the constitutions of the princes who preceded me which has been ordained for all the provinces. . . I am therefore of opinion that the claim of those is not to be denied who legally demand their liberty upon this basis : nor is that liberty to be re-purchased by paying the cost of what has been expended for their maintenance."—[Trajan to Pliny : Epist. X.: 72.

This humane decision, however, was found to operate cruelly, in discouraging the preservation of abandoned children by those who found them, and so it was not maintained by later emperors.

"Indeed I find nothing more suitable to the purpose [of aiding the poor] than that which I have myself done. For five hundred thousand sesterces [$20,000], which I proposed for aid in the maintenance of free-born children, I made sale of an estate of mine, worth much more, to the public agent : the same estate I received back from him, with a rent-charge imposed of thirty thousand sesterces ($1,200), to be annually paid. In this way the principal sum was safely secured to the state, nor was the revenue left uncertain; and the estate, which far surpasses in value the rent-charge, will always find a master by whom it shall be carried on."—[Pliny; Ep. VII.: 18.

XIII.: p. 142.—"Over the person of the child the father had originally a power of life and death. So the *Lex Pompeia de paricidiis*, enumerating the persons who could be guilty of parricide, or the murder of a blood relation, omits the father. But in later times this power was withdrawn. Hadrian condemned to deportation a father who in the hunting-field killed his son who had committed adultery with his step-

mother. Constantine, A.D. 319, included killing by a father under the crime of parricide. Fathers retained the power of moderate chastisement, but severe punishment could only be inflicted by the magistrate. . . It was originally at the option of the parent whether he would rear an infant or expose it to perish; but in later times exposition was unlawful: (A.D. 374)."—[Poste: Comm. on Gaius' Instit.; Oxford ed., 1875: p. 65.

XIV.: p. 145.—"Thou shalt not slay the child by procuring abortion: nor, again, shalt thou destroy it after it is born. Thou shalt not withdraw thy hand from thy son, or from thy daughter, but from their infancy thou shalt teach them the fear of the Lord. . . Thou shalt not issue orders with bitterness to thy maid-servant or thy man-servant, who trust in the same God, lest thou shouldst not reverence that God who is above both."—[Ep. of Barnabas: XIX.

"But as for us [Christians], we have been taught that to expose newly-born children is the part of wicked men; and this we have been taught lest we should do any one an injury, and lest we should sin against God; first, because we see that almost all so exposed—not only the girls, but also the males—are brought up to prostitution; . . and again [we fear to expose children], lest some of them be not picked up but die, and we become murderers."—[Justin Martyr; Apol. I.: 27, 29.

"Therefore let no one imagine that this is allowed, to strangle newborn children, which is the greatest impiety: for God breathes into their souls for life, and not for death. . . Can they be considered innocent who expose their offspring as a prey to dogs, and, as far as it depends on themselves, kill them in a more cruel manner than if they had strangled them? Who can doubt that he is impious who gives occasion for the pity of others [to save his exposed child]? For although that which he has wished should befall the child—namely, that it should be brought up—he has certainly consigned his own offspring either to servitude or to the brothel. . . It is therefore as wicked to expose as it is to kill."—[Lactantius: Div. Inst.: VI.: 20.

XV.: p. 145.—The words of Irenæus show how affectionately a relation of the Master's mission to infants was recognized in the second century, when he speaks of the Lord as "sanctifying every age by that period corresponding to it which belonged to Himself. For He came to save all through means of Himself—all, I say, who through Him are born again to God—infants, and children, and boys, and young men, and old men. He therefore passed through every age, becoming an infant for infants, thus sanctifying infants: a child for children, thus sanctifying those of this age, being at the same time

made to them an example of piety, righteousness, and submission: etc."—["Against Heresies": II.: 22: § 4.

Tertullian's energetic declaration in favor of deferring the baptism of infants shows how common in his time was the opposite practice:—"According to the circumstances, and disposition, and even the age, of each individual, the delay of baptism is preferable; principally, however, in the case of little children. For why is it necessary . . that the sponsors likewise should be thrust into danger? who both themselves, by reason of mortality, may fail to fulfill their promises, and may be disappointed by the development of an evil disposition [in the young child for whom they stand]. The Lord doth indeed say, 'Forbid them not to come unto me.' Let them come then, while they are growing up; . let them become Christians [in baptism] when they have become able to know Christ. Why should the innocent period of life hasten to 'the remission of sins'?"—[On Baptism: XVIII.

Origen, as is well known, treated Infant Baptism as "an apostolical tradition"; and Cyprian, with the consent of many Bishops, in the middle of the third century, would have as little time as possible intervene between the birth and the baptism.—[Ep. LVIII: (To Fidus).

Justin Martyr, in his first Apology (ch. 15), speaks of "many, both men and women, who have been Christ's disciples from childhood, and who remain pure at the age of sixty or seventy years," and adds that he could "produce such from every race of men." This shows at least the early recognition of young children in the household of believers.

XVI.: p. 145.—"After this [the Hosanna] let the bishop partake, then the presbyters, and deacons, and sub-deacons, and the readers, and the singers, and the ascetics; then, of the women, the deaconesses, and the virgins, and the widows; then the children; and then all the people in order, etc."—["Apostolic Constitutions": VIII.: 13: (Third Cent.)

"When, however, the solemnities were finished [of prayer and supplication] and the deacon began to offer the cup to those present, and when, as the rest received it, its turn approached, the little child [having been previously forced by the magistrates to partake of an idolatrous sacrifice], by the instinct of the divine majesty, turned away its face, compressed its mouth with resisting lips, and refused the cup. Still the deacon persisted, and, although against her efforts, forced on her some of the sacrament of the cup."—[Cyprian: "On the Lapsed": XXV.

"The Oriental Churches, in conformity with ancient usage, still administer the Eucharist to infants. In the Coptic Church it may even happen that an infant is the only recipient. The Latin Church, on the

other hand, in deference to modern feeling, has not only abandoned but actually forbidden a practice which, as far as antiquity is concerned, might insist on unconditional retention."—[Stanley: "Eastern Church"; New York ed., 1862: p. 119.

"If any one saith, that the communion of the Eucharist is necessary for little children, before they have arrived at years of discretion: let him be Anathema."—[Council of Trent: Sess. XXI.: chap. IV.: can. 4.

XVII.: p. 147.—The early Oriental feeling concerning woman may seem still to find expression in the Jewish worship of our day. In the morning service for the Jewish Sabbath, among other ascriptions of praise to God, are these:

"Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe! who hath not made me a Heathen.

"Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe! who hath not made me a Slave.

"Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe! who hath not made me a Woman.

"The women say: Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe! who hath made me according to His will."

In "The Ethics," contained also in the Hebrew Prayer-Book, it is related that "Jose Ben Jochanan, of Jerusalem, said, let thy house be wide open: and let the poor be thy domestic servants, and be not prone to much discourse with woman-kind: not even with thy wife, much less with thy neighbor's wife: hence the wise men say, whoever converses much with women, bringeth evil on himself, and thus neglects the study of the law, and at last will inherit hell."—["Prayers of Israel"; New York ed. (11th), 1870: p. 11; "Ethics": chap. 1: pp. 3, 5.

Prof. Murray says, however, in speaking of the Temple-worship at Jerusalem:—

"This regular choir was made up both of bass and soprano voices. The soprano parts were carried by female singers—this once disputed question is now very clear to all scholars. Here, as so often elsewhere, the Jewish orthodoxy of modern times, in allowing no female singers in the Synagogue, represents not a knowledge but an ignorance of the past. In fact, I believe that all the restrictive regulations of the service and the worship, as the Court of the Women, and many distinctions inimical to them, are the outgrowth of later times and foreign influence."—[T. C. Murray: "Lects. on Psalms"; New York ed., 1880: pp. 307–8.

This seems confirmed by the instruction of the Talmud:—

"Love your wife like yourself, honour her more than yourself. Whosoever lives unmarried, lives without joy, without comfort, without blessing. . . He who forsakes the love of his youth, God's altar

weeps for him. He who sees his wife die before him, has, as it were, been present at the destruction of the sanctuary itself—around him the world grows dark. It is woman alone through whom God's blessings are vouchsafed to a house. She teaches the children, speeds the husband to the place of worship and instruction, welcomes him when he returns, keeps the house godly and pure, and God's blessings rest upon all these things."—[See Emanuel Deutsch: "Remains"; New York ed., 1874: p. 56.

XVIII.: p. 148.—"The last extreme of popular liberty is when the slave bought with money, whether male or female, is just as free as his or her purchaser; nor must I forget to speak of the liberty and equality of the two sexes in relation to each other."—[Plato: "Republic": VIII.: 563.

Cicero's commentary on Plato's doctrine on this point is:—

"When the insatiate jaws of the populace are parched in thirst for liberty, and the people, instigated by evil ministers, drains in that thirst a too untempered freedom, . . then it comes to pass that the father fears the son; that the son neglects the father; all modesty is banished, that they all may become manifestly free. . . From which it results that even the slaves bear themselves as under slight restraint; that wives possess the same legal privilege with their husbands; indeed, in a liberty so excessive, even dogs, horses, and asses are finally emancipated, to rush about at their will."—["De Repub.": I.: 43.

XIX.: p. 148.—"With respect to manners [in a tragedy] there are four things to which one ought to direct attention: one, and the first, that they be good. . . But manners are to be found in each genus; for both a woman and a slave may be good; though perhaps of these, the one is less good, and the other is wholly bad."—[Aristotle: "Poetic": XV.

XX.: p. 148.—"The law which is the sequel of this, and of all that has preceded, is to this effect,—'that the wives of these guardians are to be common, and their children also common, and no parent is to know his own child, nor any child his parent.'"—[Plato: "Republic": V.: 457.

"The proposal was that all wives and children should be in common; and we devised means that no one should ever be able to know his own child, but that all should imagine themselves to be of one family, and should regard as brothers and sisters those who were within a certain limit of age; and those who were of an elder generation they were to regard as parents and grandparents, and those who were of a younger generation as children and grandchildren. . . And

you remember how we said that the children of the good parents were to be educated, and the children of bad parents secretly dispersed among the other citizens, etc."—["Timaeus": 18, 19.

XXI.: p. 148.—"Nature had cried with a voice almost audible to woman, 'to be respectable, you must be chaste.' Athens had the audacity to say, 'to be prized and regarded among us, you must be unchaste.' . . In conformity with these views, the education which was denied to the woman of character was sedulously bestowed upon the woman who thus consented to purchase knowledge at the price of character. To sing, to dance, to play upon the lyre, to blow the single and the double flute, were accomplishments in which the hetæra was, from the tenderest years, carefully instructed; and though Grecian manners did not admit of her appearing upon the stage, the habits of private life afforded ample opportunity for the display of these talents, and for advancing the fortunes of the possessor of them. . . The woman thus trained and educated became the companion of statesmen, of poets and philosophers; she lived and conversed with those who had the gift of immortality in their hands; and accordingly, while the modest but unlettered housewife sank into oblivion, the hetæra became the subject of history; her birth was made an object of curiosity; her fortunes were carefully traced; her *bon-mots* and sallies of wit were diligently registered; and after wearing a diadem, perhaps, during her life, she was buried in a tomb which, from its unrivalled magnificence, a stranger to Athenian customs was apt to think dedicated to the most perfect of her heroes, philosophers, or statesmen."—[Quarterly Review: Vol. 22: pp. 190–194.

XXII.: p. 148.—"The law of Solon declares that all acts shall be null and void, which are done by any one under the influence of a woman; much more, such a woman as that [the mistress of Olympiodorus]. Wisely has the legislator provided."—[Demosthenes: Orat. adv. Olymp.: 1183.

XXIII.: p. 148.—"If, again, I must say anything on the subject of woman's excellence also, with reference to those of you who will now be in widowhood, I will express it all in a brief exhortation: Great will be your glory in not falling short of the natural character that belongs to you; and great is hers who is least talked of among the men, whether for good or evil."—[Pericles' Funeral Oration: Thucydides: II.: 45. According to Plato, this celebrated oration was composed by Aspasia. "Menexenus": 236.

XXIV.: p. 148.—"By a girl, or by a young woman, or by a woman

advanced in years, nothing must be done, even in her own dwelling place, according to her mere pleasure.

"In childhood must a female be dependent on her father; in youth, on her husband; her lord being dead, on her sons; if she have no sons, on the near kinsmen of her husband; if he left no kinsmen, on those of her father; if she have no paternal kinsmen, on the sovereign. A woman must never seek independence."—[Laws of Menu : chap. v.: 147–8. Works of Sir William Jones; London ed., 1807: Vol. 7: p. 269.

"Without exception, they [certain native street-songs in India] declared that life in India had become intolerable since the English criminal laws had begun to treat women and children as if they were men."—[Sir H. S. Maine : "Village Communities"; London ed., 1871 : pp. 115–16.

"We are told by the same author [Megasthenes] that the Indians did not communicate their metaphysical doctrines to women ; thinking that if their wives understood these doctrines, and learned to be indifferent to pleasure and pain, and to consider life and death as the same, they would no longer continue to be the slaves of others; or, if they failed to understand them, they would be talkative, and communicate their knowledge to those who had no right to it. This statement of the Greek author is fully borne out by the later Sanskrit authorities."—[Max Müller : "History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature"; London ed., 1859 : p. 27.

XXV. : p. 149.—"Man," said he [Confucius], "is the representative of Heaven, and is supreme over all things. Woman yields obedience to the instructions of man, and helps to carry out his principles. On this account she can determine nothing of herself, and is subject to the rule of the three obediences. When young, she must obey her father and elder brother; when married, she must obey her husband; when her husband is dead, she must obey her son. . . Woman's business is simply the preparation and supplying of wine and food. Beyond the threshold of her apartments she should not be known, for evil or for good. . . She may take no step on her own motion, and may come to no conclusion on her own deliberation."—[Legge: "Chinese Classics": Proleg.: Ch. V.: Sect. 11: § 7.

After noticing the combination of two characters in the Chinese language to denote happiness, and inferring that 'the Chinese notion of happiness is simply represented by a mouth, filled with good rice,' Schlegel adds: "Another example of nearly the same kind is given by Rémusat, with something of shyness and reserve:—the character designating woman, when doubled, signifies strife and contention, and when tripled, immoral and disorderly conduct."—[Frederick Schlegel: "Philosophy of History"; New York ed., 1841: Vol. 1: p. 164.

XXVI. : p. 149.—"Even a man like Metellus Macedonicus [Gibbon says Numidicus], who, for his honorable domestic life and his numerous host of children, was the admiration of his contemporaries, when Censor in 623 [A.U.C.] enforced the obligation of the burgesses to live in a state of matrimony, by describing it as an oppressive public burden, which patriots ought nevertheless to undertake from a sense of duty. 'If we could,' he said, 'we should indeed keep clear of this burden. But as nature has so arranged it that we cannot either live comfortably with wives, or live at all without them, it is proper to have regard rather to the permanent weal than to our brief comfort.' . . Cato, the censor, had in like manner declared that 'all women were plaguey and proud,' and that 'if men were quit of women they would probably be less godless.'"—[Mommsen: "Hist. of Rome"; New York ed.: Vol. 3: p. 503; 2: p. 481.

He [Cato] had expelled from the Senate Manilius, who had expectation of the consulship, because he had kissed his wife in the daytime, and in the presence of his daughter.—[See Plutarch: "Lives"; Boston ed., 1859: Vol. 2: p. 338.

XXVII. : p. 149.—"According to our ancestors, even women who have attained their majority, on account of their levity of mind, require to be kept in tutelage. Accordingly, when a brother and a sister have a testamentary guardian, on reaching the age of puberty the brother ceases to be a ward, but the sister continues, for it is only under the *lex Julia et Papia Poppaea*, and by title of maternity [having borne children three times], that women are emancipated from tutelage; except in the case of vestal virgins."—[Gaius: "Institutes": 1: §§ 144–5.

"Women, in the primitive law of the Romans, were under the power of their father, or under the hand of their husband; they were the property of another; and when circumstances had made them *sui juris*, *matres familias*, they were placed under a perpetual guardianship, the supervision of their agnates [descendants through males, from a common ancestor], never having any power over their children. The woman was, in short, as is elegantly and concisely expressed by Ulpian, 'The beginning and the end of her family,' [familiæ suæ et caput et finis]."—[Ortolan: "Hist. of Roman Law"; Prichard and Nasmith's ed., 1871: p. 599.

"All women, on account of the infirmity of their judgment, our ancestors determined should be under the power of tutors; these men [a class of lawyers] have discovered sorts of tutors who are themselves restrained by the power of the women."—[Cicero: Orat. pro Murena: XII.

"At Rome, women . . were long under a kind of perpetual guardianship [to the time of Claudius]; they were not permitted to be sureties for any one; and it was only under the later emperors that they were

allowed to be guardians to their own children, or grand-children. Sometimes the punishments inflicted upon women were less severe than upon men."—[Lord Mackenzie: "Studies in Roman Law": Edinburgh ed., 1880: p. 79.

"If an only child, who by his father's death had just come into a large property, died himself without a will, the nearest agnate, though he were only a fourth or fifth cousin, could shut out the widowed mother from all share in the estate which had belonged to her husband and child. So, if a woman died intestate, leaving infant children, her agnate ten degrees removed, if there were none nearer, could prevent her children from obtaining the least share in any property she might have left."—[Hadley: "Introd. to Roman Law"; New York ed., 1880: p. 284.

XXVIII. : p. 150.—Cicero says of the Voconian Law that it "was introduced for the sake of the advantage of men, but was full of injustice toward women. For why should not a woman possess property? Why may a vestal virgin become an heir, while her own mother cannot?"—[De Repub.: III.: 7.

He further says that Quintus Voconius "did not take away an inheritance which already had passed to any virgin or matron, but he ordained for the future that no one enrolled in the census after the year of the then existing censors, should make either virgin or matron his heir."—[Orat. in Verrem: Act. II.: I.: 42.

He mentions an instance where a man left legal heir to an estate, by a will which also stated that he had been requested to transfer it to the daughter of the dying owner, obeyed the law, and retained the inheritance.—[De Finibus: II. 17.

Gaius indicates the way in which the Law came to be evaded or mitigated:—

"A woman who cannot, under the Voconian Law, be instituted as heiress by one who is registered as having a hundred thousand sesterces, can yet take the inheritance left for her *fidei commisso*" [by trusting it to the good faith of the nominal heir].—[Instit.: II.: 273.

Augustine's judgment of the Law was a sharp one:—

"At that time—I mean between the second and third Punic war—that notorious Lex Voconia was passed, which prohibited a man from making a woman, even an only daughter, his heir; than which Law I am at a loss to conceive what could be more unjust."—[Civ. Dei: III.: 21.

XXIX.: p. 150.—"Such great madness possesses some men that they think it possible that disgrace should be put upon them by a woman! What matters it how much a woman possesses, how many litter-bear-

ers she has, how spaciously luxurious is her sedan? All the same she is an inconsiderate [or impudent] animal; and unless she has advanced in philosophical knowledge, and in various learning, she is cruel and incontinent in desires."—[Seneca: Const. Sapient.: XIV.

XXX.: p. 150.—"Her acuteness of understanding [Calpurnia's] is of the highest, her moral worth also; she loves me, which is the index of her purity. By these she advances in that relish for literary culture which she first conceived through her affection for me. She has my writings, which she eagerly reads, even learns by heart. . . If at any time I recite from my works, she sits near, concealed behind a curtain, and drinks in my praises with greedy ears. She sings my verses too, and adapts them to the cithern, with no other artist to teach her but love—who is the best possible instructor."—[Pliny: (to Hispulla, aunt of Calpurnia): Ep. IV.: 19.

To Calpurnia herself he writes, somewhat rhetorically, a little egotistically, but in the affectionate tone of an honest and courteous gentleman:—

"You write that my absence affects you in no slight degree, and that you have only the solace that you have my books instead of me, and often set them before you in my place. It is pleasant that you miss me, and that you find rest in these consolations; in return, I eagerly read your letters, and take them up repeatedly, as into fresh hands but the more by this am I kindled with desire for yourself. For how much of delightfulness must there be in the conversation of her even whose letters have so much that is agreeable."—[VI.: 7. (also, VII.: 5.)

"You [Maximus] acted properly when you promised a gladiatorial combat to our citizens of Verona, by whom you have so long been beloved, esteemed, and honored. From that city you received your beloved and excellent wife, to whose memory was due either some grand monument, or some public spectacle, and the latter the most important, as specially suited to funeral rites. . . I wish that the African panthers, of which you had provided so many, had arrived on the day appointed; but though they failed, detained by stormy weather, your desert remains the same, as it did not come to pass through you that that which had been arranged by you was only in part exhibited."—Epis. VI. 34.

The same Pliny mentions, however, several noble or charming women; among them, Arria, who carefully concealed from her sick husband the anguish which she felt at the death of their son, who determined to die with her husband on his condemnation, and who plunged the sword into her breast, saying as she drew it back, 'Pætus, it is not painful,' [Ep. III.: 16]: Fannia, her grand-daughter, of a similar spirit, wise, pious, steadfast, pure, as well as pleasing and courteous,

who twice followed her husband into exile, and who had contracted a dangerous sickness in ministering to one of the Vestal Virgins [VII.: 19]: the wife of Macrinus, who would have been held singularly exemplary, even if she had lived in former times [VIII.: 5]: especially the daughter of Fundanus, not yet fourteen years old, but mature in wisdom, uniting with matronly gravity girlish sweetness, and a virginal modesty, [V.: 16].

Certainly society was not yet so corrupt as to be incapable of regeneration, while such women continued in it; but it becomes the more significant that Pliny should be almost singular among the writers of his time in recording their excellence.

XXXI.: p. 150.—"Just that part of the human race which is by nature prone to secrecy and stealth, on account of their weakness—I mean the female sex—has been left without regulation by the legislator, which is a great mistake; . . for the neglect of regulations about women may not only be regarded as a neglect of half the entire matter, but, in proportion as woman's nature is inferior to that of men in capacity of virtue, in that proportion is she more important than the two halves put together. . . For women are accustomed to creep into dark places, and when dragged out into the light they will exert their utmost powers of resistance, and be far too much for the legislator."—[Plato: "Laws": VI.: 781.

"The other element [in the legend of Prometheus], a conviction of the vast mischief arising to men from women, whom yet they cannot dispense with, is frequently and strongly set forth in several of the Greek poets—by Simonidês of Amorgos, and Phokylidês, not less than by Euripides."—[Grote: "History of Greece"; London ed., 1872: Vol. 1.: p. 73.

So Æschylus, Father of Tragedy, in the "Seven against Thebes" makes Eteocles say: "Neither in woes, nor in welcome prosperity, may I be associated with woman-kind; for when woman prevails, her audacity is more than anybody can live with; and when she is frightened, she is a still greater mischief to her home and city."—[174–177.

Aristophanes freely represents the Athenian women as licentious and stupid, drunken, thievish, and false; their 'wild eyes swimming in a mist of wine.'

Yet the Odyssey was then radiant with the picture of Nausicaa; and it was into the lips of Antigone that Sophocles put the lofty words concerning the unwritten and immovable laws of the Gods, which Cicero in the wonderful passage of the Republic [III.: 17] hardly more than echoes and amplifies.

XXXII.: p. 151.—"Before Augustus it [concubinage] had had no

legal appellation, and everything leads us to believe that it was not distinguished from illicit and unauthorized connections. But under this emperor it was completely set apart from such, and took a place among the agreements authorized by natural right and legally recognized. . . Formed by mere consent, and capable of being dissolved in the same way, it allowed no public ceremony: no dowry was connected with it: the woman called concubina, amica, convictrix, had not the honorable title of Mater-familias: she did not participate in the honors of her husband, she only shared his bed, his table, and his affection."

The children born of such a connection had, however, the same rights in regard to the property of the Mother as had children born in wedlock.—[Troplong: "De l'Influence du Christianisme"; Paris ed., 1868: pp. 238–244.

"In regard to women, indeed, those laws of your fathers, which used to be such an encouragement to modesty and sobriety, have also fallen into desuetude; . . when the abstinence of women from wine was carried so far, that a matron, for opening the compartment of a wine-cellar, was starved to death by her friends—while, in the times of Romulus, for merely tasting wine, Mecenius killed his wife, and suffered nothing for the deed. . . Now, wine-bibbing is so common among them that the kiss is never offered with their will: and as for divorce, they long for it, as if it were the natural consequence of marriage."—[Tertullian: Apolog.: 6.

Pliny mentions the killing of the wife in the time of Romulus, for drinking wine, as one of several examples.—[Nat. Hist.: XIV.: 14.

"It must not be forgotten that slavery exercised at Rome, as everywhere, the most deplorable influence on conjugal morality. If it had been one of the reasons which had there always caused the infidelity of husbands to be leniently regarded, it was only natural that, in connection with the sad progress already mentioned in the direction of looseness of manners and of the new liberty of women, these should more and more aspire to enjoy the same freedom with the men, or should at least take the violation of conjugal faith on the part of their husbands as an excuse for their own conduct. There was also, no doubt, a peculiar temptation for them, in the certainty of finding it always possible to select among their slaves obsequious and discreet lovers; and everything leads us to believe that *liaisons* of this sort were by no means rare exceptions. . . But the women were further exposed to other corrupting influences, most pernicious in their nature. We may not base too large an inference on the demoralizing effects of a certain sort of literature: but we certainly are justified in considering as among the symptoms of a frightful demoralization such productions as the Elegies, and the Art of Love of Ovid, which perhaps surpass in immorality, fundamentally as well as in form, everything of that sort

which has ever been written. We may properly attribute an influence still more depraving to the license exhibited in the works and embellishments of art. Already Propertius had complained of the statues, and mural paintings, which perverted women and girls. But the very worst of all were, beyond dispute, the fascinations of the spectacles, and the excitements of the banquets—both of which are described by Tacitus as the two greatest dangers which menaced innocence and purity of manners."—[Friedlaender: "Mœurs Romaines"; Paris ed., 1865: Tom. I.: pp. 372–73.

XXXIII.: p. 151.—"They carry on their affairs, therefore [the German women], fenced about with chastity; corrupted by no enticements of spectacles, by no excitements of convivial feasts. Men and women alike are ignorant of the secrets of correspondence. Adultery is most rare among so numerous a people; the punishment of those committing it is immediate, and at the pleasure of the husband. . . No indulgence is shown to a declared unchastity: neither by beauty, nor by youth, nor by riches, can it secure a husband; for no one there laughs at vices, nor is corrupting and being corrupted styled 'the way of the world.' Better yet are those states in which only the virgins marry. They thus take one husband, as one body, and one life, in such a way that no thought or desire may range further than him; nor do they love in him the husband only, but as it were marriage itself. To limit the number of children, or put to death any of the later-born, is esteemed an infamous wickedness; and good moral customs avail more there than do good laws elsewhere."—[Tacitus: "Mor. German.": XIX.

XXXIV.: p. 152.—The epigrams of Martial referring to Claudia—now commonly conceded to have been the Christian wife of the Pudens who is mentioned with her by Paul, 2 Tim. iv. 21—are, particularly, that in L. IV.: Ep. 13, on the occasion of her marriage, and that in L. XI.: Ep. 53, celebrating her beauty and grace. Part of the latter has been thus metrically translated:

> "Though British skies first beamed on Claudia's face,
> Her beauty far outvies the Latin race:
> E'en Grecian nymphs her form cannot excel,
> Or Roman matrons play the queen so well."

XXXV.: p. 152.—"It becomes both men and women who marry, to form their union with the approval of the bishop, that their marriage may be according to the Lord, and not after their own lust. Let all things be done to the honour of God."—[Ep. of Ignatius to Polycarp: c. V.

"Whence are we to find [words] enough fully to tell the happiness of that marriage which the church cements, and the oblation confirms,

and the benediction signs and seals? . . Between the two echo psalms and hymns: and they mutually challenge each other which shall better sing to the Lord."—[Tertullian: Ad Uxor.: II.: 8.

"A marriage once for all entered upon in the City of our God, where, even from the first union of the two, the man and the woman, marriage bears a sacramental character, can in no way be dissolved but by the death of one of them."—[Augustine: "On Marriage": 17. Oxford ed.

"Thus marriage is itself a church in miniature, the germ whence springs first the household Church, then of households is composed the community, and of various communities the great edifice of the universal Church, the bride and body of Christ. And thus Christian marriage raises a man's sense of his own worth and dignity, and makes him feel that he is not simply an individual, but part of a higher and more sacred whole, joined in a covenant whereof the Church's union with the Lord is the type."—[Döllinger: "First Age of the Church": London ed., 1877: Vol. 2: p. 251.

XXXVI.: p. 152.—Athenæus quotes from Posidonius: "In one instance, a man left it in his will that some beautiful women whom he had purchased as slaves, should engage in single combat: . . but the people would not tolerate such notorious proceedings, and declared the will invalid."—[Deipnosophistæ, IV.: 39.

Suetonius mentions that under Domitian were hunts of wild beasts, and fights of gladiators, in the Circus, even at night, under the light of chandeliers: that these were not battles of men only, but also of women: and that young girls contended in races in the Stadium, while the Emperor presided, shod in sandals, clothed in a purple toga, wearing a golden crown, etc.—[Domit.: IV.

Martial refers to such combats of women with wild beasts.—[I.: Ep. 6.

Juvenal says: "What modesty can a woman exhibit when covered with a helmet, who flies from what belongs to her sex, and loves feats of strength? . . What a fine show of things it would be, if an auction were made of your wife's possessions: sword-belt, and gauntlets, and crests of helmets, and the half-armor for the left leg: or, if she undertakes different sorts of contests, you will be happy when your young wife sells her metal-greaves. Yet these are the very same women [he scornfully adds] who perspire in their bordered robes, and whose delicate frames even a slight silken texture harasses."—[Sat. VI.: 252–260.

XXXVII.: p. 153.—"We see in the clever letters of St. Jerome to the Roman matrons, who claimed descent from the Gracchi and Emilii, . . to what a pitch the Church had brought female education. It formed a better estimate of the sex which antiquity had condemned to spinning wool, in hopeless ignorance of things of divine or of political

interest. St. Jerome never appeared more noble than in stooping to teach Læta how to train her child, by putting letters of box-wood or ivory under its eyes, and rewarding its early efforts by a flower or a kiss. Of old it had been said, 'Maxima debetur puero reverentia'; but the saintly doctor went further, and made Læta's daughter the angel of her house; and it was her task to begin, when a mere baby, the conversion of her grandfather, a priest of the old gods, by springing upon his knee and singing the Alleluia, in spite of his displeasure. . . The Vulgate was begun simply to satisfy the keen impatience [for knowledge of the Scriptures] of Paula and Eustochia; it was to them that he dedicated the books of Joshua, Judges, Kings, Ruth, Esther, the Psalms, Isaiah, and the twelve minor Prophets; declaring in his preface that to them was owing the influence which caused him again to take up the plough and trace so laborious a furrow, to remove the brambles which ceaselessly germinate in the field of Holy Scripture; and that to them must lie his appeal from all who would doubt the exactness of the version. 'You are,' he said, 'competent judges, in controversies as to texts, upon the original Hebrew; compare it with my translation, and see if I have risked a single word.'"—[Fréd. Ozanam: "Hist. of Civilization in Fifth Cent."; London ed., 1867: Vol. 1: pp. 65–6; Vol. 2: pp. 79–80.

XXXVIII.: p. 154.—"Unjust as it is to measure the ultimate tendency of an historical influence by its incipient phenomena, there does appear to us a manifest trace, in the first age itself, of an ennobling influence [on Woman] from the recognized spiritual equality of the sexes. The women of Galilee, and the sisters of Bethany, the helpers of Paul in Macedonia and Corinth, the martyred deaconesses of Lyons and Carthage, were surely lifted by their faith into a consciousness of the claims of the soul, to which nothing in Pagan antiquity can present a moral parallel. . . Wherever the characteristic sentiments of Christianity have had free action, wherever the faith has prevailed that life is a divine trust, committed to souls dear to God, equal among themselves, and each the germ of an immortality, there, and there alone, has domestic affection been so touched with reverence and confidence as to retain its freshness to the end, and afford a chastening discipline through life."—[James Martineau: "Miscellanies"; Boston ed., 1852: pp. 270–1.

XXXIX.: p. 155.—"It is praiseworthy to rule one's servants with moderation; and thought is to be taken in regard to a slave, not as to how much he may be made to suffer with impunity, but as to what the nature of equity and goodness will permit to thee; which commands us to spare our captives, and those whom we have bought for a price. . . Although all things are lawful toward a slave, there is

something which the common right of living creatures forbids to be allowed toward a man, because he is of the same nature as thou art."—[Seneca: De Clem.: I.: 18.

"He mistakes, who thinks that servitude descends upon the whole man; the better part of him is excepted from it. The bodies are subject, and under control of the master; but the mind has a privilege of its own—which is so free and restless that it cannot be so restrained in the prison in which it is inclosed as that it may not use its own force, accomplish great things, and pass into the unbounded, as companion of the celestials. . . The same beginnings were for all men; the same original; no man is nobler than another, except as his genius is more exalted, and he is more apt to good arts."—[De Benef.: III.: 20, 28.

"Are they thy slaves? certainly they are men. Are they slaves? rather, thy companions; thy humble friends; thy fellow-servants; if thou art mindful how much is due to Fortune in the case of both. . . Live with thy servant courteously; admit him also as a companion to thy discourse, to counsel, and to social intercourse. . . Let some of them sup with thee because they are worthy; some, that they may become so. . . Let them rather honor than fear thee."—[Seneca: Epis. XLVII.

The younger Pliny several times mentions his own humane treatment of his slaves, and refers severely to the cruelty of other masters.—[See Epist. III.: 14; V.: 19; VIII.: 16; *et al.*

But the general spirit of even kindly and philosophical men toward the slaves whom they had most occasion personally to like was probably fairly expressed by Cicero in one of his letters to Atticus:—"I have nothing further that I may write to thee. And, by Hercules, I have been a good deal disturbed. For Sositheus, my reader, an agreeable youth, has died; and it has affected me more than it would seem that the death of a slave ought to."—[Ep. ad. Attic.: I.: 12.

XL.: p. 155.—"To govern ill is disadvantageous to both [master and slave]; for the same thing is useful to the part and to the whole, to the body and the soul; but the slave is, as it were, a part of the master, as though he were an animated part of his body, though separate. For which reason, a mutual utility and friendship may subsist between the master and the slave; I mean when they are placed by nature in that relation to each other; for the contrary is the case with those who are reduced to slavery by custom, or by conquest."—[Aristotle: "Economics": I.: 6.

XLI.: p. 155.—Suetonius mentions Gnipho as having been exposed and enslaved—whom he describes as a man of great genius, well read in Greek as well as in Latin, and who when teaching at Rome had Cicero for one of his pupils.

He speaks in the same way of Caius Melissus, who was afterward a favorite friend of Mecænas, and of Augustus, and who was appointed by the latter Curator of the Library in the portico of Octavia. —[Ill. Gramm. VII.: XXI.

XLII.: p. 156.—"The exportation of slaves especially invited them [the Cilicians] to criminal courses, since this traffic was extremely lucrative; for on the one hand they easily captured the slaves, and on the other hand Delos was not far off—a large and opulent seat of trade, which in a single day could receive and send away ten thousand slaves. . . The pirates, observing the facility with which slaves could be procured, went forth in united bands, making slaves and selling them."—[Strabo: XIV.: 5; (Oxford ed., 1807; Tom. II.: p. 954.)

"The origin of the Latin word for Slave is supposed to be found in the circumstance that those who by the law of war were liable to be killed were sometimes preserved by their victors, and were hence called servants."—[Augustine: Civ. Dei: XIX.: 15.

XLIII.: p. 156.—"In Sicily, Plato visited the court of Dionysius the elder. But in spite of his close intimacy with Dion, he gave great offence there by his plain speaking, and the tyrant in wrath delivered up the troublesome moraliser to the Spartan ambassador, Pollis, by whom he was exposed for sale in the slave-market of Ægina. Ransomed by Anniceris, a Cyrenian, he thence returned to his native city." —[Zeller: "Plato, and the older Academy"; London ed., 1876: pp. 23–4.

The statement of which Zeller thus gives the substance appears, with variations, in Diodorus, Diogenes Laërtius, Plutarch, and others, and is referred to by Seneca [Ep. 47], and by Lactantius [Inst. III.: 25]. President Felton repeats the statement, in its fullest extent, and with many picturesque particulars, in his "Lectures on Greece," Vol. 2: pp. 30–31.

XLIV.: p. 156.—"In the third book of his History, Epitimaeus said that the city of the Corinthians was so flourishing that it possessed four hundred and sixty thousand slaves. On which account I imagine it was that the Pythian priestess called them 'The people who measured with a chœnix' [a slave's daily allowance of meal]. But Ctesicles, in the third book of his Chronicles, says that in the hundred and fifteenth Olympiad, there was an investigation at Athens, conducted by Demetrius Phalereus, into the number of the inhabitants of Attica, and the Athenians were found to amount to twenty-one thousand, the Metics [resident aliens] to ten thousand, and the slaves to four hundred thousand. . . And Aristotle, in his history of the constitution of the Æginetæ, says that the Æginetans had four hundred and seventy thousand slaves."—[Athenæus: Deipnosophistæ: VI.: 103.

The ratio of four persons in a household to one adult citizen or alien gives the numbers mentioned in the Lecture. The slaves, of course were counted by the head, like cattle, not as representing families.

XLV.: p. 156.—"Early in the morning all the gold and silver was collected; at the fourth hour the signal for plundering cities was given to the soldiers. . . One hundred and fifty thousand persons [capitum humanorum] were led into bondage. . . Paullus then marched down to the sea, at Oricum, the minds of his soldiers being by no means satisfied, as had been reckoned upon by him."—[Livy: Histor.: XLV.: 34.

"The Saturnalia [after the capture of Pindenissus] were thoroughly hilarious. To the soldiers I gave up the booty, excepting the horses The slaves were sold on the third day of the Saturnalia. While I write this, the sum amounts, as reckoned at the tribunal, to twelve thousand sestertia" [at that time about $530,000].—[Cicero: Ep. ad Attic.: V.: 20.

The statement of the thirty thousand reduced to bondage by Fabius, at Tarentum, is made by Livy: Histor.: XXVII.: 16.

XLVI.: p. 156.—"The Chians had more domestic slaves than any other state, with the exception of Lacedaemon, and their offences were always more severely punished because of their number."—[Thucydides: VIII.: 40.

This would give nearly or quite a half million of slaves to Chios. It is possible, however, as Jowett suggests, that as Thucydides 'has not distinguished clearly between their relative and absolute number,' what he means is that the slaves were there more numerous than elsewhere in proportion to the free inhabitants.

XLVII.: p. 157.—"He [Crassus] bought slaves who were builders and architects, and when he had collected more than five hundred, he made it his practice to buy houses that were on fire, and those in the neighbourhood, so that the greatest part of Rome, at one time or another, came into his hands. . . Though he had many silver mines, and much valuable land, and laborers to work in it, all this was nothing in comparison of his slaves—such a number and variety did he possess, of excellent readers, amanuenses, silver-smiths, table-waiters, etc."—[Plutarch: "Lives"; Boston ed., 1859: Vol. 3: pp. 332–3.

"But now, our very food and drink are preserved from theft by the ring [sealing the doors]. This the legions of our slaves have brought about, and the swarms of those foreign-born, in the house; on account of whom a nomenclator has to be attached to them. . . Cæcilius Isidorus declared by his will that though he had suffered many losses by the civil war, he yet left four thousand one hundred and sixteen slaves

three thousand six hundred yoke of oxen, and two hundred and fifty-seven thousand heads of other sorts of cattle."—[Pliny: Nat. Hist.: xxxiii.: 6, 47.

"At one time, formerly, a decree was declared by the Senate that a certain dress should distinguish the slaves from the freemen; but it at once appeared what peril was imminent if our slaves should have begun to number us."—[Seneca: De Clem.: I.: 24.

XLVIII.: p. 157.—"And thou indeed makest mention of acres of land, so many and so many, and of houses, ten or twenty, or even more, and of baths as many, and of slaves a thousand, or twice as many, and of chariots fastened with silver and overlaid with gold; but I say this, that if each one of you that are rich were to leave this [comparative] poverty, and were possessed of a whole world, . . I would not say that those who are *thus* rich are worth three farthings, when they are cast out of the kingdom."—[Chrysostom: Hom. on Matt. lxiii.: Opera; Venice, 1741: Tom. 7: p. 633.

XLIX.: p. 157.—Boeckh's careful calculation estimates each common slave in Attica, either in the mines or in the house, as worth on the average, in the time of Demosthenes, 150 drachmas, or less than $30 of our money. Those skilled in any special industry, as chair-making, leather-work, sword-cutlery, etc., were of course worth more, in proportion to the profit returned to the owners. At the same time the price of a common horse was nearly $60; of a yoke of mules, from $100 to $150; of a trained saddle horse, $225.—["Pub. Econ. of Athens"; London ed., 1842: pp. 68–9, 74.

Wallon estimates the price of slaves in Greece, between the Peloponnesian war and the reign of Alexander, at $35 to $43 for those employed in the mines, or in other inferior forms of labor; at $52 to $70 for slave-artisans; at $87 to $125 for foremen in the work-shops; with corresponding prices for domestic servants, according to the character of their service. The prices rose, as intelligence and learning were paid for, as high as $175 or even $260; they mounted still higher for slaves put to the uses of luxury, reaching from $350 to $520, and indeed in such cases no limit to price can be fixed:—

"In fact," he says, "from the moment at which man becomes only an instrument, a subject of traffic, he is worth no more than that which the use of him amounts to; and if, by combinations of circumstances, more of such merchandise is offered than is called for, the value of it sinks below the price of the most common articles; as in Thrace men were sometimes exchanged for salt."—["Hist. de L'Esclavage"; Paris ed., 1879: Tom. 1: pp. 219–20.

Horace, himself the son of a manumitted slave, makes a house

servant speak of himself as having been purchased for five hundred drachmas, about $90.—[Sat. II.: 7.

For purposes of special luxury, however, or of sensual gratification, sums immensely larger were paid. Martial speaks of slaves bought for a hundred thousand sesterces, or for two hundred thousand, though he mentions these as instances of extravagance.—[Ep. III.: 62; XI.: 70.

Seneca also speaks of slaves bought by Calvisius Sabinus, for a hundred thousand sesterces each—one to hold Homer before him, another Hesiod, etc.—[Epist. XXVII.

Suetonius, also, states that Daphnides, a grammarian, was bought by Q. Catullus for two hundred thousand sesterces, and was soon after made a freedman.—[Ill. Gramm.: III.

The elder Pliny relates instances like these:—

"Such [slaves brought over sea] was Publius, the founder of our mimic scenes, his cousin Manilius Antiochus, the founder of astronomy, also Staberius Eros, our first grammarian; all of whom our ancestors saw brought over in the same vessel. . . The highest price ever paid for a man born in slavery, up to this time, so far as I have discovered, was that paid for Daphnus, the master of the art of grammar—M. Scaurus, the first man in the state, paying the price for him of seven hundred thousand sesterces [nearly $30,000]. In our time, comic actors have surpassed this price not a little, but they have been paying for their own freedom."—[Nat. Hist.: XXXV.: 58; VII.: 40.

L.: p. 157.—"Do you think that Hellenes ought to enslave Hellenes, or allow others to enslave them, as far as they can help? Should not their custom be to spare them, considering the danger which there is that the whole race may one day fall under the yoke of the barbarians?

"To spare them is infinitely better.

"Then no Hellene should be owned by them as a slave; that is a rule which they will observe, and advise the other Hellenes to observe."—[Plato: "Republic": V.: 469.

"But may we not also say that the soul of the slave is utterly corrupt, and that no man of sense ought to trust them as a class? And the wisest of our poets, speaking of Zeus, says:—'Far-seeing Zeus takes away half the understanding of men whom the day of slavery subdues.' . . Two alternatives are open to us,—not to have the slaves of the same country, or, if possible, speaking the same language; in this way they will be more easily held in subjection: secondly, we should tend them carefully, not only out of regard to them, but yet more out of respect for ourselves. And the right treatment of slaves is to behave properly to them, and to do them, if possible, even more justice than to those who are our equals. . . Slaves ought to be punished as they deserve,

and not admonished as if they were freemen, which will only make them conceited."—["Laws": VI.: 777.

LI.: p. 157.—"We heard long ago that Nicias, the son of Niceratus, kept a thousand men employed in the silver mines, whom he let on hire to Sosias of Thrace, on condition that he should give him for each an obolus a-day, free of all charges; and this number he always supplied undiminished. Hipponicus, also, had six hundred slaves, let out at the same rate, which brought him in a clear mina a-day: while Philemonides had three hundred, which brought him half a mina; and others had other complements of slaves, according, I suppose, to their respective resources."—[Xenophon: "Revenues of Athens": IV.: 15.

Xenophon recommends that the State buy the slaves, and work them on its own account; and adds that 'when they are marked with the public mark, and a penalty is denounced against one who sells or exports them, how could any one steal them?' He estimates that when the number of such slaves shall have been made up to 10,000, the yearly revenue from them to the State will be a hundred talents.

LII.: p. 157.—"Property is as an instrument to living; and an estate is a multitude of instruments: so a slave is a living instrument, and every servant is an instrument more valuable than other instruments. . . This fully explains what is the nature of a slave, and what is his capacity; for that being who by nature is not his own, but totally another's, and yet is a man, is a slave by nature; and that man is the property of another, who is his mere chattel, though he is still a man; but a chattel is an instrument for use, separate from the body. . . He then is by nature formed a slave, who is fitted to become the chattel of another person, and on that account is so, having just reason enough to perceive that there is such a faculty, without being endued with the use of it. . . It is clear then that some men are free by nature, and that others are slaves, and that in the case of the latter the lot of slavery is both advantageous and just."—[Aristotle: "Politics": I.: 4, 5.

LIII.: p. 158.—Plutarch criticizes Cato for thus taking all the work he could out of his stout and serviceable slaves, the only sort that he would buy, and then turning them off, when he could not sell them, in their old age. The moralist judges that a man of kindly nature would have taken some care even of worn-out horses and dogs, still more of slaves, and not have treated them like worn-out shoes, or broken dishes. He also mentions the fact that the tough old Roman was accustomed to scourge with leather-thongs slaves who had not waited at table to his satisfaction.—["Lives"; Boston ed., 1859: Vol. 2: pp. 321-3, 344.

LIV.: p. 158.—"Through fear of their youth and great numbers [of the Helots] they [the Lacedemonians] even perpetrated the following deed: they made proclamation that as many of them as claimed to have done the state most service against the enemy should be picked out, professing that they would give them their liberty; thus applying a test to them, and thinking that those who severally claimed to be first made free, would also, through their high spirit, be most ready to attack them. Having thus selected as many as two thousand, the Helots crowned themselves, and went round to the temples, on the strength of having gained their freedom: but the Spartans soon after made away with them, and no one ever knew by what means they were severally dispatched."—[Thucydides: IV.: 80.

"The magistrates dispatched privately some of the ablest of the young men into the country from time to time, armed only with their daggers, and taking a little necessary provision with them; in the daytime they hid themselves in out of the way places, and there lay close, but in the night issued out into the highways and killed all the Helots they could light upon: sometimes they set upon them by day, as they were at work in the fields, and murdered them."—[Plutarch: "Lives"; Boston ed., 1859: Vol. 1: p. 120.

LV.: p. 158.—"For this degraded state of their fellow-creatures the Athenians felt no greater compassion than the other nations of antiquity. In vain we seek in the social relations of the Greeks for traces of the humanity which their arts and their philosophy would indicate; and in the same manner that their treatment of the female sex was, with few exceptions, unworthy and degrading, so by being habituated to slaves from early youth, they had lost all natural feelings of sympathy toward them."—[Boeckh: "Pub. Econ. of Athens"; London ed., 1842: pp. 657–8.

After the defeat of Nicias, it was agreed by the Syracusans "that the servants of the Athenians with the other confederates be sold for slaves, and that they themselves [*i. e.*, the masters] and the Sicilian auxiliaries, be kept employed in the quarries, except the generals, who should be put to death. . . Most of the Athenians perished in the quarries, by disease and ill diet, being allowed only one pint of barley every day, and one half-pint of water. Many of them, however, were carried off by stealth, or from the first were supposed to be servants, and were sold as slaves. These latter were branded on their foreheads with the figure of a horse."—[Plutarch: "Lives"; Boston ed., 1859: Vol. 3: pp. 327–9.

In the same way, when the Samians had gained the victory over the Athenians besieging Samos, they branded the prisoners in their foreheads with the figure of an owl, in requital for the previous action of

the Athenians, who had branded Samian prisoners with a samæna, or the figure of a low wide ship. It is supposed that Aristophanes alludes to this when he speaks of the Samians as 'a lettered people.'—[Plutarch: "Lives"; Boston ed., 1859: Vol. 1: p. 353. Plautus applies the term "literatus" in the same way: "Casina": Act II.: sc. 6.

LVI.: p. 159.—"L. Octacilius Pilitus is said to have been a slave, and, after the ancient fashion, to have been chained to the door as a porter; until, having been freed, on account of his genius and his zeal for learning, he drew up forms of accusation for his patron, who was engaged in prosecuting causes." After this, this liberated slave became a Professor of Rhetoric, was a teacher of Pompey the Great, and is said to have been the first freedman who ever ventured to write history.—[Suetonius: Clar. Rhet.: III.

"But now, these same lands [formerly cultivated by generals and senators] slaves cultivate, whose feet are chained, the hands of condemned malefactors, and men whose faces have been branded. Yet, we wonder that the same profits are not realized by slaves of the ergastula, which were formerly the reward of generals."—[Pliny: Nat. Hist.: XVIII.: 4.

"As to the housing [of slaves] Columella prescribed *ergastula subterranea*, in which openings were to be contrived out of reach of the hand, either for the purpose of preventing escape, or of cutting off the sight of the world, which was denied them. Those employed at the mill carried a large wheel round their necks, to prevent their raising to the mouth a handful of the flour that they spent the day in grinding. This deprives the Chinese of the honor of having invented their peculiar mode of torture, and it was the mildest method of treatment."—[Fréd. Ozanam: "Civilization in Fifth Cent."; London ed., 1867: Vol. 1: p. 150.

"Slaves are in the power of their proprietors, a power recognized by Gentile law [juris Gentium], for all nations present the spectacle of masters invested with power of life and death over slaves: and by the Roman law the owner is entitled to every thing acquired by the slave." [Gaius: Institut.: I.: § 52.

"It is needless to describe the position of a slave. In the golden days of Greece and of Rome he had no rights, but was merely subject to duties. He was a *vocale instrumentum*, a human chattel, or a tool that speaks; and in contemplation of law, he in no degree differed from a bullock. . . He could acquire no property. He might, without any redress, be beaten, or sold, or put to death. But in these respects, he was not in a worse position than the son of the house."—[W. E. Hearn: "Aryan Household"; London ed., 1879: p. 107–8.

LVII.: p. 159.—"Not long after, one of his slaves killed Pedanius Secundus, prefect of the city. . . Since, according to the ancient custom, it was proper to inflict the punishment on the whole family of slaves who dwelt under the same roof, by the concourse of the people who were anxious to protect so many innocent ones matters came even to a seditious riot, and in the Senate itself was much zeal on the part of those contemning such excessive severity." [But C. Cassius argued for maintaining the ancient custom; and in spite of the dissenting voices of those who commiserated the number, the age, or the sex of the slaves, and the unquestioned innocence of many of them, the party prevailed which adjudged all to death.] . . "Then the emperor rebuked the people in an edict, and guarded with lines of soldiers all the way along which the condemned were led to execution."—[Tacitus: Annal.: XIV.: 42–45.

"A decree of the Senate was enacted [under Nero], equally for fit rotribution and for security, 'that if any one were killed by his own slaves, those also who, having been set free by his will, had still remained under the same roof, should suffer the final punishment, among his other slaves.'"—[Annal.: XIII.: 32.

LVIII.: p. 159.—"You may perchance be so great a person that you can restrain another's anger, as the divine Augustus did, when he supped with Vedius Pollio. One of his [Pollio's] slaves had broken a crystal vase; Vedius commanded him to be carried away, and to be punished by no common death; for he ordered him to be thrown to his lampreys, which he kept, of great size, in a fish-pond. The boy escaped out of their hands, and fled to the feet of the emperor, petitioning for nothing but that he might die in some other way, and not be made fish-meat. Cæsar was moved by the novelty of the cruelty; and commanded that he be dismissed without punishment, but that all the crystal vessels be broken in his presence, and that the fish-pond be filled up."—[Seneca: De Ira: III.: 40.

LIX.: p. 159.—"Does Rutilus teach a gentle temper, and a habit of life undisturbed by slight faults, and does he think that the souls and bodies of slaves and our own consist of like matter and of equivalent elements? Or does Rutilus teach men to rage furiously, who rejoices in the harsh roar of stripes, and compares no siren-song to that of the whips? Then is he happy, as often as some one is being branded by the torturer with the burning iron, on account of a couple of napkins. What does he recommend to his son, when he is joyful at the clank of chains, when the branded [inscripta] slave-gangs marvellously move him, and the rustic prison?"—[Juvenal: Sat. XIV.: 15–25.

"One shivers the rods [broken upon him], another reddens beneath

the blows of the whip, another under the smaller lash; there are some women who pay an annual stipend to their torturers. The man lashes, and she by way of passing the time paints her face; she listens to her female friends, or considers attentively the broad gold of an embroidered robe. Still he cuts away: she reads over the criss-cross items of her long diary. Yet he cuts, until, the very men inflicting the stripes being exhausted, she thunders 'Get Out'! in a horrible voice, the examination being now finished."—[Juvenal: Sat. VI.: 479–485.

"'Crucify the slave'! 'By what crime has the slave deserved the punishment? What witness appears? Who has accused him? Hear me! No delay is ever too long, when the death of a man is involved'! 'O, you Fool! Is then a slave a man? Suppose he has done nothing—let it be so; I will it; I command it; let my will stand in place of any reason!"—[Juvenal: Sat. VI.: 218–223.

Horace says that people in their senses would think a man crazy who should have a slave crucified because he had helped himself to a half-eaten fish, with warm sauce, on removing it from the table. It would not be punishing the man according to the nature of his offence. But the power to do even this, his words plainly indicate as possible.—[Sat. I.: 3: 80–84.

LX.: p. 159.—"There is an old matter of which I may speak, which by reason of the severity of the example it presents is perhaps unknown to none of you:—that when an immense boar was brought to L. Domitius, then prætor in Sicily, he asked in wonder, who had killed it? that when he had heard it was somebody's shepherd, he commanded him to be called; that the man came eagerly to the prætor, looking for praise and a reward; that Domitius asked him how he had killed so huge a beast, and the man replied 'with a hunting-spear'; immediately, then, by command of the prætor, he was crucified. This may perhaps seem harsh; [Durum hoc fortasse videatur;] I do not discuss that, on either side; I only understand that Domitius preferred to seem cruel in punishing, rather than careless in overlooking."—[Cicero: in Verrem: Act II. v.: 3.

Yet of Cicero, so discerning, and in this instance certainly so unbiased, a historical critic as Cardinal Newman has said, not extravagantly, that "antiquity may be challenged to produce a man more virtuous, or more perfectly amiable, than Cicero."—["Historical Sketches"; London ed., 1882: Vol. 1: p. 256.

It will of course be remembered that when, in the same oration, Cicero has occasion to speak of the action of Verres, prætor in the same Sicily, in crucifying Gavius, a citizen of Cosa, the orator finds no words to do justice to his horror; he is afraid that what he relates will seem wholly incredible; he apostrophizes in despair the sweet name

of Liberty! the exalted privilege of Citizenship! 'It is a crime,' he says, 'to bind a Roman citizen; a wickedness to scourge him; almost a parricide to put him to death. What shall I say of crucifying him? So nefarious an action cannot possibly be called by any name worthy of its wickedness.' If he spoke of these things 'not to men, but to brute beasts, or even in some most desolate wilderness, to stones and rocks, all things mute and inanimate would be moved by such shameful atrocity of conduct'!—[61-67.

This measures the difference, to a mind like Cicero's and to those whom he addressed, between a citizen and a slave.

LXI.: p. 159.—"When some persons exposed their sick and disabled slaves on the island of Æsculapius, because of the slowness of their recovery, he [Claudius] established it as an inviolable rule that all who were so exposed should be free, not to return to the authority of the master if they should regain strength; and that if any chose to kill a slave outright, rather than to expose him, he should be held on a charge of murder."—[Suetonius: "Claudius": xxv.

LXII.: p. 161.—"It is to the impulse of Stoical and Christian ideas combined that we must attribute the Petronian Law, which is believed to have been established under Nero, and which forbade masters to deliver their slaves to combats with wild beasts. However, this was only the first step. It attacked only one of the thousand means by which the power of the master could dispose of the life of his slave. A century later, the Christian religion had advanced; it had aided philosophy, and ameliorated with it the harshness of men's ruling conceptions. Then every thing changed in the jurisprudence affecting the relation of slavery; the right of appointing life or death was transferred to the magistrates. The right of chastisement still left to the master was compelled to limit itself by more humane regulations; a magistrate, the city prefect, was charged with the supervision of this power."—[Troplong: "De l'Influence du Christianisme"; Paris ed., 1868: pp. 154-6.

"But in the present day neither citizens of Rome, nor any other persons under the empire of the Roman people, are permitted to indulge in excessive or causeless harshness toward their slaves. By a constitution of the emperor Pius Antoninus, a man who kills a slave of whom he is owner, is as liable to punishment as a man who kills a slave of whom he is not owner; and inordinate cruelty on the part of owners is checked by another constitution whereby the same emperor . . commanded that on proof of intolerable cruelty a proprietor should be compelled to sell his slaves; and both ordinances are just, for it is proper that the abuse of a lawful right should be restrained."—[Gaius: Institut.: 1: § 53.

LXIII.: p. 161.—"This statement also is untrue, that it is 'only foolish and low individuals, and persons devoid of perception, and slaves, and women, and children, of whom the teachers of the Divine word wish to make converts.' Such, indeed, does the Gospel invite, in order to make them better, but it invites also others who are very different from these, since Christ is the Saviour of all men, and especially of them that believe, whether they be intelligent or simple."—[Origen: adv. Celsus: III.: 49.

"And let the master love his servant, although he be his superior. Let him consider wherein they are equal, even as he is a man. And let him that has a believing master love him both as a master, and as of the same faith, and as a father, but still with the preservation of his authority as his master. . . In like manner, let a master who has a believing servant love him as a son, or as a brother, on account of their communion in the faith, but still preserving the difference of a servant."—[Apost. Constitutions: IV.: 12.

By the same "Apostolical Constitutions" it was enjoined that slaves be required to work but five days in the week, 'having leisure on the Sabbath-day and on the Lord's day to go to the church, for instruction in piety.' They were also to rest from work 'all the great week, and that which follows it, in memory of the Passion and the Resurrection': on Ascension-day, at Pentecost, at Christmas, on the day of the Epiphany, on the days of the Apostles, on the day of the Martyr Stephen, and on the days which commemorated other holy martyrs.—[VIII.: 33.

"Some one will say, Are there not among you some poor, and others rich? Some servants, and others masters? Is there not a difference between individuals? There is none; nor is there any other cause why we mutually bestow upon each other the name of brethren, except that we believe ourselves to be equal. For since we measure all human beings not by the body, but by the spirit, although the condition of bodies is different, yet we have no servants, but we both regard and speak of them as brothers in spirit, in religion as fellow-servants. . . Though in lowliness of mind we are on an equality, the free with the slaves, the rich with the poor, yet in the sight of God we are distinguished by virtue. And every one is more elevated in proportion to his greater righteousness."—[Lactantius: Div. Inst.: V.: 16.

"Yet for her good discipline was she [Monnica] wont to commend not so much her mother's diligence, as that of a certain decrepit maid-servant, who had carried her father when a child, as little ones used to be carried at the backs of elder girls. For which reason, and for her great age, and excellent conversation, was she, in that Christian family, well respected by its heads. Whence also the charge of her master's daughters was entrusted to her, to which she gave diligent heed, restraining them earnestly, when necessary with a holy severity, and

teaching them with a grave discretion."—[Augustine: "Confessions" IX.: 17.

LXIV.: p. 162.—"The ransoming of captives is a great and noble exercise of justice; of which the same Tullius also approved. 'And this liberality,' he says, 'is serviceable even to the state, that captives should be ransomed from slavery, and those of slender resources be provided for. . . This is the part of great and eminent men.' . . Some will perhaps say, If I shall do all these things, I shall have no possessions. . . Devote to the ransoming of captives that from which you purchase beasts; maintain the poor with that from which you feed wild beasts; bury the innocent dead with that from which you provide men for the sword. . . God, who produces and gives breath to men, willed that all should be equal, that is, equally matched. He has promised Immortality to all: no one is cut off from His heavenly benefits. . . In His sight, no one is a slave, no one a master; for if all have the same Father, by an equal right we are all children."—[Lactantius: Div. Inst.: VI.: 12; V.: 15.

"His last words [of Ephrem, of Edessa] were a protest in favour of the dignity of man redeemed by the Son of God. The young and pious daughter of the governor of Edessa having come in tears to receive his last sigh, he made her swear on his death-bed to use no longer a litter carried by slaves, because the apostle has said, 'The head of man should bear no yoke but that of Christ.'"—[Montalembert: "Monks of the West"; London ed., 1861: Vol. 1: pp. 341–2.

LXV.: p. 162.—"We further beseech Thee for this city, and its inhabitants; for those that are sick; for those in bitter servitude; for those in banishment; for those in prison; that Thou the helper and assister of all men, wilt be their supporter. . . And let all the people say, Amen!"—[Apost. Constit.: VIII.: 12.

"The bishop ought to know whose oblations he ought to receive, and whose he ought not. Those that oppress the widow, and overbear the orphan, and fill prisons with the innocent, and abuse their own servants wickedly, I mean with stripes, and hunger, and hard service,—do thou, O bishop, avoid such as these, and their odious oblations. . . For they that receive from such persons, and thereby support the widows and the orphans, shall be obnoxious to the Judgment-seat of God."—[Apost. Constit.: IV.: 6.

LXVI.: p. 162.—"Slavery is nothing but a name. The mastership is according to the flesh, temporary and brief, for whatever is of the flesh is perishable. . . He [the slave] is a brother, or rather he has become a brother, he enjoys the same privileges, he belongs to the

same body. He hath become the brother, not of his own master only, but also of the Son of God. . . If any one shall ask, whence slavery comes, and why it has found entrance into human life, I will tell you: Covetousness begat slavery, and an evil temper, and insatiable greediness. For Noah had no servant, neither had Abel, nor Seth, no, nor they who came after them. The thing was the fruit of sin, of rebellion against parents."—[Chrysostom: Hom. on Ep. ad Ephes.: xxii.; Opera: Venice, 1741: Tom. XI.: pp. 165–7.

"When your master commands nothing which is unpleasing to God, it is right to follow and obey; but no farther. For thus the slave becomes free. If you go farther, even though you may be free, you are become a slave. . . It is not slavery itself that injures, Beloved, but the slavery of sin, which is the veritable bondage. If thou art not subjected to this slavery, be bold and rejoice; no one shall have power to do thee harm, so that thou hast the temper which is free of all bondage."—[Chrysostom: Hom. on 1st Corinth.: xix.; Opera: Tom. X.: p. 165.

LXVII.: p. 162.—"Some teachers, as Isidore of Pelusium in the fifth century, and Theodore the Studite in the ninth, altogether questioned, or even denied, the lawfulness of having such property. Theodore, in his will, forbids the abbot of his monastery to have slaves, since the use of them is allowed to secular persons only. But the reason which he gives—that they are men, made in God's image—would hold equally against all slavery whatever. . . The fourth council of Toledo (A.D. 633) requires that serfs ordained to be clergymen should be emancipated; but it was not until the year 817, in the reign of Louis the Pious, that a similar law was established in France. Justinian had forbidden that slaves should be ordained, even with the leave of their masters; but afterwards ordination itself emancipated."—[Robertson: "Hist. of the Church"; London ed., 1875: Vol. III.: pp. 263, 266, and notes.

Pope Calixtus I. had been a slave; and while Hippolytus vehemently assailed both his opinions and his character, he made no invidious comment upon his early servile condition.—[See "Refut. of Heresies": IX.: 7.

LXVIII.: p. 162.—The deed drawn up by Gregory for this purpose is introduced with these words: "Since our Saviour, the founder of all created things, was willing to take upon Him the nature of man for its propitiation, that by the grace of His divinity, the chains of bondage in which we were enthralled being broken, He might restore us to our original freedom,—so a salutary thing is done when men whom nature from the beginning produced as free, and whom the law of the nations has subjected to the yoke of servitude, are restored again by the blessing of emancipation to the freedom in which they were born."

The original may be found quoted in Robertson's "Hist. of Charles Fifth"; Boston ed., 1857: Vol. 1: pp. 297–8.

Many other charters of emancipation are referred to in the same connection, purporting to be granted: 'for the love of God'; 'for the health of the soul'; 'for the ransom of the soul'; 'for reverence toward Almighty God,' etc. Freedom was often granted to slaves as a testimony of gratitude to God for the birth of a son, or any other great benefit. The form of manumission was executed in a church, as a religious solemnity. And any slave taking the vow in a monastery, or entering holy orders, obtained liberty thereby.

"The eleventh and twelfth centuries saw the number of slaves in Italy begin to decrease; early in the fifteenth, a writer quoted by Muratori speaks of them as no longer existing. The greater part of the peasants in some countries of Germany had acquired their liberty before the end of the thirteenth century; in other parts, as well as in all the northern and eastern parts of Europe, they remained in a sort of villenage till the present age."—[Hallam: "Middle Ages"; London ed., 1853: Vol. 1: pp. 200–201.

LXIX.: p. 163.—"Doubtless the condition of the servile class was ameliorated by the legislation of good Pagan emperors; and not only the precepts of Seneca, but the edicts of Hadrian, Trajan, and Antoninus attest the growth of just and humane sentiments. But the steady agency of Christianity availed incomparably more than the happy accident of wisdom and virtue in a prince. All its ordinances were open indiscriminately to bond and free; nor was servile birth any disqualification for the discharge of Church-functions,—from the humble office of the two slave-girls mentioned in Pliny's letter to Trajan, to the dignity of the Episcopate itself. This rule stands in strong contrast with the Roman law, according to which no public office could be held by a slave. . . . An indication of the direction which was assumed by the sympathies of the new religion is afforded by the fact, that, from the time of Constantine, the process of manumission was for the most part transferred to the Church, and formed part of the ceremonies at Easter, and the other ecclesiastical festivals. And under the auspices of Christian emperors, the facilities for manumission were so greatly increased, that, after the impediments removed by Justinian, freedom became the rule, and slavery the exception, among the poorer subjects of the empire."—[James Martineau: "Miscellanies"; Boston ed., 1852: pp. 274–6.

"Coming in the name of one 'despised and rejected of men'; of a man born in an ox's crib, at his best estate not having where to lay his head; who died at the hangman's hand, but who was at last seated at the right hand of God, and in his low estate was deemed God in hu

miliation come down into the flesh, to take its humblest form, and show he was no respecter of persons,—the Church did not fail to espouse the cause of the people, with whom Christianity found its first adherents, its apostles and defenders. . . It came to the Baron, haughty of soul, and bloody of hand, who sat in his cliff-tower, as a hungry raven; who broke the poor into fragments, ground them to powder, and spurned them like dust from his foot; it came between him and the captive, the serf, the slave, the defenceless maiden, and stayed the insatiate hand. Its curse blasted as lightning. . . Then, while nothing but the accident of distinguished birth, or the possession of animal fierceness, could save a man from the collar of the thrall, the Church took to her bosom all who gave signs of talent and piety; sheltered them in her monasteries; ordained them as her priests; welcomed them to the chair of St. Peter; and men who from birth would have been companions of the Galilean fishermen, sat on the spiritual throne of the world, and governed with a majesty which Cæsar might envy but could not equal."—[Theodore Parker: "Discourse of Religion": pp. 422–4; Boston ed., 1842.

LXX.: p. 164.—"If we shall suppose that American Slavery is one of those offences which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South this terrible war, as the woe due to those by whom the offence came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to Him? Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword,—as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, 'The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.'"—[President Lincoln: Second Inaugural Address, 1865.

LXXI.: p. 164.—The words of Plautus are: "Lupus est homo homini, non homo: quum qualis sit non novit."—["Asinariæ": Act II.: Sc. 4: 88.

Really, however, he probably does little more than quote, and slightly amplify, a current proverb, of the same tenor.

"Wherefore the legislator may safely make a law applicable to such cases, in the following terms: Let there be no beggars in our state; and if anybody begs, seeking to collect the means of life by perpetual prayers, let the wardens of the agora turn him out of the agora, and

the wardens of the city out of the city, and the wardens of the country send him out of any other part of the country over the border, that so the country may be cleared of that sort of animal."—[Plato: "Laws"; XI.: 936.

LXXII.: p. 165.—"If a poor man, or one of a mean family, or a stranger, comes among you, whether he be old or young, and there be no place, the deacon shall find a place for even these, and that with all his heart: that, instead of accepting persons before men, his ministration toward God may be well pleasing. The very same thing let the deaconess do to those women, whether poor or rich, that come unto them."—[Apost. Constitut.; II.: 58.

LXXIII.: p. 166.—The folly of expecting beneficent changes in society, except as the result of wide preparatory changes in individual character, is well expressed in these words of Herbert Spencer:—

"Just as the perpetual-motion schemer hopes, by a cunning arrangement of parts, to get from one end of his machine more energy than he puts in at the other: so the ordinary political schemer is convinced that out of a legislative apparatus, properly devised and worked with due dexterity, may be had beneficial State-action, without any detrimental reaction. He expects to get out of a stupid people the effects of intelligence, and to evolve from inferior citizens superior conduct."—["Study of Sociology": New York ed., 1880: p. 6.

"Certainly it is because the French people have not united religion with liberty, that their revolution has so soon departed from its early direction. It may be that certain dogmas of the Catholic Church did not accord with the principles of Liberty: that passive obedience to the Pope was as little supportable as was such obedience to the King. But Christianity has in very deed brought liberty upon the earth: justice toward the oppressed: respect for the unfortunate: in a word, that equality before God, of which equality before the law is only an imperfect image."—[Mad. de Staël: "Considérations sur la Rév. Française"; Œuvres: Tom. III.: pp. 379–80.

LXXIV.: p. 166.—It is impossible, of course, to break this picture into its parts without injury; but these are some of the characteristics which Aristotle ascribes to the magnanimous man:—to estimate his own worth highly; to be a man great in virtue, of a finished excellence; to be principally concerned about honors, not about wealth or pleasure, though this may give him the appearance of superciliousness: to feel a just contempt for those of mean opinions or actions; not to shun danger, while not being fond of it; to be disposed to bestow benefits, but ashamed to receive them; to ask no favors, but to be willing to serve

others; toward men of rank or fortune to be haughty in demeanor, but toward those of middle station moderate; to be inclined to do few things, but those great and distinguished; to care more for truth than for opinion; to be frank and bold in action and speech, though to the vulgar he may dissemble; not to be much given to admiration, since nothing is great to him; to be not mindful of injuries, and not much disposed to praise men; to be of a slow step, a deep voice, stately in speech, and not anxious about anything."—[Nic. Ethics: IV.: 3.

LXXV.: p. 167.—On the command 'Love God above everything, and thy neighbour as thyself,' Kant in the Critique of the Practical Reason, adds the terse comment, in a note: "This law is in striking contrast with the principle of private happiness, which some make the supreme principle of morality. That would be expressed thus: 'Love thyself above everything, and God and thy neighbour for thine own sake'" !—[See Abbott's trans.: London ed., 1879: p. 250.

LXXVI.: p. 167.—"Besides all this, the Church was the great popular institution of the Middle Ages, cheering and protecting the poor and friendless; the teacher, the healer, the feeder of the 'little people of God.' The services of monastic and secular clergy alike, their offices of faith, charity, and labor in the field and the hovel, in the school and the hospital, as well as in the church, were for centuries the chief witnesses of the spirit of human brotherhood, and of the one essential doctrine of Christianity. In times when lord and serf were farthest apart, when the villain had no rights but those of the beasts which perish, the Church read the parable of Dives and Lazarus, and declared the equality of man in the presence of God."—[Charles E. Norton: "Studies of Church-Building": New York ed., 1880: p. 15.

LXXVII.: p. 167.—"It sometimes happens that the character of a man, and the peculiarity of his elevation, attract the attention of posterity more than do the memorable actions of others. The disproportion which one notices between the birth of Sixtus V., son of a poor vine-dresser, and his exaltation to the supreme dignity, augments his reputation; though we have already seen that obscure and mean birth was never regarded as an obstacle to the highest pontifical station, under a religion and in a court where high places were reputed prizes of merit, though they may also have been prizes of intrigue. Pius V. was of a family hardly higher. Adrian VI. was the son of a mechanic. Nicolas V. was born in obscurity. The father of the famous John XXII., who added a third circle to the tiara, and wore three crowns without possessing an acre of land, mended shoes at Cahors. This was the trade also of the father of Urban IV. Adrian IV., one of the great-

est of the Popes, son of a beggar, had been a beggar himself. The history of the church is full of such examples, which encourage simple virtue, and confound human vanity. . . Perhaps the man who in the rude times which we call the Middle Age deserved best of the human race, was the Pope Alexander Third. He it was who, in a council of the twelfth century, as far as was possible for him, abolished slavery. . . He revived the rights of the people, and restrained the wickedness of kings. We have remarked that before that time the whole of Europe, excepting a few cities, was portioned out between two sorts of men: the lords of the land, whether secular or ecclesiastical, and slaves. If men were restored to their rights, it was principally to the Pope Alexander Third that they were indebted for them."—[Voltaire: "Essai sur les Mœurs": 184, 197; Œuvres: Paris ed., 1877: Tom. III.: pp. 571, 606–7.

LXXVIII.: p. 167.—"A contemporary of St. Hugh of Cluny, abbot William of Hirschau, the great light of monastic Germany in the eleventh century, occupied himself with anxious care in comforting the needy, visiting them in their cottages, and himself performing their humble funerals. He labored, above all, for the cure of the insane poor, using spiritual means for this end, even in the midst of the prolonged contest which he was forced to maintain against the Imperialists, for the independence of the church. . . It is to the monks that Europe owes the first hospitals and lazar-houses that are known. In his enthusiasm for the immense hospital created by St. Basil at Cesarea, St. Gregory Nazianzen gave that town the glorious title of the City of Charity, and placed it above the seven wonders of the ancient world. . . The city of Copenhagen owes its origin to a monastery founded by Abp. Absolon, on the Baltic coast, for the reception of the shipwrecked."—[Montalembert: "Monks of the West"; London ed., 1879: Vol. 6: pp. 283, 285, 291.

"When the hideous disease of leprosy extended its ravages over Europe, when the minds of men were filled with terror, not only by its loathsomeness and its contagion, but also by the notion that it was in a peculiar sense supernatural, new hospitals and refuges overspread Europe, and monks flocked in multitudes to serve in them. . . Surely no achievements of the Christian Church are more truly great than these which it has effected in the sphere of charity. For the first time in the history of mankind, it has inspired many thousands of men and women, at the sacrifice of all worldly interests, and often under circumstances of extreme discomfort or danger, to devote their entire lives to the single object of assuaging the sufferings of humanity. It has covered the globe with countless institutions of mercy, absolutely unknown to the Pagan world. . . A monk, filled with compassion at the

sight of the maniacs who were hooted by crowds through the streets of Valencia, founded an asylum in that city [A.D. 1409], and his example was speedily followed in other provinces. In A.D. 1425, an asylum was erected at Saragossa. In A.D. 1436, both Seville and Valladolid followed the example, as did also Toledo, in A.D. 1483."—[Lecky : "Hist. of European Morals"; New York ed., 1876 : Vol. 2 : pp. 89–91, 95.

LXXIX. : p. 169.—The difficult progress of Christian society is well illustrated in the words of Coleridge:—

"By the happy organization of a well-governed society the contradictory interests of ten millions of such individuals may neutralize each other, and be reconciled in the unity of the national interest. But whence did this happy organization first come? Was it a tree transplanted from Paradise, with all its branches in full fruitage? Or was it sowed in sunshine? Was it in vernal breezes and gentle rains that it fixed its roots, and grew and strengthened? Let history answer these questions. With blood was it planted; it was rocked in tempest; the goat, the ass, and the stag gnawed it; the wild boar has whetted his tusks on its bark. The deep scars are still extant on its trunk, and the path of the lightning may be traced among its higher branches. And even after its full growth, in the season of its strength, when its height reached to the heaven, and the sight thereof to all the earth, the whirlwind has more than once forced its stately top to touch the ground. It has been bent like a bow, and it sprang back like a shaft. Mightier powers were at work than expediency ever yet called up; yea, mightier than the mere understanding can comprehend."—[Coleridge: Works; New York ed., 1853 : Vol. 1 : p. 432.

NOTES TO LECTURE VI.

NOTE I.: PAGE 174.—"According to the ancient theory of war, the captor in his treatment of the captive was not bound by any rule of right; the relation between them was one of mere force: if that force was used to take his life, the captive could not complain of a rigor which in the opposite case he might himself have exercised. If he received life, even under the conditions of slavery, it was more than he was entitled to claim."—[Hadley: "Introd. to Roman Law"; New York ed., 1880: p. 110.

Even his humane and accomplished hero, Cyrus, is represented by Xenophon as again and again saying to his soldiers: "The conflict is at hand, for the enemies are approaching: the prizes of victory, if we conquer, are our enemies themselves, and their possessions; and so, on the other hand, if we are conquered, the property of the conquered stands exposed as the reward of the conquerors. . . You ought to be sensible that there is nothing more gainful than victory; for the victor possesses himself of everything at once, men, women, treasure, and the whole country. . . It is a perpetual law among all men that when a city is taken from an enemy both the persons and the property of the inhabitants belong to the captors."—[Cyropædia: II.: 3: §2; IV.: 2: §26; VII.: 5: §73.

II.: p. 174.—"Nicias and Demosthenes they [the Syracusans] put to the sword, although against the will of Gylippus. For Gylippus thought that to carry home with him to Lacedæmon the generals of the enemy, over and above all his other successes, would be a brilliant triumph. . . No one of the Hellenes in my time was less deserving [than Nicias] of so miserable an end: for he lived in the practice of every virtue."—[Thucydides: VII.: 86.

Niebuhr, in his Lectures on Roman History (Lect. LVI.), following Palmerius and Beaufort, discredits the story of the death of Regulus by barbarous tortures at Carthage, principally on the ground of Polybius' silence about it. But the general modern opinion accepts the statement of the ancient authorities.

III.: p. 175.—At Cannæ, forty thousand foot soldiers, two thousand seven hundred cavalry, are said to have beer slain, of Romans and

their allies, with quæstors, military tribunes, eighty senatorial men, and a consul. One Numidian is mentioned, who, unable to reach his weapon, had died tearing his antagonist with his teeth.—[Livy: Histor.; XXII.: 49, 51.

In regard to the Samnites it is said: "They [the Romans] slew, without distinction, those who resisted, and those who fled, the armed and unarmed, slaves and freemen, young and old, men and cattle. Nor would a single animal have survived, had not the consuls given the signal for retreat, and, by commands and threats, forced out of the camp the soldiers greedy of slaughter." The consuls immediately explained to the indignant soldiers that they had stayed the slaughter only in consideration of six hundred Roman youth confined at Luceria, as hostages, on whom the enemy, if driven to utter despair, would take vengeance.—[Livy: Histor.; IX.: 14.

When Melos was invested by the Athenians, Thucydides reports that there was treachery among its citizens. "So the Melians were induced to surrender at discretion. The Athenians thereupon put to death all who were of military age, and made slaves of the women and children. They then colonized the island, by sending thither five hundred settlers of their own."—[V.: 116.

When the fortified camp of the Persians was taken, after the battle of Platæa, Herodotus says that 'the barbarians no longer kept together, or in any array, nor thought of making further resistance': and he adds, "With such tameness did they submit to be slaughtered by the Greeks, that of the three hundred thousand men who composed the army—omitting the forty thousand by whom Artabazus was accompanied in his flight—no more than three thousand outlived the battle."—[IX.: 70.

"Cæsar distributed the impatient legions into four wedge-shaped divisions, that the devastation might be a wider one: he wasted a space of fifty miles with sword and flame; neither sex, nor age, found any mercy; places sacred and profane alike, and the most famous temple of the tribes, were leveled with the ground. The soldiers remained unwounded, who had slain men half-asleep, unarmed, or straggling about. . . Germanicus, that he might be more easily recognized, pulled the helmet from his head, and exhorted his men that they should 'pursue the slaughter; there was no need of captives; only the extermination of the people would put an end to the war.'"—[Tacitus: Annal.; I.: 51; II.: 21.

IV.: p. 176.—"The commander of the French chivalry, the Count de Nevers, had been taken in the battle. Bajazet ordered that he should be spared, and permitted him to select twenty-four more of the Christian nobles from among the prisoners, whose lives were also

granted. The Sultan then gave the signal for the slaughter of the rest [10,000] to commence. . . The Sultan sate there from daybreak till four in the afternoon, enjoying with inexorable eye the death-pangs of his foes, when at last the pity or the avarice of his grandees made them venture to come between him and his prey, and implore that the Christians who yet remained alive might be made slaves of, instead of being slain. Bajazet assented; and the surviving captives, after the Sultan had chosen his fifth part from among them, were given up, each to the Mahometan who had taken him in battle."—[Creasy: "Hist. of Ottoman Turks"; New York ed., 1877: pp. 39–41.

The ransom paid for the captives spared, was 200,000 ducats.—[Menzies: "Turkey, Old and New"; Vol. 1: p. 90.

V.: p. 176.—"King Xerxes had sent no heralds either to Athens or Sparta, to ask earth and water, for a reason which I will now relate. When Darius some time before sent messengers for the same purpose, they were thrown, at Athens, into the pit of punishment [in the side of which iron hooks were inserted, to tear in pieces those thrown in], and at Sparta into a well, and bidden to take therefrom earth and water for themselves, and carry it to their king."—[Herodotus: VII.: 133.

Pausanias says that it was Miltiades, the son of Cimon, who proposed the putting to death of the heralds at Athens, and that a Divine vengeance fell upon his family in consequence.—["Descript. of Greece"; III.: 12.

"At the time of their arrival [*i. e.*, of the Lacedæmonian ambassadors, in Thrace] two Athenian envoys chanced to be at the court of Sitalces; and they entreated his son Sadocus, who had been made an Athenian citizen, to deliver the envoys into their hands. He consented, and seized them as they were on their way through Thrace to the vessel, in which they were going to cross the Hellespont; they were then handed over to the Athenian envoys, who conveyed them to Athens. On the very day of their arrival, fearing that Aristeus would do them still further mischief if he escaped, they put them all to death without trial, and without hearing what they wanted to say; they then threw their bodies down precipices."—[Thucydides: II.: 67; (abridged.)

VI.: p. 177.—"If I decide this case in favor of my own Government, I must disavow its most cherished principles, and reverse and forever abandon its essential policy. The country cannot afford the sacrifice. If I maintain these principles, and adhere to that policy, I must surrender the case itself. It will be seen, therefore, that this Government could not deny the justice of the claim presented to us in this respect upon its merits. We are asked to do to the British nation just what

we have always insisted that all nations ought to do to us. . . They will be cheerfully liberated. Your lordship will please indicate a time and place for receiving them."—[Letter of Secretary Seward: 20th December, 1861.

There was a wide feeling at the time that Mr. Seward's discussion of the subject had been rather ingenious than ingenuous; that he had been chiefly intent from the outset on releasing the nation from all peril of a war with Great Britain, if this could be done on any ground not humiliating to it. But the point on which his concession turned was certainly one of material importance: that by releasing the offending ship, after taking from her the envoys, Com. Wilkes had lost his claim to the exercise of belligerent rights over her, or anything on board of her; that his action in removing the envoys then became, on his own interpretation, an attempt to exercise police power over a neutral vessel on the high seas—against the right of any power to do which the United States had protested, negotiated, and fought; that the ship should have been released altogether, or else have been seized altogether, and sent into port for adjudication. This doctrine appears to be henceforth established.

VII.: p. 179.—"The more varied and more active intercourse between different nations, by which the rougher contrasts of nationalities were necessarily removed, chiefly contributed to this result [removal of limitations of law by nationality]. But the influence of Christianity must least of all be overlooked, which, as a common bond of spiritual life embracing the most diverse nations, has thrown their characteristic differences more and more into the background."—[Savigny: "Private International Law"; Edinburgh ed., 1880: p. 59.

"If there is anything that can unite men and nations of the most discordant characters, it is the profession of the same religion; especially a religion, the very essence of whose morality is to consider all mankind as brethren. . . The Law of Nations being founded in a great measure upon the systems of morality, good or bad, pursued by certain sets or classes of people, and Religion being everywhere the ground-work of the morality observed, the Christian Religion, as we have mentioned in a former chapter, may be supposed not merely to influence, but to be the chief guide of the Christian Law of Nations."—[Ward: "Enquiry into Law of Nations"; London ed., 1795: Vol. 2: pp. 33, 1.

VIII.: p. 179.—"In that stage of civilization where every man has his own personal deity, and no two perhaps the same, the bond that unites man to man is exceedingly slight. Each man's hand is, in some measure, against his brother's. Opposition, or unlikeness, among the

gods, leads to hostility among men. Thus family is arrayed against family, tribe against tribe, nation against nation, because the peculiar God of the one family, tribe, or nation, is deemed hostile to all others. . . A stranger, whom accident or design brings to the devotee, is a choice offering. The saint is a murderer. War is a constant and normal state of man, not an exception, as it afterward becomes; the captives are sacrificed as a matter of course."—[Theo. Parker: "Discourse of Religion"; Boston ed., 1842: pp. 60, 61.

IX.: p. 180.—The discussion by Mr. Grote of the origin, purposes, and general effects of the Amphictyonic Assembly, is clear and sufficient. It will be found in his "History of Greece"; London ed., 1872: Vols. II.: pp. 169–177; VIII.: 192–4; IX.: 238–253; 412–416; 456, *et seq.*

"These are first attempts at procuring admission for the principles of humanity in a land filled with border feuds. There is as yet no question of putting an end to the state of war, still less of combining for united action; an attempt is merely made to induce a group of states to regard themselves as belonging together, and on the ground of this feeling to recognize mutual obligations, and in the case of inevitable feuds at all events mutually to refrain from extreme measures of force."—[Curtius: "Hist. of Greece"; New York ed.: Vol. 1: p. 128.

X.: p. 181.—"When Hellenes fight with barbarians, and barbarians with Hellenes, they will be described by us as being at war when they fight, and by nature in a state of war; but when Hellenes fight with one another, we shall say that they are by nature friends, and at such a time Hellas is in a state of disorder and distraction; and enmity of that sort is to be called discord."—[Plato: "Republic": V.: 470.

"To the barbarians he [Alexander] carried himself very haughtily, as if he were fully persuaded of his divine birth and parentage; but to the Grecians, more moderately, and with less affectation of divinity, except it were once, in writing to the Athenians about Samos."—[Plutarch: "Lives"; Boston ed., 1859: Vol. IV.: p. 195.

Yet among these "barbarians" were the Persians, of whose royal pavilions, with their golden vessels, exquisite perfumes, and altogether magnificent furniture, Alexander on entering had said, "This, it seems, is Royalty"!—[p. 184.

It is perhaps still more remarkable, as showing how ingrained was this feeling in the Hellenic mind, that Æschylus, in the "Persæ," represents the chorus of Persians, the messenger of Xerxes, and the Queen Mother Atossa herself, as constantly and familiarly describing *themselves* as "barbarians."

XI.: p. 181.—"And the equitable rule of war has been fully de

clared under highest religious sanctions, by the fecial law of the Roman people. From which it may clearly be understood that no war is just unless it be one waged for the recovery of property, or unless it has been solemnly declared and denounced beforehand."—[Cicero: De Officiis: I.: XI.

XII.: p. 181.—"The laws of every people, governed by statutes and customs, are partly peculiar to itself, partly common to all mankind. The laws which each people constitutes for itself, and which are peculiar to it, are called Jus Civile, as the special Law of that state; but what natural reason prescribes among all men, and what equally obtains among all peoples, is called Jus Gentium."—[Gaius: Institut.: I.: 1.

XIII.: p. 182.—"Anciently, Assembly, Council of State, Parliament, States-General, it was all one thing among us. They wrote neither in Celtic, German, nor Spanish, in our early centuries. The little that they wrote was couched in terms of the Latin language, by the hands of certain clerks; they represented the whole assembly, of great vassals, lords, opulent men, or of some prelates, by the word 'Council.' So it came to pass that one finds in the sixth, seventh, eighth centuries, so many 'Councils,' which were in reality only Councils of State."—[Voltaire: "Œuvres"; Paris ed., 1876; Tom. VII.: p 359.

XIV.: p. 182.—"It was into the midst of a people already so confusedly mixed that the invasion of the Barbarians in the fifth century introduced the new elements. The peoples of all the North of Europe and of Asia, from the Rhine and the Danube to Scandinavia, from the German Ocean to the walls of China, precipitated themselves upon the Roman Empire. They pushed forward, hurled themselves upon one another, and when they did not remain to found a durable government over the country which they had invaded, they left at least military colonies, which were only slowly incorporated with the rest of the inhabitants. All these thus contributed to form the new French nation, which by no means finds its sole origin in the small tribe of the Franks. Among these invading peoples are specially mentioned the three great races of the Germans, the Sarmatians, and the Scythians, each of which divided itself into many minor peoples, distinguishable from each other, but all recognizable by their Teutonic, Slavic, or Tartar speech, by their manner of making war, by their customs of life, and by their fixed habitations or nomadic life."—[Sismondi: "Hist. des Français"; Paris ed., 1821; Tom. I.: pp. 106–107.

Ammianus Marcellinus shows how the Huns appeared to the hardy and experienced Roman soldier:—

"A race savage beyond parallel. At the moment of their birth the cheeks of their infant children are deeply marked by an iron, in order that the vigor of their hair, instead of growing at the proper season, may be withered by the wrinkled scars; and accordingly they grow up without beards. . They are of great size, and low-legged, so that you might fancy them two-legged beasts. . . They live on the roots of such herbs as they get in the fields, or on the half-raw flesh of any animal, which they merely warm rapidly by placing it between their own thighs and the backs of their horses. They never shelter themselves under roofed houses, but avoid these, as people ordinarily avoid sepulchres. . . After a tunic is once put around their necks, however worn it becomes, it is never taken off or changed till, from long decay, it becomes so ragged as to fall to pieces. . . In one respect you may pronounce them the most formidable of all warriors, for when at a distance they use missiles of various kinds tipped with sharpened bones instead of the usual points of javelins, but when they are at close quarters they fight with the sword, without any regard for their own safety. None of them plough, or ever touch a plough-handle; for they have no settled abode, but are homeless and lawless, perpetually traveling with their wagons, which they make their homes. . . In truces they are treacherous and inconstant, being liable to change their minds at every breeze of any fresh hope which presents itself: and, like brute beasts, they are utterly ignorant of the distinction between right and wrong. They have no respect for any religion or superstition whatever; are immoderately covetous of gold, most fickle, and irascible."—[Rom. Hist.: XXXI.: 2; §§ 2–11.

XV.: p. 183.—"Almost all our superstitions are the remains of a religion anterior to Christianity, and which Christianity has not been able entirely to root out. If at the present day we wished to recover a living image of paganism, we should have to look for it in some village lying forgotten in the depths of a country district, altogether behind the times."—[Renan: "Hibbert Lects."; London ed., 1880: p. 32.

"It was the legislation of the pagan emperors, carried on by Valentinian and Valens, and received into the codes of Athalaric, of Liutprand, and of Charlemagne, which founded the penal laws against sorcery which prevailed in the Middle Age: and thus did the torch of the ancient wisdom kindle the piles with which the Church has been reproached."—[Fréd. Ozanam: "Civil. in Fifth Cent."; London ed., 1867: Vol. 1: p. 133.

XVI.: p. 183.—"That time [after Charlemagne] was indeed the nadir of order and civilization. From all sides the torrent of barbarism which Charles the Great had stemmed was rushing down upon his

empire. The Saracen wasted the Mediterranean coasts, and sacked Rome herself. The Dane and Norseman swept the Atlantic and the North Sea, pierced France and Germany by their rivers, burning, slaying, carrying off into captivity: pouring through the Straits of Gibraltar, they fell upon Provence and Italy. By land, while Wends and Czechs and Obatrites threw off the German yoke and threatened the borders, the wild Hungarian bands, pressing in from the steppes of the Caspian, dashed over Germany like the flying spray of a new wave of barbarism, and carried the terror of their battle-axes to the Apennines and the ocean. No one thought of common defence, or wide organization; the strong built castles, the weak became their bondsmen, or took shelter under the cowl; the governor—count, abbot, or bishop—tightened his grasp, turned a delegated into an independent, a personal into a territorial authority, and hardly owned a distant and feeble suzerain. The grand vision of a universal Christian empire was utterly lost in the isolation, the antagonism, the increasing localization of all powers: it might seem to have been a passing gleam from an older and better world."—[Bryce: "Holy Roman Empire"; London ed., 1876: pp. 78–9.

"It is impossible to read the history of the early middle ages without feeling that, for the first six centuries after the fall of the Western Empire, there is little or no progress. The night grows darker and darker, and we seem to get ever deeper into the mire. Not till we are quite clear of the wrecks of the Carolingian fabric, not till the days of William the Norman and Hildebrand, do we seem to be making any satisfactory progress out of Chaos into Cosmos."—[Hodgkin: "Italy, and her Invaders"; Oxford ed., 1880: Vol. 2: p. 550.

XVII.: p. 183.—"Even the Pope himself Bernard did not spare, when, placed by his lordship over the church to maintain the whole church-system in steadiness and cohesion, he gave to egotism and selfishness the means to escape the punishment of the law. When the archbishop of Trier had made complaint that through the favor which his young suffragan-bishops of noble connections found at the Roman Court the Metropolitan-office was becoming an empty title, Bernard himself took the matter in hand, and wrote to the Pope [Innocent II.]: 'It is the universal voice of those who in our region rule their congregations with faithful solicitude that all justice is abolished in the Church, that the episcopal dignity is being made contemptible, since no bishop has it in his power to punish offences against God, nor can he at all chastise what is unlawful even in his own diocese. And you, and the Roman Court, only push on this criminal business. What they [the bishops] order that is good, you prohibit. What they justly forbid, you favor. All the vicious and quarrelsome among the congregations, with the outcasts from the convents, rush to you: and

when they come back from you they exalt and glorify themselves, as having found protection in those from whom they should on the other hand much rather have found chastisement."—[Neander: "Der heilige Bernhard": Gotha, 1848: S. 133.

Calvin quotes with admiration other words of Bernard to the Pope [Eugenius III.]: "You are made a superior. For what purpose? Not to exercise dominion, I apprehend. However highly we think of ourselves, let us remember that we are appointed to a ministry, not invested with a sovereignty. . . Go, if you dare, and while sustaining the office of a temporal sovereign usurp the name of an apostle, or filling an apostolical office usurp a temporal sovereignty."—["Institutes": IV.: 11: § 11.

After saying at the close of his learned and sympathetic life of Bernard that "No further expression of judgment concerning this man is needed, his life and his ministry sufficiently portray him," Neander adds, what every one it would seem must feel: "It is perfectly evident that we may not despise an age in which one man, surrounded by no worldly splendor, through his purely moral force, through the elevation and strength of his spirit, secured for himself a distinction so vast, and an influence so mighty."—[S. 522.

XVIII.: p. 184.—"From this period [eleventh century] are to be dated the first efforts to establish, in different parts of France, what was called 'God's peace,' 'God's truce.' The words were well chosen for prohibiting at the same time oppression and revolt; for it needed nothing less than the law and the voice of God to put some restraint on the barbarous manners and passions of men, great or small, lord or peasant. It is the peculiar and glorious characteristic of Christianity to have so well understood the primitive and permanent evil in human nature that it fought against all the great iniquities of mankind, and exposed them in principle, even when, in point of general practice, it neither hoped nor attempted to sweep them away. Bishops, priests, and monks were in their personal lives, and in the councils of the Church, the first propagators of God's peace or truce; and in more than one locality they induced the laic lords to follow their lead."—[Guizot: "Hist. of France"; Boston ed.: Vol. 1: p. 313.

Bluntschli dates the new birth, or energetic revival, of International Law, from the later point at which 'the unity of the Papal Church in Western Europe was broken by the Reformation of the sixteenth century, while already, before that, the secular Imperial unity (of the Holy Roman Empire) had shown itself an impracticable scheme.' From that point the light of this science, previously in the world, but long restrained, rapidly advanced.—["Das Moderne Völkerrecht": Nördlingen: 1878: S. 17.

XIX. : p. 185.—"It has often been observed, and it is indeed abundantly obvious, that the greater part of international law is not law, in the proper sense of the term. It is not a command. It does not proceed from any definite political organ. It has no sanction. Subject to the exception that I shall presently notice [customs of the Sea], it is merely the customs which regulate the intercourse of independent political communities."—[W. E. Hearn : "Aryan Household"; London ed., 1879 : p. 450.

"International Law, as understood among civilized nations, may be defined as consisting of those rules of conduct which reason deduces, as consonant to Justice, from the nature of the society existing among independent nations; with such definitions and modifications as may be established by general consent."—[Wheaton : "Elements of International Law": Part I. : § 14.

Professor Cairns says: "International Law is the formal expression of the public opinion of the civilized world respecting the rules of conduct which ought to govern the relations of independent nations, and is, consequently, derived from the source from which all public opinion flows, — the moral and intellectual convictions of mankind."—[Note, to Wheaton.]

President Woolsey defines International Law as "the aggregate of the rules which Christian states acknowledge as obligatory in their relations to each other, and to each other's subjects."—["Introd. to Internat. Law"; New York ed., 1879: p. 3.

XX.: p. 185.—"In point of fact many Christian ideas shine forth before the foundation of International Law. Christianity sees in God the Father of mankind, and in men the children of God. The unity of the human race, and the brotherhood of all peoples, are herein recognized in their principle. The Christian religion humbles the haughtiness of the ancient self-complacency, and demands humility; it lays its hand on egotism at its roots, and requires its renunciation; it reckons self-sacrifice for men grander than any lordship over them. It thus removes the impediments which were in the way of any ancient Law of Nations. Its highest commandment is the love of mankind, and it carries this up even to the point of love for enemies. It works to liberate and enfranchise, as it purifies men, and unites them in reconciliation with God. It announces the Message of Peace. It becomes then a thing not remote to transport these ideas and commandments into the language of Law and to transform them into fundamental propositions of a humane Law of Nations, which recognizes all peoples, as free members of the great human family, which concerns itself for the World's peace, and which even in time of war

demands respect for the rights of humanity."--[Bluntschli: "Das Moderne Völkerrecht": Nördlingen: 1878: S. 14.

XXI.: p. 186.—"Fight therefore for the religion of God, and oblige not any to what is difficult, except thyself; however, excite the faithful to war, perhaps God will restrain the courage of the unbelievers. . . It hath not been granted unto any prophet that he should possess captives, until he hath made a great slaughter of the infidels in the earth. . . As to the infidels, let them be deemed of kin the one to the other. Unless ye do this, there will be a sedition in the earth, and a grievous corruption. . . When ye encounter the unbelievers, strike off their heads, until ye have made a great slaughter among them and bind them in bonds, and either give them a free dismission afterwards, or exact a ransom; until the war shall have laid down its arms If ye assist God, by fighting for his religion, he will assist you against your enemies, and will set your feet fast; but as for the infidels, let them perish."—[Koran: cc. 4, 8, 47: Sale's trans.; London ed.: pp. 70, 146, 410–11.

XXII.: p. 188.—"Les Romains étoient éclairés; cependant ces mêmes Romains ne furent pas choqués de voir réunir dans la personne de César un Dieu, un prêtre, et un Athée."—[Gibbon: "Essai sur l'Étude de la Littérature": Misc. Works; London ed., 1796: Vol. II.: p. 476.

In his history of the "Decline and Fall," he says, with absolute truth, that "the various modes of worship, which prevailed in the Roman world, were all considered by the people as equally true; by the philosopher as equally false, and by the magistrate as equally useful."—[Boston ed., 1854: Vol. 1: p. 165.

XXIII.: p. 190.—"The Christian religion has all the marks of the utmost justice and utility, but none more apparent than the severe injunction it lays upon all to yield obedience to the magistrate, and to maintain and defend the laws. What a wonderful example of this has the Divine wisdom left us, which, to establish the salvation of mankind, and to conduct His glorious victory over death and sin, would do it after no other way but at the mercy of our ordinary political organization; subjecting the progress and issue of so high and so salutary an effect, to the blindness and injustice of our customs and observances; sacrificing the innocent blood of so many of His own elect, and so long a loss of many years, to the maturing of this inestimable fruit!"—[Montaigne: "Essais"; Paris ed., 1826: Tom. 1: p. 178.

XXIV.: p. 190.—"It [International Law] has neither lawgiver nor supreme judge, since independent States acknowledge no superior

human authority. Its organ and regulator is public opinion; its supreme tribunal is history, which forms at once the rampart of justice, and the Nemesis by whom injustice is avenged. Its sanction, or the obligation of all men to respect it, results from the moral order of the universe, which will not suffer nations and individuals to be isolated from each other, but constantly tends to unite the whole family of mankind in one great harmonious Society."—[Heffter: "Das Europäische Völkerrecht": quoted by Wheaton: "Elements, etc.": Part I.: § 10.

XXV.: p. 191.—"The reduction of the Law of Nations to a system was reserved for Grotius. It was by the advice of Lord Bacon and Peiresc that he undertook this arduous task. He produced a work which we now indeed justly deem imperfect, but which is perhaps the most complete that the world has yet owed, at so early a stage in the progress of any science, to the genius and learning of one man."—[Sir James Mackintosh: "Misc. Works"; London ed., 1846: Vol. 1: p. 351.

Other writers in the same department, but of transient influence or local celebrity, had preceded Grotius—as Francis de Victoria, Dominic Soto, Balthazar Ayala, and Albericus Gentilis; and early in the seventeenth century, Suarez, a Jesuit of Granada, wrote an extended treatise, in ten books, on the principles of natural law and of positive jurisprudence, entitled "Tractatus de legibus ac Deo legislatore": of which Hallam gives a synopsis and a description in his "Introduction to the Literature of Europe," Part III., chap. 4, secs. 1, 3. He describes the author as "by far the greatest man in the department of moral philosophy which the order of Loyola produced in that age, or perhaps in any other."

Mr. Hallam then proceeds to consider the work of Grotius.—"The name of Suarez is obscure in comparison of one who soon came forward in the great field of natural jurisprudence. This was Hugo Grotius, whose famous work was published at Paris in 1625. . . It is acknowledged by every one that the publication of this treatise made an epoch in the philosophical, and almost we might say in the political, history of Europe. . . Within thirty or forty years from its publication, we find the work of Grotius generally received as authority by professors of the Continental universities, and deemed necessary for the student of civil law, at least in the Protestant countries of Europe. In England, from the difference of laws, and from some other causes, the influence of Grotius was far slower, and even ultimately much less general. He was, however, treated with great respect as the founder of the modern law of nations, which is distinguished from what formerly bore that name by its more continual reference to that of Nature. . . The book may be considered as nearly original, in its general platform,

as any work of man in an advanced state of civilization and learning can be. . . He extends too far his principle, that no nation can be excluded by another from privileges which it concedes to the rest of the world. In all these positions, however, we perceive the enlarged and philanthropic spirit of the system of Grotius, and his disregard of the usages of mankind when they clashed with his Christian sense of justice. . . An implicit deference to what he took for Divine truth was the first axiom in the philosophy of Grotius; if he was occasionally deceived in his application of this principle, it was but according to the notions of his age."—["Literature of Europe"; London ed., 1847: Vol. 2: pp. 543–5, 553, 588.

The title which Grotius first proposed for his great treatise was, "The Law of Nature and of Nations."—[Burigny's Life of Grotius: B. III.: c. 9.

XXVI.: p. 192.—Mr. Wheaton's "Elements of International Law" was translated into Chinese in 1864, under the auspices of the Imperial Government. It was translated by one of the American missionaries in China (Rev. Dr. Martin), with whom was associated a commission of Chinese scholars, appointed by the Minister for Foreign Affairs. The work was made a text-book for the officials of the empire; and the translation has been quoted and relied upon by the Chinese Government in its diplomatic correspondence.—[See Dana's Note to Wheaton: (8): p. 22.

XXVII.: p. 192.—"The same rules of morality which hold together men in families, and which form families into commonwealths, also link together those commonwealths as members of the great society of mankind. . . It is their interest, as well as their duty, to reverence, to practice, and to enforce, those rules of justice which control and restrain injury, which regulate and augment benefit, which even in their present imperfect observance preserve civilized states in a tolerable condition of security from wrong, and which, if they could be generally obeyed, would establish, and permanently maintain, the well-being of the universal commonwealth of the human race."—[Sir James Mackintosh: "Misc. Works"; London ed., 1846; Vol. 1: p. 345.

"The Law of Nations is naturally founded upon this principle: that different nations ought to do to each other, in time of peace the most of good, in time of war the least of evil, which is possible without prejudice to their own interests."—[Montesquieu: "De l'Esprit des Loix"; I. 3; Paris ed., 1803; Tom. I.: p. 72.

"It has been the object of the writer of these pages to strengthen or add to the previously existing proof that States as well as Individuals of which they are the aggregate, have in their collective capacity a

sphere of duty assigned to them by God. He has endeavoured to forward the great argument that there are International Rights, and therefore International Laws. . . At least he has the consolation of thinking that he has been a fellow-worker with Grotius, and that he has endeavoured, however feebly, to accomplish the wish which Leibnitz expressed, when he said, 'Rightly is reckoned by learned men among the things to be desired, the Law of nature and of nations interpreted according to Christian teaching.' . . It was the voice of inspiration, though it borrowed the pen of the heathen, which pronounced that the just state differed in nothing from the just man [Plato: "Republic"; IV.: 443]: it was the voice and the language of inspiration which has told us that 'the work of righteousness shall be peace; and the effect of righteousness, quietness and assurance forever.'"—[Phillimore: "Comm. on International Law"; Philadelphia ed., 1857: Vol. 3: pp. 507–8.

XXVIII.: p. 193.—"Since men are naturally equal, and a perfect equality prevails in their rights and obligations, as equally proceeding from nature,—Nations, composed of men, and considered as so many free Persons living together in the state of nature, are naturally equal, and inherit from nature the same obligations and rights. Power or weakness does not, in this respect, produce any difference. A dwarf is as much a man as a giant: a small republic is not less a sovereign state than the most powerful kingdom."—[Vattel: "Law of Nations"; Philadelphia ed., 1839: p. lxiii.

XXIX.: p. 193.—The congress of the five great powers, meeting by their plenipotentiaries at London in November, A.D. 1830, was convened by request of the King of the Netherlands, to effect, if possible, a conciliatory mediation between the two divisions of his kingdom. It at once commanded a cessation of hostilities, on both sides. It then proceeded to arrange for the future independence of Belgium, on certain conditions. Against this, both the king and the provisional Government of Belgium protested, though on different grounds. The congress based its proceedings on the ground that "while each nation has its particular rights, Europe also has its rights, conferred by social order"; and announced its determination to put an end to the contest. In the summer of 1831, the king, rejecting certain arrangements proposed in favor of the Belgic provinces, attacked these with armed force; and the final Treaty signed between the five powers and Belgium in November, A.D. 1831, was signed against his protest. France and Great Britain united, however, to compel him to evacuate the Belgian territory, and he finally yielded to the superior force, and in April, A.D 1839, signed the conclusive Treaty.

The protracted negotiations on the part of the external powers had therefore successively the characters of a pacific mediation, of a forcible arbitration, and of an armed interference.

The history is told in full by Wheaton: "Hist. of Law of Nations", New York ed., 1845: pp. 539–554.

XXX.: p. 193.—President Woolsey's statements on this point are not only recent, but are eminently considerate and just:—

"Interference on the score of humanity or of religion can be justified only by the extreme circumstances of the case. . . Elizabeth of England sent aid to the revolted Hollanders on religious grounds, and Cromwell's threats slackened the persecution of the Waldenses by the Duke of Savoy."

He quotes with approval a maxim cited by Wheaton, that 'whatever a nation may lawfully defend for itself, it may defend for another if called on to interpose'; and adds, in another chapter, that "if a nation should undertake a war with no pretext of right, other states may not only remonstrate, but use force to put down such wickedness. . . In some rare cases a great and flagrant wrong committed by another nation, against religion for instance, or liberty, may justify hostile interference on the part of those who are not immediately affected. And this, not only because the wrong, if allowed, may threaten all states, but also because the better feelings of nations impel them to help the injured."—["Introd. to Internat. Law"; New York ed., 1879: pp. 59–60, 183, 185.

XXXI.: p. 194.—"It has been alleged by Denmark that our acquiescence, until recent years, in the Elsineur exactions, was a tacit sanction of their legitimacy, as 'established by usage.' . . We can recognize no 'immemorial usage' as obligatory when it conflicts with natural privileges and international law. These ancient customs have, in many instances, been found to be inconsistent with rights now generally recognized in the more liberal and reasonable practice of commercial nations, and have been made to yield to views better suited to the improved system of foreign trade."—[Letter of Secretary Marcy, to Mr. Bedinger, July 18, 1853.

XXXII.: p. 195.—Thus the Treaty signed at St. Petersburgh in 1772, by the plenipotentiaries of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, providing for the first partition of Poland, was never regarded in the civilized world, outside of those states, as justifying the action which the contract contemplated. It was encountered by indignant remonstrances from the French, English, Swedish, and Danish governments. It was recognized as practically an illegitimate agreement between neighboring

public robbers, to do an act of profitable violence; and the impression has not yet ceased that a certain retribution can be traced at different points in the subsequent history of the three confederated powers, for what was generally held, and is by many still considered, a colossal crime against liberty and civilization.

XXXIII.: p. 196.—The illustration given by Francis I. of contempt for public promises, is at once signal and familiar. Defeated and taken prisoner at Pavia, in 1525, and subsequently carried to Madrid, he signed a Treaty, humiliating, no doubt, and promised on the honor of a prince to execute it, or, as the alternative, to return as a prisoner to Spain. On reaching France, however, he applied to the Pope for absolution from the oath which he had taken, refused to execute the Treaty, which he had signed with a secret protest, refused equally to return to Spain—on the ground that he had not been treated there as a gentleman—and substituted different stipulations for those of the Treaty, as the only ones which he would fulfil. Even these were really extorted from him by the fact that two of his sons had been detained as hostages by the emperor, Charles Fifth, who had evidently entertained a just suspicion of the truth and honor of Francis. The whole story is fairly told by Robertson: "History of Charles Fifth": Boston ed., 1857: Vol. II.: pp. 117–122, 134–41: 175–8: *et al.*

Guizot gives the cutting reply of Charles to the proposal of Francis for a material change in the terms of the Treaty: "The king of France promised and swore, on the faith of an honest king and prince, that if he did not carry out the said restitution of Burgundy, he would incontinently come and surrender himself prisoner to H. M. the Emperor. Let the king of France keep his oath!"

The comment of the veteran diplomatist on the trick of the secret protest made by Francis before signing the Treaty is curt and just: "We may not have unlimited faith in the scrupulosity of modern diplomats; but assuredly they would consider such a policy so fundamentally worthless that they would be ashamed to practise it. We may not hold sheer force in honor; but open force is better than mendacious weakness."—["Hist. of France"; Bost. ed., Vol. 4: pp. 108, 106.

XXXIV.: p. 196.—President Woolsey quotes from Flassan a statement which illustrates the ancient function of ambassadors: "Louis XI., on sending the Sieurs du Bouchage and De Solliers to the Dukes of Guienne and of Brittany, gave them for their instructions, 'If they lie to you, lie still more to them.'"—["Introd. to Study of Int. Law"; New York ed., 1879: p. 133

XXXV.: p. 196.—"They have invented a hundred subterfuges, a

hundred sophistries, to supply justification to their wrong doings. They only use thought to give authority to injustice, and they only employ words in order to disguise their thoughts."—[Voltaire : "Dialogues": XIV. (Le chapon et la poularde): Œuvres; Paris ed., 1876: Tom. VI : p. 646.

XXXVI. : p. 196.—"Ambassadors in Ordinary have been attributed by some to Ferdinand the Catholic, whose policy led him to entertain them at various courts, as a kind of honourable spies: by others, with no small probability, to an imitation of the Pope, who had long been in the habit of sending Nuncios to reside at various courts in the service of religion. . . Henry IV. of France, while king of Navarre, entertained none at other courts; and Henry Seventh, 'that wise and politic king,' says Lord Coke, 'would not in all his time suffer Lieger [resident] ambassadours of any foreign King or Prince within his realm, nor he with them; but, upon occasion, used ambassadours.' So late as 1660, a member of the Polish Diet asserted that the Ambassador of France had no cause of residence there, and that as he did not return home, *according to the custom of ambassadors*, he ought to be considered as a spy. . . And even the Dutch debated, in 1651, how far this sort of embassy was of any advantage to them."—[Ward : "Enquiry into the Law of Nations"; London ed., 1795: Vol. 2: pp. 483–4.

"The Russia of the 16th and 17th centuries is an Oriental State, almost without relations with Europe. . . From this time Russia sought to enter into regular relations with foreign powers. Her diplomatic traditions were those of the East or Byzantium. . . When foreign ambassadors arrived in Russia, they were treated with magnificence and distrust. From the time they crossed the frontier, they and their people were fed, housed, and provided with carriages, but a *pristaf* attached to their persons watched carefully that they obtained no interviews with the natives, nor information about the state of the country. . . If the Tzar was not contented with him, the ambassador's palace became a prison, where no native might penetrate; and carefully studied humiliations were practised, to extract from him concessions or to abridge his stay."—[Rambaud : "History of Russia"; London ed., 1879 : Vol. 1 : pp. 301, 311–13.

"According to a barbarous usage which the Ottomans have only lately discontinued, the declaration of war with Russia (November 28, 1710) was marked by the imprisonment of the Russian ambassador Tolskoi, in the Castle of the Seven Towers."—[Sir E. S. Creasy : "History of Ottoman Turks"; New York ed., 1877 : p. 329.

This note is added : "The state answer of the ancient Sultans, when requested to receive an embassy, was, 'The Sublime Porte is open to all.' This, according to the Turkish interpretation, implied a safe con-

duct in coming, but gave no guarantee about departing. Levesque, in his History of Russia, remarks on the Turkish custom of imprisoning ambassadors when a war broke out: 'This barbarous custom has been justly held a reproach to them. Yet Charles 12th detained the Prince Khilkof, ambassador of Russia, and left him to die in captivity; and no historian has reproached him for this crime against the Law of Nations.'"

It was at the congress at Nimirof, in A.D. 1737, that the Turkish plenipotentiaries seem to have first invoked the protection of International Law. "The language used by them was remarked as new from Ottoman lips, inasmuch as, besides their customary references to the Koran, they appealed to the Christian gospels, and to Christian writers on the law of nations, to prove the bad faith of their adversaries."—[p. 366.

XXXVII.: p. 197.—"For this reason [because nature has made plants and animals for the use of man] the art of war is, in some sense, a part of the art of acquisition; for hunting is a part of it, which it is necessary for us to employ against wild beasts, and against those of mankind who, being intended by nature for slavery, are unwilling to submit to it; and, on this occasion, such a war is by nature just."—[Aristotle: "Politics": I.: 8.

"He [Zeno] recommended the regarding all who were not wise, in the Stoic sense, as strangers, enemies, and slaves."—[Döllinger: "The Gentile and the Jew"; London ed., 1862: Vol. 1: p. 348.

"By our ancestors he was called 'an enemy' whom we now call 'a stranger.' This the Twelve Tables demonstrate [as in the words], 'Adversus hostem æterna auctoritas.'"—[Cicero: "De Offic.": I.: xii.

"Nothing but some positive compact [under the Greeks and Romans] exempted the persons of aliens from being doomed to slavery, the moment they passed the bounds of one state, and touched the confines of another."—[Wheaton: "Hist. of Law of Nations"; New York ed., 1845: p. 1.

"There are still some peoples in our Europe whose law does not permit a foreigner to purchase a field and a grave in their territory. The barbarous *droit d'Aubaine*, under which a foreigner sees his paternal possessions pass into the Royal treasury, still subsists in all Christian kingdoms, at least wherever it has not been limited or annulled (dérogé) by special treaties."—[Voltaire: "Essai sur les Mœurs": Œuvres; Paris ed., 1877: Tom. III.: p. 608.

It is added, in a note, that when it was proposed to abolish the *droit d'Aubaine* in France, by a general law, the great Chancellor d'Aguesseau resisted it, because, as he said, "this law was the most ancient law of the monarchy."

Mr. Brace has given a summary of historical facts on this subject:—

"According to the Burgundian law, he [the stranger] could be tortured under suspicious circumstances, and even one of Charlemagne's capitularies permits the same treatment. By a law of the Salian Franks, when a stranger wished to settle in a village or canton, he was not permitted the privilege if a single resident opposed. . . In England, a stranger who was accused of any crime must be at once put in jail; if he was found off from the four main roads, and making no noise of bell, he could be killed as a thief; no one could harbour him more than three nights, and whoever did so even for that time was responsible for his good conduct. . . The Saxons are said to have sold into slavery a stranger who had no patron. . . It was the fourteenth century before the strangers ceased to be regarded as bound to the soil in France, and features of the *droit d'Aubaine* have survived to the present day. . . In divers ways the unfortunate foreigners in France were plundered and taxed throughout the Middle Ages. They could not inherit or bequeath property. Even as late as the sixteenth century the *aubains* could not transmit property, except a fixed small sum, or succeed to an estate."—["Gesta Christi"; New York ed., 1882: pp. 191–4.

Ingulphus, in his Chronicle, quotes the law of 'the most just King Edward,' afterward proclaimed by 'the illustrious King William, under most heavy penalties,' that "No one shall entertain a stranger for more than three nights, unless a person who is his friend shall have given him a recommendation; and no one shall permit a person, after he is accused [rectatus est] to depart from his home."—[Laws of William the Conqueror: I.: XLVIII.; "Ancient Laws of England" 1840: Vol. 1: p. 487.

XXXVIII.: p. 197.—The change which has taken place in the laws and customs of Christian states, concerning the legal right and privilege accorded to strangers, is sufficiently illustrated by the following extracts from eminent French and German authors:—

"It is now in fact admitted as part of the European Law of Nations, that the judicial power of each nation extends over the person and over the property of the foreigner who resides in it, as it does over the persons and the property of natives; that, in consequence, foreigners are admitted, like native-born citizens, to invoke the intervention of the justices in every place, whether against a citizen or another foreigner, and that the defendant may not screen himself from such jurisdiction. [This is independent of the privileges accorded to foreign ambassadors, or by special treaty to citizens of foreign nations.] In all these other cases, the foreigner, not only by virtue of a generous hospitality, but as a matter of reciprocal justice, enjoys, for his person and for his property, so far as the civil jurisdiction is concerned, a

protection equivalent [semblable] to that which the laws give to a native."—["Droit International Privé": M. Fœlix: Aug. par C. Demangeat; Paris ed., 1866: Tom. I.: p. 308.

Charlemagne's legislation, early in the ninth century, commanding every one 'to be hospitable to strangers as he would have Christ merciful to him,' and instructing all judges to 'give just judgment, putting no distinction of persons between the stranger and the native citizen, since that is the just judgment of God'—has certainly in the end borne fruit.

"It is the necessary consequence of this equality [between natives and foreigners], in its full development, not only that in each particular state the foreigner is not postponed to the native, but also that, in cases of conflict of laws, the same legal relations (cases) have to expect the same decision, whether the judgment be pronounced in this state or in that. The stand-point to which this consideration leads us, is that of an international common law of nations having intercourse with one another; and this view has always obtained wider recognition, under the influence of a common Christian morality, and of the real advantage which results from it to all concerned. . . If the development of the law thus begun is not disturbed by unforeseen external circumstances, it may be expected that it will at length lead to a complete accord in the treatment of questions of collisions in all states. . . The *Allgemeine Landrecht* of Prussia very distinctly recognizes the principle of equality before the law, in its treatment of native subjects and foreigners; and where exceptions occur, these are not at all intended to secure for the domestic law an exclusive authority over foreigners, but they are rather benevolently directed to protect legal acts from the collision of local laws. . . The French Code contains but a few rules that can be regarded as determining questions of collision; yet it also unambiguously recognizes the equality as to legal rights of natives and foreigners. The Austrian Code is similar to the Prussian. It acknowledges the equal rights of foreigners and natives, and has well-intended provisions for the maintenance of legal acts."—[Savigny: "Private International Law"; Edinburgh ed., 1880: pp. 69–70, 137, 147–8.

The editor adds, p. 74 (note): "Since 1870, aliens may, in Great Britain and Ireland, take, hold, and dispose of real and personal property as if natural-born subjects, except that they cannot own British ships."

XXXIX.: p. 198.—"The United States have concluded over twenty of such conventions [touching extradition], most of them terminable after a certain number of years, or at the pleasure of either party. . . The provision that no person shall be surrendered on account of political offences appears in twelve of them, and ought to appear in all."—

[Woolsey: "Introd. to Internat. Law"; New York ed., 1879: pp. 117-118.

XL.: p. 198.—"Les jurisconsultes Français disent que l'air de France est si bon et si bénin que dès qu'un esclave entre dans le roiaume, mesme à la suite d'un ambassadeur, il ne respire que liberté, et la recouvre aussitôt."—[Quoted by Savigny: p. 85 (note).

Mr. Brace quotes an ancient maxim in as direct an antithesis to this as can well be imagined: "Residence also often brought about slavery. *Die Luft macht eigen*, "The air makes the thrall," says some old German proverb. If runaways were found living on strange properties, they could be enslaved."—[Gesta Christi: p. 241.

XLI.: p. 199.—The ancient tendency to the isolation of states, by the severances of race and religion, naturally generated the dislike of commerce expressed by Plato, in the Laws:—

"Then there is some hope [since the city is to be at the distance of eighty stadia from the sea] that your citizens may be virtuous: had you been on the sea, and well provided with harbors, and an importing rather than a producing country, some mighty Saviour would have been needed, and Lawgivers more than mortal, if you were to have a chance of preserving your state from degeneracy and discordance of manners. But there is comfort in the eighty stadia; although the sea is too near, especially if, as you say, the harbors are so good. The sea is pleasant enough as a daily companion, but has also a bitter and brackish quality; filling the streets with merchants and shopkeepers, and begetting in the souls of men uncertain and unfaithful ways—making the state unfriendly and unfaithful both to her own citizens, and also to other nations."—[IV.: 704.

XLII.: p. 201.—"Do not think it is impossible for any one to please God while engaged in active military service. [Examples: David, the two centurions, the soldiers who came to John for baptism; 'he did not prohibit them to serve as soldiers when he commanded them to be content with their pay for the service']. . . Peace should be the object of your desire; war should be waged only as a necessity, and waged only that God may by it deliver men from the necessity, and preserve them in peace. Therefore, even in waging war cherish the spirit of a peace-maker, that by conquering those whom you attack you may lead them back to the advantages of Peace."—[Augustine: Ep. CLXXXIX.: 4, 6.

Tertullian refers to the Christian soldiers in the army under Marcus Aurelius, and says expressly, "We sail with you, we fight with you, we till the ground with you"; though he gives it as a reason why the

Christians, though not fearing the sword, did not assail the persecuting empire, that in their religion it was counted better to be slain than to slay.—[Apolog.: 5, 42, 37.

"Nothing can well be further from the sentiment of Scripture than the extreme horror of force, as a penal and disciplinary instrument, which is inculcated in modern times. 'My kingdom,' said Jesus, 'is not of this world; else would my servants fight':—an expression which implies that no kingdom of this world can dispense with arms, and that he himself, were he the head of a human polity, would not forbid the sword; but while 'legions of angels' stood ready for his word, and only waited till the Scripture was fulfilled and the hour of darkness was passed, to obey the signal of heavenly invasion, the weapon of earthly temper might remain within the sheath. The infant Church, subsisting in the heart of a military empire, and expecting from on high a military rescue, was not itself to fight; not, however, because force was in all cases 'brutal' and 'heathenish,' but because, in this case, it was to be angelic and celestial. . . The reverence for human life is carried to an immoral idolatry, when it is held more sacred than justice and right, and when the spectacle of blood becomes more horrible than the sight of desolating tyrannies and triumphant hypocrisies. . . We speak only of the ultimate theory of this matter, and simply affirm that wherever law and government exist, somewhere in the background force must lurk."—[James Martineau: "Studies of Christianity"; Boston ed., 1866: pp. 345, 354.

XLIII.: p. 202.—Gentilis's definition of war was a good one: "Bellum est contentio publica armata justa."

Sir James Mackintosh thus limited the justice of war: "A war is just against the wrong-doer when reparation for wrong cannot otherwise be obtained; but it is then only conformable to all the principles of morality, when it is not likely to expose the nation by whom it is levied to greater evils than it professes to avert, and when it does not inflict on the nation which has done the wrong sufferings altogether disproportioned to the extent of the injury." His general principle was thus stated: "The employment of force, in the intercourse of reasonable beings, is never lawful, but for the purpose of repelling or averting wrongful force."—["Misc. Works"; London ed., 1846: Vol. 2: pp. 321, 320.

Milton put the case well, in his "Manifesto of the Lord Protector," in regard to the expedition to the West Indies:—"First, we have been prompted to it by necessity; it being absolutely necessary to go to war with the Spaniards, since they will not allow us to be at peace with them: and then, honour and justice; seeing we cannot pretend to either of these, if we sit still and suffer such insufferable injuries to be

done to our countrymen, as those we have shown to be done to them in the West-Indies."—[Prose Works; London ed., 1753: Vol. II.: p. 273.

XLIV.: p. 202.—"The ancient peoples regarded the enemies with whom they were at war as essentially without rights, and held everything allowable as against them. To the modern consciousness of Justice it is clear that the rights of human nature are to be considered even in war; since enemies have not ceased to be men. . . The sharpened discrimination of the modern jurisprudence first made plain this fundamental conception: that war is a contest of right between states, or different political powers, and is in no way a contest between private citizens, or with such citizens. . . Out of the distinction arises the following governing principle, in the modern law of nations: Individuals, as private persons, are not enemies; as belonging to their respective states, they are complicated in the hostility of those states. So far as private rights are concerned, the relation of peace, and the rights of peace, continue. So far as public law comes in to determine, the relation of hostility is introduced, and the laws of war take effect." —[Bluntschli: "Moderne Völkerrecht"; Nördlingen, 1878: S. 35, f.

"The true theory seems to be that the private persons on each side are not fully in hostile relations, but in a state of non-intercourse, in a state wherein the rights of intercourse, only secured by treaty and not derived from natural right, are suspended or have ceased; while the political bodies to which they belong are at war with one another, and they only."—[Woolsey: "Introd. to Internat. Law"; New York ed., 1879: p. 207.

XLV.: p. 203.—The instructions of the French Minister of Marine to naval officers in 1854 were, as quoted by President Woolsey:—"You must put no hindrance in the way of the coast-fishery even, on the coasts of the enemy, but you will be on your guard that this favor, dictated by an interest of humanity, draws with it no abuse prejudicial to military or maritime operations. If you are employed in the waters of the White Sea, you will allow to continue without interruption the exchange of fresh fish, provisions, utensils, and tackling, which is carried on habitually between the peasants of the Russian coasts of the province of Archangel and the fishermen of the coast of Norwegian Finmark."—[See "Introd. to Internat. Law"; New York ed., 1879: pp. 313–14.

XLVI.: p. 203.—"The first article of the celebrated Declaration of Paris of 1856 is in these words: 'Privateering is and remains abolished' [as matter of compact between the parties, not as an alteration of International Law]. . . The original parties to the Declaration were

Great Britain, France, Russia, Prussia, Austria, Sardinia, and Turkey. Some forty other powers gave in their adhesion to the Declaration, embracing nearly all the states of Europe and South America. . . Proposals were made to the United States to accede to the Declaration. Mr. Marcy, then Secretary of State, declined to become a party to it as an entirety, unless with additions. . . But the United States would accede to the Declaration, if an article should be added protecting from capture all private property at sea not contraband. This proposal is often called the American Amendment. Russia made known to the other parties to the Declaration her readiness and desire to support the American Amendment, if its adoption should be taken into consideration by the other parties. The French, Prussian, Italian, and Netherland governments likewise expressed to the American ministers their desire to have the American Amendment adopted. It is understood that the defeat of the Amendment was caused by the opposition of Great Britain."—[Wheaton: "Internat. Law": Dana's note: pp. 454–5.

XLVII.: p. 204.—"The use of poisoned weapons, or the distribution of poison-materials and elements of contagion in the enemy's country, is an offense against International Law. So also weapons are prohibited which inflict a suffering that accomplishes no purpose [zwecklose], such as arrows with barbs, scrap shot or splintered glass in place of musket-balls."—[Bluntschli: "Moderne Völkerrecht"; Nördlingen, 1878: § 557–8.

XLVIII.: p. 204.—The following are fair examples of the "Instructions for the government of armies," prepared by Dr. Lieber, and approved by the President:—

"4. Martial Law is simply military authority exercised in accordance with the laws and usages of war. Military oppression is not Martial Law; it is the abuse of the power which that law confers. . . 11. It [Martial Law] disclaims all extortions and other transactions for individual gain; all acts of private revenge, or connivance at such acts. Offences to the contrary shall be severely punished, and especially so if committed by officers. . . 16. Military necessity does not admit of cruelty, that is, the infliction of suffering for the sake of suffering or for revenge, nor of maiming or wounding except in fight, nor of torture to extort confessions. It does not admit of the use of poison in any way, nor of the wanton devastation of a district. . . 25. In modern regular wars of Europeans, and of their descendants, protection of the inoffensive citizen of the hostile country is the rule; privation and disturbance of private relations are the exceptions. . . 29 The ultimate object of all modern war is a renewed state of peace. . 35. Classical works of art, libraries, scientific collections, or precious

Instruments, such as astronomical telescopes, as well as hospitals, must be secured against all avoidable injury, even when they are contained in fortified places whilst besieged or bombarded. . . 37. The United States acknowledge and protect, in hostile countries occupied by them, religion and morality; strictly private property; the persons of the inhabitants, especially of women; and the sacredness of domestic relations. Offences to the contrary shall be rigorously punished. . . 71. Whoever intentionally inflicts additional wounds on an enemy already wholly disabled, or kills such an enemy, or who orders or encourages soldiers to do so, shall suffer death, if duly convicted. . . 79. Every captured wounded enemy shall be medically treated, according to the ability of the medical staff."

What the custom of antiquity was in time of civil war is well enough indicated by a remark of Tacitus: "The centre of the army being broken, Otho's soldiers fled precipitately toward Bedriacum. The space before them was great; the roads were obstructed with heaps of slain; the slaughter therefore was the more dreadful; since in civil wars prisoners are never reserved as booty."—[Histor.: II.: 44.

XLIX.: p. 205.—The preamble to the articles adopted by the Convention of Geneva, August 22, 1864, says:—"The sovereigns of the following countries, to wit: Baden, Belgium, Denmark, Holland, Spain, Portugal, France, Prussia, Saxony, Wurtemberg, and the Federal Council of Switzerland, animated with a common desire of mitigating as far as in their power the evils inseparable from war, of suppressing needless severities, and of ameliorating the condition of soldiers wounded on fields of battle, having concluded to determine a treaty for this purpose, . . their plenipotentiaries have agreed upon the following articles" [ten in number]. The convention was originally signed by representatives of twelve countries. Nineteen others, or thirty-one in all, have now adopted its articles. It has been well said that "in 1866 Europe was better prepared than ever before for the care of those who suffered from the barbarisms of war. She was ready with some degree of ability to oppose the arms of charity to the arms of violence, and to make a kind of war on war itself." In 1868, a second diplomatic Conference was convened at Geneva, at which were adopted additional articles, improving the Treaty, and extending its beneficent action to maritime wars. "The whole of Europe is marshalled under the banner of the Red Cross. To its powerful and peaceful sign the Committee hopes to bring all nations of the earth. . . Their ensign waves in Siberia, on the Chinese frontier, and in Turkistan; through the African Committee, in Algeria and Egypt; and Oceanica has a Committee at Batavia."—["The Red Cross of the Geneva Convention": 1881.

L.: p. 205.—The Government and the people of Great Britain were perhaps reasonably distrustful of a scheme which had its initiative with the Emperor of Russia. They possibly recalled the words of Burke, and felt them to be applicable to a different occasion: "Hypocrisy, of course, delights in the most sublime speculations; for never intending to go beyond speculation, it costs nothing to have it magnificent."—["Reflect. on French Revolut.": Works; Bost. ed., 1839: Vol. 3: p. 84.

LI.: p. 206.—"Under the reign of Marcus, the Roman generals penetrated as far as Ctesiphon and Seleucia. They were received as friends by the Greek colony; they attacked as enemies the seat of the Parthian kings; yet both cities experienced the same treatment. The sack and conflagration of Seleucia, with the massacre of three hundred thousand of the inhabitants, tarnished the glory of the Roman triumph." A third of a century later, Ctesiphon, having partly recovered its strength, "was taken by assault; the king, who defended it in person, escaped with precipitation; an hundred thousand captives and a rich booty rewarded the fatigues of the Roman soldiers."—[Gibbon: "Decline and Fall"; London ed., 1848: Vol. 1: pp. 267–8.

LII.: p. 206.—Schiller's poetic vividness of conception has not surpassed his historical accuracy in sketches which he presents of many features of the Thirty Years' War. Of the two which are subjoined, the first portrays the sack of Madgeburg; the other the condition of the country which the war had ravaged:—

"A murderous scene now arrests us, for which history has no language, and poetry has no pencil. Not guileless childhood, nor helpless age, neither youth, nor sex, nor rank, nor beauty, could disarm the rage of the victors. Women were outraged in the arms of their husbands; the daughter at the father's feet; and the defenceless sex had only the distinction of serving in sacrifice to a twofold fury. No place was so hidden, and none so sacred, that it could escape the all-searching rapacity. Fifty-three women were found beheaded in a single church. The Croats delighted themselves with throwing children into the flames—Pappenheim's Walloons with transfixing nursing babes upon their mothers' breasts. Some of the officers of the league, revolting from a sight so full of horrors, ventured to remind Count Tilly that he might put an end to such massacre. 'Come again in an hour,' was his answer; 'I will see then what I will do. The soldier must have something for his peril and toil.' In uninterrupted fury the horrible atrocities continued, until at last smoke and flames put a limit to the ravin. To add to the general distraction, and to break any resistance of the citizens, some had almost at the outset set fire to different parts of the town. Soon arose a storm-

wind, which drove the flames with fierce rapidity through the whole city, and the conflagration became general. Frightful was now the crush, through smoke-clouds and over corpses, through drawn swords, through tumbling ruins, through streaming blood. The atmosphere was roasting, and the unendurable heat forced at last the destroyer himself to fly to his camp. In less than twelve hours, this populous, strong, vast city, one of the most beautiful of Germany, lay in ashes, two churches and a few small houses alone excepted."—["Geschichte des Dreiszigjahr. Kriegs": Werke : Stuttgart; Band IV.: S. 292, f.

"Burned castles, desolated fields, villages in ashes, lay for miles on all sides in a horrible desolation, while the impoverished inhabitants went forth to increase the number of the incendiaries, and to repay upon those of their countrymen who had been spared what they had themselves suffered. There was no shelter against oppression, except for each one to help oppress. The towns groaned under the scourge of unbridled and rapacious garrisons, which consumed the property of the citizens, and to whom the liberty of war, the license of position, the privilege of necessity, gave warrant for the cruelest wantonness. . . The neglect of the fields, the destruction of towns, and the multiplication of armies which stormed over the exhausted country, had hunger and high prices for their necessary concomitants; and in the later years failure of the crops added yet further to the misery. The crowding of men into camps and military quarters, famine on the one side and riotous excess on the other, produced pestilential diseases, which even more than sword or fire devastated the country. All bands of order were loosed in this long chaos; respect for human rights, regard for laws, purity of manners, truth and faith, ceased, while strength alone ruled with iron sceptre; and men grew savage with the country."—[S. 392, f.

The terrific scenes which followed the surrender of Harlem have been made familiar by the brilliant pages of Motley ["Rise of Dutch Republic"; New York ed., 1856 : Vol. 2 : pp. 452–7.]

It was the old wail, which Æschylus had heard, which went up from these cities:—

"For sad it were to hurl to Hades dark
A city of old fame,
The spoil and prey of war,
With foulest shame in dust and ashes laid,
By an Achæan foe at God's decree;
And that our women, old and young alike,
Be dragged away, ah me!
Like horses, by their hair,
Their robes torn off from them.
And lo, the city wails, made desolate,
While with confusèd cry
The wretched prisoners meet doom worse than death.
. . . . . .

"And hollow din is heard throughout the town,
Hemmed in by net of towers;
And man by man is slaughtered with the spear,
And cries of bleeding babes,
Of children at the breast,
Are heard in piteous wail."

["Seven against Thebes": 310–321; 336–341; (Plumptre's trans.)

LIII.: p. 206.—The scheme of Henry Fourth, communicated to Queen Elizabeth, and enthusiastically applauded by Sully, is fully described in Sully's Memoirs [Book 30]. It was inspired by the desire of the king "to render France happy forever; and as she cannot perfectly enjoy this felicity, unless all Europe partakes of it, so it was the happiness of Europe which he labored to procure, in a manner so solid and durable that nothing should afterward be able to shake its foundations. . . His whole design was to save himself and his neighbours those immense sums which the maintenance of so many thousand soldiers, so many fortified places, and so many military expenses, require; to free them forever from the fear of those bloody catastrophes so common in Europe; to procure them an uninterrupted repose; and, finally, to unite them all in an indissoluble bond of security and friendship."

It contemplated preserving and strengthening the several existing religions of Europe, Roman Catholic, Protestant, and Reformed; excluding Russia, with Turkey, from the European concert; divesting the house of Austria of imperial functions, and confining these to Spain, with the Spanish-American possessions; dividing Europe equally between fifteen powers, and uniting them in a general Council, somewhat on the model of that of the Amphictyons. "This was the meaning of that modest device which this great king caused to be inscribed on some of the last medals that were struck under his reign: 'Nil sine Concilio.'"—[Memoirs of Sully; Edinburgh ed., 1819: Vol. 5. pp. 132–191.

The Abbé St. Pierre had been present at the conferences at Utrecht (A.D. 1713), and having seen the difficulties attending the settlement of the terms of peace drew up the *Projet de Paix perpetuelle*, which, with the view of commending it to attention, he attributed to Henry Fourth and Sully. It was published at Utrecht in 1713, and again at Paris in 1729, and "proposed to establish a perpetual alliance between the members of the European league, for their mutual security against both foreign and civil war, and for the mutual guarantee of their respective possessions, and of the treaties concluded at Utrecht." It was this plan which Dubois called one of "les rêves d'un homme de bien."

Rousseau's plan for the same result, published in 1761, was based upon that of St. Pierre, and ascribed to him the honor of it.

Bentham's plan, outlined between 1786 and 1789, contemplated also "the formation of a general league of European states, the laws of which were to be enacted by a common legislature, and carried into effect by a common judicature, but without providing any means for preventing this league from falling under the exclusive influence and control of its more powerful members."

Kant's plan was published in 1795, and was grounded on the same idea of a general confederation of European nations. In his conviction, "the establishment of perpetual peace, to take the place of these mere suspensions of hostility called treaties of peace, is not a mere chimera, but a problem, of which time, abridged by the uniform and continual progress of the human mind, will ultimately furnish a satisfactory solution."

A full synopsis of these respective plans is furnished by Wheaton in his "History of the Law of Nations": New York ed., 1845: pp. 261–8, 328–344, 750–754.—Leibnitz, also, the man who 'drove all sciences abreast,' wrote earnestly on the subject.

LIV.: p. 206.—"Have you ever read a paper of Lessing's which alarms pious persons, but is none the less worthy of a profound philosopher—'Die Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts'? There is in that paper a sentence of the deepest significance. 'The enthusiast,' he says, 'and the philosopher are frequently only at variance as to the epoch in the future at which they place the accomplishment of their efforts. The enthusiast does not recognize the slowness of the pace of time. An event not immediately connected with the time in which he lives is to him a nullity." (Quoted from Niebuhr's Life).—[Savigny: "Private Internat. Law"; Edinburgh ed., 1880: p. 540, note.

LV.: p. 207.—"It [the Christian Religion] certainly has had so powerful an effect upon it [the Law of Nations], that wherever it has existed, it has gone the farthest of all causes to introduce notions of humanity and true justice into the maxims of the world. The great proof of which is, that if we compare the conduct of Christian nations with that of nations professing any other religion, whatever may be their stages of improvement, or in whatever era of their glory, the result I believe will be uniform and universal, that the one will be eminent over the other for regularity, equity, and benevolence."—[Ward: "Enquiry into Law of Nations"; London ed., 1795: Vol. 2: p. 2.

NOTES TO LECTURE VII.

NOTE I.: PAGE 211.—The familiar sneer of Celsus has been already quoted: Lecture IV.: Note XLIV. In another passage, not there cited, he says—still imputing it to Christians, as one of their declarations—'Wise men reject what we say, being led into error, and ensnared by their wisdom."

Origen's quiet reply to this is that, "since wisdom is the knowledge of divine and human things, and of their causes, no one who was really wise would reject what is said by a Christian acquainted with the principles of Christianity, or would be led into error or ensnared by it." —[Origen, adv. Celsus: III.: 72.

II.: p. 213.—"Nobody loves discrepancy for the sake of discrepancy. But a person who conscientiously believes that free inquiry is, on the whole, beneficial to the interests of truth, and that, from the imperfection of the human faculties, wherever there is much free inquiry there will be some discrepancy, may, without impropriety, consider such discrepancy, though in itself an evil, as a sign of good. That there are ten thousand thieves in London is a very melancholy fact. But, looked at in one point of view, it is a reason for exultation. For what other city could maintain ten thousand thieves? What must be the mass of wealth, where the fragments gleaned by lawless pilfering rise to so large an amount? St. Kilda would not support a single pickpocket; and just as we may, from the great number of rogues in a town, infer that much honest gain is made there; so may we often, from the quantity of error in a community, draw a cheering inference as to the degree in which the public mind is turned to those inquiries which alone can lead to rational convictions of truth."—[Macaulay: "Church and State": Works; London ed., 1873: Vol. 6: p. 360.

III.: p. 214.—"Another of his laws was [*i. e.*, of Lycurgus, the Athenian orator,] that the city should erect statues to the memory of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides; and their tragedies, being fairly engrossed, should be preserved in the public consistory, and that the public clerks should read these copies as the plays were acted, that

nothing might be changed by the players; and that otherwise it should be unlawful to act them."—[Plutarch: "Lives of Ten Orators"; VII.

IV.: p. 215.—The first epistle of Peter is quoted from abundantly by Polycarp, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Tertullian; and familiarity with it plainly appears in Clement of Rome. It was included in the Syriac Peshito. It was numbered by Eusebius among the New Testament books 'universally acknowledged as genuine,' with the Acts, the first epistle of John, the epistles of Paul, and the 'holy quaternion of the Gospels' [H. E. III.: 25]. Even Davidson says of it: "Conjectures cannot shake the credit and authority of the epistle. It is firmly established as an undoubted production of Peter" ["Introd. to New Test."; London ed., 1851: Vol. 3: p. 392].

V.: p. 216.—"Who could have written it! The 'great Unknown One,' who has been suggested, would have been too great to remain concealed. He would have stood out a head taller than all the great men of the second century. There is no room in the second century for such a mind. The literature of that century has an utterly different stamp from the fourth gospel. The writings of the Apostolic Fathers stand in dependence upon the Apostolic literature. Simply read the letter of Polycarp, who was such an honored chief in the Christian Church of Asia Minor, and see what a great falling off there is. . . It [the gospel] points to an earlier stage, a stage of first productivity and of original grandeur."—[Luthardt: "St. John's Gospel"; Edinburgh ed., 1876: Vol. 1: pp. 231–2.

VI.: p. 217.—"The Hymns, constituting the bulk of the four collections known as Rig-Veda, Sâma-Veda, Yajur-Veda, and Atharva-Veda, are the earliest portion, the nucleus, of the whole sacred canon, the root out of which all the rest has grown. They are, in the main, the sacred songs with which, in the infancy of Hindu nationality, at the dawning time of Hindu culture, before the origin of caste, before the birth of Çiva, Vishnu, or Brahma, before the rise of the ceremonialism, the pantheism, the superstition and idolatry of later times, the ancestors of the Hindu people praised the nature-gods in whom they believed, and accompanied and made acceptable their offerings. . . They are hardly less an authority for Indo-European than for Indian archæology and history. This is especially true of the earliest and principal collection, the Rig-Veda, of more than a thousand hymns, and more than ten thousand stanzas; the Sâma-Veda is a liturgical selection of verses found almost wholly in the former; The Yajur-Veda is an assemblage of parts of hymns and ceremonial formulas used in the sacrifices, and contains much prose, and much matter of a later date,

mingled with its more ancient portions; while the Atharvan is, almost throughout, of a more modern origin and of an inferior character, and in its prose passages verges nearly upon the literature of the second class.

"The Brâhmanas differ widely from the Hymns, in form and spirit, and are of a notably later period. They grew up after the Hymns had come to be looked upon as inspired and sacred. . . The Brâhmanas are in prose; they were brought forth in the schools of the Brahmanic priesthood, and contain the lucubrations of the leading caste upon matters theological and ceremonial: dogma, mythology, legend, philosophy, exegesis, explication, etymology, are confusedly mingled together in their pages. While they contain valuable fragments of thought and tradition, they are in general tediously discursive, verbose, and artificial, and in no small part absolutely puerile and inane."—[Prof. W. D. Whitney: "Oriental and Linguistic Studies": First Series; New York ed.: pp. 66–68.

Barth's judgment of the Veda differs somewhat from this:—"In it [the Veda] I recognize a literature that is preëminently sacerdotal, and in no sense a popular one; and from this conclusion I do not, as is ordinarily done, except even the Hymns, the most ancient of the documents. Neither in the language nor in the thought of the Rig-Veda have I been able to discover that quality of primitive natural simplicity which so many are fain to see in it. The poetry it contains appears to me, on the contrary, to be of a singularly refined character, and artificially elaborated, full of allusions and reticences, of pretensions to mysticism and theosophic insight; and the manner of its expression is such as reminds one more frequently of the phraseology in use among certain small groups of initiated than the poetic language of a large community. . . The Hymns, as I have already remarked, do not appear to me to show the least trace of popular derivation. I rather imagine that they emanate from a narrow circle of priests, and that they reflect a somewhat singular view of things."—[A. Barth: "Religions of India"; Boston ed., 1882: Preface, pp. xiii, xiv.

"Further, to each Veda belong different Brâhmanas, treatises of ritual and theology, afterward supplanted by the 'Aranyakas,' and the 'Upanishads,' theological-philosophical treatises, prepared more especially for the use of the hermits. The Brâhmanas contain occasional elevated thoughts, and not a few antique traditions of the highest importance, but they are in other respects marked by narrow formalism, childish mysticism, and superstitious talk about all kinds of trifles."—[Tiele: "History of Religion"; Boston ed., 1881: pp. 122–3.

Of the same books, Max Müller has said:—"However interesting the Brâhmanas may be to students of Indian literature, they are of small interest to the general reader. The greater portion of them is simply

twaddle, and what is worse, theological twaddle. No person who is not acquainted beforehand with the place which the Brâhmanas fill in the history of the Indian mind, could read more than ten pages without being disgusted."—["Chips, etc."; New York ed., 1881: Vol. 1: p. 113.

"There is, therefore, in the Upanishads, especially in those of less antiquity, a complete theory given of the ecstatic state, and the means of inducing it; such as a protracted bodily stillness, a stupefying fixity of look, the mental repetition of strange sets of formulæ, meditations on the unfathomable mysteries contained in certain monosyllables, such as the famous *Om*, which is the brahman itself, suppression of the breath, a succession of sleep-inducing exercises, by which they fancied they charmed the vital spirits into the thought, the thought into the soul, concentrated this last entirely in the brain, and thence conveyed it back into the heart, where the supreme âtman holds his seat. . . Conscientiously observed, they [such exercises] can only issue in folly and idiocy; and it is in fact under the image of a fool or an idiot that the wise man is often delineated for us, in the Purânas, for instance."—[A. Barth: "Religions of India"; Boston ed., 1882: pp. 82-3

VII. : p. 217.—"The collection of the sacred books of Buddhism bears the name of Tripitaka, 'the three Baskets,' since it is formed of three minor collections: that of the Vinaya, or the discipline, which especially respects the clergy: that of the Sûtras, or sermons of Buddha, containing the general exposition of doctrine; and that of the Abhidharma, or the metaphysics of the system. . . The scheme of this [Buddha's] doctrine is expounded in the 'four noble truths.' First, the existence of pain: to exist is to suffer. Second, the cause of the pain: this cause is to be found in desire, which increases with the gratification. Third, the cessation of pain: this cessation is possible; it is obtained by the suppression of desire. Fourth, the way which leads to this suppression: this way, which comprehends four stages or successive states of perfection, is the knowledge and observance of the 'good law,' the practice of the discipline of Buddhism, and its admirable morality. The end of this is Nirvâna, extinction, the cessation of existence."—[Barth: "Religions of India"; Boston ed., 1882: pp. 102 (note), 110.

"People have complained of the length of the sacred books of other nations, but there are none that approach in bulk to the sacred canon of the Thibetans. It consists of two collections, commonly called the 'Kanjur' and 'Tanjur.' . . The Kanjur consists, in its different editions, of 100, 102, or 108 volumes folio. It comprises 1,083 distinct works. The Tanjur consists of 225 volumes folio, each weighing from four to five pounds in the edition of Peking."—[Max Müller: "Chips, etc."; New York ed., 1881: Vol. 1: p. 189.

VIII.: p. 217.—"Kong-tse [Confucius] devoted much attention to religious literature. He studied zealously the Yi-King, an obscure book of magic. The Shu-King, a historical work, was perhaps recast by himself, it is certainly written in his spirit. The Shi-king is a collection of songs chosen by him out of a large number, from which all mythological expressions have probably been eliminated. The Li-ki, a ritual work, was enlarged by him. These books, with the addition of a chronicle written entirely by him, entitled Tshün tsiew, and not of a religious nature, constitute the five *Kings*, regarded by the followers of Kong-fu-tse as the canonical books. In the Lün-Yü ['Analects'] the remarkable utterances of the Master addressed to his followers were collected by his disciples' disciples. Others attempted in the Ta-hio ['the great Learning'] and the Tshung-yung ['Doctrine of the Mean'] to supply a philosophical basis for his doctrine. These works form three of the four *Shu*, or classical books. The fourth, comprising the works of the sage Meng-tse, was added to the collection at a much later period."—[Tiele: "History of Religion"; Boston ed., 1881: p. 32.

IX.: p. 218.—"The majority of the manuscripts which have been recovered from the [Egyptian] tombs contain chapters of the collection generally known under the title of the Book of the Dead. . . Although the prayers are as a rule put into the mouth of the departed, they were certainly recited for him by those present [at the burial]. Rubrics at the end of several chapters attach important advantages in the next world to the accomplishment of what has been prescribed in the foregoing text. . . The Beatification of the Dead is the main subject of every chapter. . . There is a chapter, with a vignette, representing the soul uniting itself to the body, and the text promises that they shall never again be separated. The use of his mouth, hands, and other limbs, is given to him. There is a series of chapters relating to the restoration and protection of the heart, two forms of which are distinctly and repeatedly mentioned. The next eleven chapters have reference to combats which the deceased has to encounter with strange animals—crocodiles, serpents, tortoises—and to the sacred words in virtue of which he may confidently rely upon success. The chapter for repelling all reptiles is a short one: 'O Serpent Rerek! advance not! The gods Seb and Shu are my protection: stop! thou who hast eaten the rat which the Sun-god abhors, and hast chewed the bones of a rotten cat!' . . From rubbish like this, which is only worthy of the spells of vulgar conjurors, it is pleasant to pass to the moral doctrines of the Book of the Dead, which are the same which were recognized in the earliest times. No one could pass to the blissful dwellings of the dead who had failed at the judgment passed in presence of Osiris. .

As the Book of the Dead is the most ancient, so it is undoubtedly the most important of the sacred books of the Egyptians. Other works are interesting to the archæologist, and require to be studied by those who desire to have minute and accurate knowledge of the entire mythology, but they are extremely wearisome and repulsive to all whose aim extends beyond mere erudition."—[Renouf: "Religion of Ancient Egypt"; New York ed., 1880: pp. 179–80, 187, 196, 201, 208.

X.: p. 218.—"In the rivayats of the Parsees in India, *i. e.*, in the collections of the sayings of the priests on their doctrine, we find an enumeration of these sections of the Scriptures. According to this enumeration, the Scriptures of Iran consisted of twenty-one books. The first book contained the songs of praise to the supreme spirits in 33 chapters; the second, 22 chapters, treated of good works; the third, 22 chapters, of the sacred word; the fourth, 21 chapters, of the gods; the fifth, 22 chapters, of the earth, of water, of trees, of wild animals; etc., etc. . . According to this list, the Scriptures of Iran must have been of very considerable extent [815 chapters]. . . The writings comprised not only the religious doctrine and law, together with the rules for correct conversation, but also the rubrics for the liturgy and the ritual. They were at the same time the code of criminal and civic law, and in them was deposited whatever was known of medicine, and agriculture, and the sum total of the science of their authors. . . All that the Parsees of India now possess are some not very extensive remains of the revision of the sacred Scriptures, made in the reign of Shapur II. The existing part of the laws corresponds in the title, the divisions, and their arrangements, with the 20th book [Haug says the 19th] of the text. It contains the rubrics for purification, for repelling and removing the evil spirits. Obviously this book was regarded as the most important and valuable part of the law, and to this circumstance it owes its preservation. Besides this, we have invocations and prayers, chiefly belonging to the liturgy. . . Among the existing invocations of the Avesta we find sacrificial prayers of a primitive character; but the greater part of the prayers and thanksgivings are without religious feeling or poetical power, and very far removed from the richness and abundance, the beauty and freshness of conception, which stream through the majority of the hymns of the Veda. . . Thus laudations and epithets are repeated without end. A good many of the prayers are mere nomenclatures, and repeat the same forms in varying order. Some are to be said a hundred, or a thousand times."—[Duncker: "History of Antiquity"; London ed., 1881: Vol. V.: pp. 51-53, 65, 99–100.

"Hitherto the Parsis have had to rely upon Europeans for all explanations of their literature, beyond the merely traditional learning

of their priesthood." [Of the Parsi Scriptures, written in the ancient Bactrian language, the remaining Vendidâd extends to about 48,000 words, the Yasna to 39,000 words, the Visparad to 3,300—the latter not being part of the original books.]—[Haug: "Essays on Sacred Language and Religion of Parsis"; London ed., 1878: pp. 115, 65, 94–5.

"'As a body,' says Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, 'the priests are not only ignorant of the duties and objects of their own profession, but are entirely uneducated, except that they are able to read and write, and that, also, often very imperfectly. They do not understand a single word of their prayers and recitations, which are all in the old Zend language.' . . . The Zend-Avesta is to him [the Parsi] a sealed book; and though there is a Guzerati translation of it, that translation is not made from the original, but from a Pehlevi paraphrase, nor is it recognized by the priests as an authorized version."—[Max Müller: "Chips, etc."; New York ed., 1881: Vol. 1: pp. 168–9.

XI.: p. 218.—"This book [the Qurán] is held in the highest veneration by Muslims of every sect. When being read it is kept on a stand elevated above the floor, and no one must read or touch it without first making a legal ablution. It is not translated unless there is the most urgent necessity, and even then the Arabic text is printed with the translation. . . On that night, the 'night of power,' the whole Qurán is said to have descended to the lowest of the seven heavens, from whence it was brought piecemeal to Muhammad as occasion required. . . The Muhammadan historian, Ibn Khaldoun, says on this point, 'Of all the divine books the Qurán is the only one of which the text, words, and phrases have been communicated to a prophet by an audible voice. It is otherwise with the Pentateuch, the Gospel, and the other divine books; the prophets received them under the form of ideas.' This expresses the universal belief on this point—a belief which reveals the essentially mechanical nature of Islam. The Qurán, thus revealed, is now looked upon as the standing miracle of Islam. . . It is believed to be a miraculous revelation of divine eloquence, as regards both *form* and *substance*, arrangement of words, and its revelation of sacred things. . . So sacred is the text supposed to be that only the Companions of the Prophet [those who were in constant intercourse with him] are deemed worthy of being commentators on it. The revelation itself is never made a subject of investigation, or tried by the ordinary rules of criticism. . . The letter of the book became, as Muhammad intended it should become, a despotic influence in the Muslim world, a barrier to free thinking on the part of all the orthodox, an obstacle to innovation in all spheres—political, social, intellectual and moral. . . That there should be a human as well as a divine side to inspiration is an idea not only foreign but absolutely re

pugnant to Muhammadans. The Qurán is not a book of principles. I is a book of directions.

'While as the world rolls on from age to age,
And realms of thought expand,
The letter stands without expanse or range,
Stiff as a dead man's hand.' "

[Edward Sell: "Faith of Islam"; London ed., 1880: pp. 2–9, 38, 47.

XII.: p. 218.—"A spirit of divination, and a certain communion with the gods, of the most exalted nature, was manifested—among women, in the Sibyl, and among men, in Melampodes the Greek, and in Marcius the Roman. . . It is a fact acknowledged by all writers, that the Sibyl brought three books to Tarquinius Superbus, of which two were burnt by herself, while the third perished by fire with the Capitol in the days of Sylla [B.C. 82]."—[Pliny: Hist. Nat.: VII.: 33; XIII.: 27.

"In that year [Volumnius and Sulpicius, consuls] the sky seemed to be on fire; a violent earthquake also occurred; it was believed that an ox spoke; among other prodigies it rained flesh, also. . . The books were consulted by the duumviri for sacred rites; dangers of attack being made on the highest parts of the city, and of bloodshed resulting, were predicted as about to come from an assemblage of strangers: among other things, an admonition was given that all intestine disturbances should be avoided. . . The severe winter, whether from the ill temperature of the air by reason of the abrupt transition to the contrary state [from cold to heat], or from whatever other cause, was followed by an unhealthy summer, destructive to all species of animals; and when neither the cause nor the end of this intractable pestilence could be discovered, the Sibylline Books were consulted, according to a decree of the Senate."—[Livy: Histor.: III.: 10; V. 13.

"We may safely adopt Varro's account that they were written on palm-leaves, partly in verses, partly in symbolical hieroglyphics. Their nature being such, we catch a glimpse of the manner of consulting them. To have searched after a passage and applied it, would have been presumptuous. The form of the Indian palm-leaves used in writing, oblongs cut to the same size, was well suited to their being shuffled and drawn. Thus the practice at Præneste was to draw a tablet."—[Niebuhr: "Hist. of Rome"; London ed., 1851: Vol. 1: p. 504.

"The supposed Erythræan Sibyl, and the earliest collection of Sibylline prophecies, afterwards so much multiplied and interpolated, and referred (according to Grecian custom) to an age even earlier than Homer, appear to belong to a date not long posterior to Epimenidês. Other oracular verses, such as those of Bakis, were treasured up in

Athens and other cities; the sixth century before the Christian era was fertile in these kinds of religious manifestations."—[Grote: "History of Greece"; London ed., 1872: Vol. 1: p. 26.

XIII.: p. 219.—In the life of Apollonius, by Philostratus, he is represented as an incarnation of the god Proteus; born amid the singing of swans, and beneath the extraordinary fall and rise of a meteor in the air; as living on fruit and vegetables alone, and keeping himself pure from vice; as stilling riotous assemblies by his presence; speaking in short and adamantine sentences, with a tone of high authority; as knowing the languages of barbarians, and of animals, uttering prophecies, working miracles, declaring what was at the moment occurring at a distance; as tried before the emperor Domitian, and suddenly vanishing from before the tribunal, and appearing at Puteoli. He taught, according to his biographer, the immortality of the soul; and he finally disappeared from the world in the temple of Diana at Crete, while the temple resounded with the song of many virgins, saying, 'Leave the earth, and come to Heaven.'

"Why, then, O senseless one, does no one worship Apollonius as a God?" is the sharp question with which Lactantius lets in the light on the universal incredulity before the elaborate art of Philostratus. [Div. Inst.: V. 3.]

The life of Apollonius was translated into English by Charles Blount, in the interest of Deism, A.D. 1680, and was accompanied with notes generally attributed to Lord Herbert of Cherbury, one of the most cultured and thoughtful of English sceptics. It has been since translated by Rev. Edward Berwick.

The work attributed to Porphyry, on the philosophy of oracles, is quoted from as genuine, by Eusebius largely, by Theodoret, Augustine, and others; and is accepted as his by Mosheim, Neander, A. S. Farrar ["Critical History of Free Thought"], and by many others. But Dr. Lardner [Works: London ed., 1829: Vol. VII.: pp. 444–467:] argues against its genuineness with earnestness, and at length.

XIV.: p. 220.—"Wherefore in the Old Testament there is a veiling of the New, in the New Testament there is an unveiling of the Old."—[Augustine: on "Catechizing of the Unlearned": 8.

XV.: p. 222.—"I have made these remarks in reply to the charges which Celsus and others bring against the simplicity of the language of Scripture, which appears to be thrown into the shade by the splendour of polished discourse. For our prophets, and Jesus Himself, and His apostles, were careful to adopt a style of address which should not merely convey the truth, but which should be fitted to gain over the

multitude, until each one, attracted and led onwards, should ascend as far as he could towards the comprehension of those mysteries which are contained in these apparently simple words. For, if I may venture to say so, few have been benefited, if they have indeed been benefited at all, by the beautiful and polished style of Plato, and those who have written like him; while, on the contrary, many have received advantage from those who wrote and taught in a simple and practical manner, and with a view to the wants of the multitude."—[Origen: adv. Celsus; VI.: 2.

XVI.: p. 222.—"The Pagan moralists lack life and colour, and even the noble Stoic, Marcus Antoninus, is too high and refined for an ordinary child. Take the Bible as a whole; make the severest deductions which fair criticism can dictate for shortcomings and positive errors; eliminate, as a sensible lay-teacher would do, if left to himself, all that it is not desirable for children to occupy themselves with; and there still remains in this old literature a vast residuum of moral beauty and grandeur. And then consider the great historical fact that, for three centuries, this book has been woven into the life of all that is best and noblest in English history; that it has become the national epic of Britain, and is as familiar to noble and simple, from John-o'-Groat's House to Land's End, as Dante and Tasso once were to the Italians; that it is written in the noblest and purest English, and abounds in exquisite beauties of mere literary form; and, finally, that it forbids the veriest hind who never left his village to be ignorant of the existence of other countries and other civilizations, and of a great past, stretching back to the furthest limits of the oldest nations in the world. By the study of what other book could children be so much humanized, and made to feel that each figure in that vast historical procession fills, like themselves, but a momentary space in the interval between two eternities; and earns the blessings or the curses of all time, according to its effort to do good and hate evil, even as they also are earning their payment for their work?"—[Prof. Huxley: "Critiques and Addresses"; New York ed., 1882: p. 51.

Prof. Huxley has recently reäffirmed, with emphasis, this conviction of the preëminent value of the Bible, as an instrument of popular education.

XVII.: p. 223.—"View it in what light we may, the Bible is a very surprising phenomenon. . . This collection of books has taken such a hold on the world as has no other. The literature of Greece, which goes up like incense from that land of temples and heroic deeds, has not half the influence of this book from a nation alike despised in ancient and modern times. In all the temples of Christendom is its

voice lifted up, week by week. The sun never sets on its gleaming page. It goes equally to the cottage of the plain man and the palace of the king. It is woven into the literature of the scholar, and it colors the talk of the street. . . It blesses us when we are born; gives names to half Christendom; rejoices with us; has sympathy for our mourning; tempers our grief to finer issues. It is the better part of our sermons. It lifts man above himself; our best of uttered prayers are in its storied speech, wherewith our fathers and the patriarchs prayed. The timid man, about awaking from this dream of life, looks through the glass of Scripture, and his eye grows bright; he does not fear to stand alone, to tread the way unknown and distant, to take the death-angel by the hand, and bid farewell to wife, and babes, and home. . . Some thousand famous writers come up in this century, to be forgotten in the next. But the silver cord of the Bible is not loosed, nor its golden bowl broken, as Time chronicles his tens of centuries passed by. Has the human race gone mad? . . It is only a heart that can speak, deep and true, to a heart; a mind to a mind; a soul to a soul; wisdom to the wise, and religion to the pious. There must then be in the Bible mind, heart, and soul, wisdom and religion. Were it otherwise, how could millions find it their lawgiver, friend, and prophet? Some of the greatest of human institutions seem built on the Bible; such things will not stand on heaps of chaff, but on mountains of rock."—[Theodore Parker: "Discourse of Religion"; Boston ed., 1843: pp. 317–320.

XVIII.: p. 224.—"In consequence of such a social condition, the Latin stock in Italy underwent an alarming diminution, and its fair provinces were overspread partly by parasitic immigrants, partly by sheer desolation. . . It is a dreadful picture—this picture of Rome under the rule of the oligarchy. There was nothing to bridge over or soften the fatal contrast between the world of the beggars and the world of the rich. The more clearly and painfully this contrast was felt on both sides—the giddier the height to which riches rose, the deeper the abyss of poverty yawned—the more frequently, amidst that changeful world of speculation and playing at hazard, were individuals tossed from the bottom to the top, and again from the top to the bottom. . . Riches and misery, in close league, drove the Italians out of Italy, and filled the peninsula partly with swarms of slaves, partly with awful silence."—[Mommsen: "History of Rome"; New York ed., 1868: Vol. 4: pp. 619–21.

XIX.: p. 225.—"In those Protestant countries whose churches were not, as the Church of England always was, principally political institutions—in Scotland, for example, and in the New England States—an amount of education was carried down to the poorest of the people

of which there is no other example; every peasant expounded the Bible to his family, (many to their neighbours,) and had a mind practised in meditation and discussion on all the points of his religious creed. The food may not have been the most nourishing, but we cannot be blind to the sharpening and strengthening exercise which such great topics gave to the understanding—the discipline in abstraction and reasoning which such mental occupation brought down to the humblest layman, and one of the consequences of which was the privilege long enjoyed by Scotland of supplying the greater part of Europe with professors for its universities, and with educated and skilled workmen for its practical arts."—[J. S. Mill: "Philosophy of Comte"; Boston ed., 1866: p. 103 (note).

The same general influence appeared very early in the Church. Thus it is an interesting fact, full of suggestion, that what were long supposed to be instruments of torture preserved or pictured in the cells of martyrs in the catacombs, have proved, when more critically examined, to be only the instruments of daily labor, the figures of which were preserved in loving remembrance of the humble mechanics whose faith was honored and their memory cherished in the caverns which held their ashes. So the confessors of His religion who wrought at Nazareth, and of whom the tent-maker had gloriously preached, honored labor from the beginning, and felt that the useful arts of life had taken a new and a Divine consecration.—[See Pressensé: "Early Years of Christianity"; London ed., 1880: Vol. 4: pp. 446, 497, 499.

Compare the philosophical disdain of the humbler industries, which were usually committed to slaves, and were almost confused with things immoral, as exemplified by Cicero:—

"The gains of hired workmen are ignoble and dirty, and of all whose labor is purchased rather than their skill. For wages themselves become to such but the hire of servitude. Also they are to be accounted mean who buy from other merchants what they in turn may quickly sell. For they make no profit unless they lie abundantly; while nothing is baser than such lying. And all handicraftsmen are engaged in vulgar business; nor can a workshop have in it anything suitable to a gentleman [ingenuum]. And least of all are those employments to be approved which minister to men's sensual pleasures: such as 'fishmongers, butchers, cooks, poulterers, fishermen,' as Terence recites them. Add to these also, if you please, perfumers, dancers, and the whole tribe of dice-house keepers."—[De Officiis: I.: 42.

XX.: p. 225.—"It is in point to notice also the structure and style of Scripture, a structure so unsystematic and various, and a style so figurative and indirect, that no one would presume at first sight to say what is in it and what is not. It cannot, as it were, be mapped, or its

contents catalogued ; but, after all our diligence, to the end of our lives and to the end of the Church, it must be an unexplored and unsubdued land, with heights and valleys, forests and streams, on the right and left of our path and close about us, full of concealed wonders and choice treasures."—[J. H. Newman: "Essay on Devel. of Christ. Doctrine"; London ed., 1878: p. 71.

"Theological inquiries are no part of my present subject; but I cannot refrain from adding, that the collection of tracts which we call from their excellence THE SCRIPTURES, contain, independently of a divine origin, more true sublimity, more exquisite beauty, purer morality, more important history, and finer strains both of poetry and eloquence, than could be collected within the same compass from all other books that were ever composed in any age or in any idiom."—[Sir William Jones: Works; London ed., 1807: Vol. 3: p. 183.

"Let one consider the marvels of the holy Scripture, which are endless; the grandeur and sublimity, beyond everything human, of the matters which they contain, and the admirable simplicity of the style, in which is nothing affected, nothing studied, and which bears the characteristic marks of truth that no one can deny. . . Jesus Christ speaks the grandest things so simply that it seems as if he had not thought of them, but nevertheless so precisely and perspicuously that one sees clearly what his reflection upon them has been. This clearness, united with this artlessness, is admirable. . . Men simple, and without strength, like the apostles and early Christians, resisted all the powers of the world, subdued kings, learned men and philosophers, and destroyed the idolatry so firmly established. And the whole was accomplished by the mere force of that word which Christ had preached."—[Pascal: "Pensées: Sec. par., Arts. iv.: 12; x.: 4; xi.: 2.

"The sciences are flourishing to-day, and literature and the arts shine brilliantly among us. But what profit does religion derive from it? Our libraries are crowded with books of theology, and casuists abound among us. Formerly we had saints, and had not casuists. Now science expands, and faith ceases. . . It was not with all this art and apparatus that the Gospel extended itself throughout the world, and that its ravishing beauty impenetrated men's hearts. This Divine book, the only book indispensable for the Christian, only needs to be meditated upon to carry into the soul the love of its Author, and the desire to fulfil his precepts. Never has virtue spoken a language so delightful. Never has the profoundest wisdom expressed itself at once with so much of energy, and with so much of simplicity. One cannot quit the reading without feeling himself better than before."—[J. J. Rousseau: "Mélanges": Œuvres; Paris ed., 1793: Tom. XIV.: pp. 268–9.

"I confess to you that the majesty of the Scriptures amazes me, the holiness of the Gospel speaks to my heart! See the books of the philosophers, with all their pomp, how petty they are beside this! Can it be that a Book at once so sublime and so simple, has been the work of man? Can it be that he whose history it presents was himself only a Man?"—[J. J. Rousseau; Paris ed., 1793. "Emile"; Œuvres; Tom. IX.: p. 40.

"The Bible alone contains a science of realities; and therefore each of its elements is at the same time a living germ, in which the present involves the future, and in the finite the infinite exists potentially. . . Oh, what a mine of undiscovered treasures, what a new world of power and truth, would the Bible promise to our future meditation, if in some gracious moment one solitary text of all its inspired contents should but dawn upon us in the pure untroubled brightness of an idea, that most glorious birth of the God-like within us, which, even as the light, its material symbol, reflects itself from a thousand surfaces, and flies homeward to its Parent Mind, enriched with a thousand forms, itself above form, and still remaining in its own simplicity and identity."—[Coleridge: Works; New York ed., 1853; Vol. 1: pp. 450–1.

XXI. : p. 225.—"His [Paul's] thought is everywhere penetrated with an intense heat, leavened with lightning, that fuses the mass containing it, and runs off alive for other media to hold it. The revelation to him of Christ in heaven set in action all the resources of his nature, and gave them a preternatural tension. . . And so much is the Apostle's later exposition of his hope divested of what is special to himself, that to all ages since it has struck upon the ear of mourners along with the very toll of the funeral bell; and, though often indistinct to their mind, it has jarred with no falsehood on their heart, but sounded like an anthem in the dark—great music and dim words."—[James Martineau: "Studies of Christianity"; Boston ed., 1866: p. 460.

F. C. Baur seems to many to have done scanty justice to the tender and magnificent spirit of Paul, but few have seen with clearer eye the secret of his native intellectual energy:—

"The great distinguishing characteristic which appears everywhere in the Apostle's writings is the innate impulse, springing from the very roots of his nature, towards rational speculative contemplation. . . The more we penetrate into the process of thought in the Apostle's writings, the more minutely we analyze his mode of argument, the method of his development and representation, the more shall we be convinced that his is a thoroughly dialectical nature. . . The Apostle's whole representation, religious as it is, is filled to overflowing with the forms and elements of thought; it is not only, what is commonly recognized as the great merit of the Apostle's writings, that thought

follows hard on thought; more than this, thoughts succeed each other as determinations and momenta of some one conception that is greater than all of them; the thought unfolds itself, brings forth its own contents out of its own depths, and determines itself by taking up its own momenta. Hence the peculiar stamp of the Apostle's language; it is distinguished on the one hand for precision and compression; on the other hand it is marked by a harshness and roughness which suggest that the thought is far too weighty for the language, and can scarcely find fit terms for the superabundant matter it would fain express."—["Paul, the Apostle of Jesus Christ"; London ed., 1875: Vol. 2: pp. 275–281.

"Every one who has been at Rome has been taken to see the Church of St. Paul, rebuilt after a destruction by fire forty years ago. The church stands a mile or two out of the city, on the way to Ostia and the desert. The interior has all the costly magnificence of Italian churches; on the ceiling is written in gilded letters: '*Doctor Gentium.*" Gold glitters and marbles gleam, but man and his movement are not there. The traveller has left at a distance the *fumum et opes strepitumque Romæ;* around him reigns solitude. There is Paul, with the mystery which was hidden from ages and from generations, which was uncovered by him for some half score years, and which then was buried with him in his grave! Not in our day will he relive, with his incessant effort to find a moral side for miracle, with his incessant effort to make the intellect follow and secure all the workings of the religious perception. Of those who care for religion, the multitude of us want the materialism of the Apocalypse; the few want a vague religiosity. . . The doctrine of Paul will arise out of the tomb where for centuries it has lain buried. It will edify the church of the future; it will have the consent of happier generations, the applause of less superstitious ages. All will be too little to pay half the debt which the church of God owes to this 'least of the apostles, who was not fit to be called an apostle, because he persecuted the church of God.'"—[Matthew Arnold: "St. Paul and Protestantism"; New York ed., 1883: pp. 98–9.

XXII. : p. 226.—The distinction which Goethe sharply draws between the Prophet and the Poet is no doubt generally correct:—

"If now we wish strictly to define the difference between Poets and Prophets, we say this: both are seized and inspired by one God; but the Poet squanders the gift bestowed on him in enjoyment, to produce enjoyment, to reach fame, or at any rate a pleasant life, through that which he gives forth; every other aim he neglects; he seeks to be manifold, to show himself unlimited in mind and in performance. The Prophet, on the other hand, looks only to a single definite end, to at-

tain which he avails himself of the simplest means. At all times some doctrine must he proclaim, by which, and around which, as a standard, he may gather the peoples. To him it is only needful that the world shall believe; he must therefore become and continue to be monotonous, since one does not exercise faith in the manifold, he discerns it."—[West-östlich. Divan (Abhandlung): Werke; Stuttgart, 1867: Band XIV.: S. 146.

Compare with this the words of Stanley concerning the latter portion of the Book of Isaiah:—

"Those six and twenty chapters of the Book of Isaiah—the most deeply inspired, the most truly Evangelical of any portion of the Prophetical writings, whatever be their date, and whoever their author—take their stand on the times of the Captivity, and from thence look forward from the summit of the last ridge of the Jewish history into the remotest future, unbroken now by any intervening barrier. . . In the foreground of the future stands not the Ruler, or Conqueror, but the 'Servant' of God, gentle, purified, suffering—whether it be Cyrus, whom He had anointed, . . or One, more sorrowful, more triumphant, more human, more divine, than any of these, the last and true fulfilment of the most spiritual hopes and the highest aspirations of the Chosen People. In the remoter horizon is the vision of a gradual amelioration of the whole human race, to be accomplished not solely or chiefly by the seed of Israel, but by those outlying nations which were but just beginning to take their place in the world's history. In the strains of triumph which welcome the influx of these Gentile strangers, we recognize the prelude of the part which in the coming fortunes of the Jewish Church is to be played not only by Cyrus, and if so be by Zoroaster, but by Socrates and Plato, by Alexander and by Cæsar. . . This is the dawn of the new epoch of Jewish and of universal history; full of misgivings and doubts, such as have beset every great revolution in human opinions and institutions. But in the chill of that new dawn, amidst the perplexities of that untried situation, amidst the ruins of those ancient empires, in the eager expectation of those unknown changes—the first words which break the silence, and of which the strains echo through the whole of the next period of the history, and through its endless consequences, are those of the mighty and mysterious Teacher, Prophet and Psalmist both in one; the key-note not only of the revived and transformed Israel, but of the rising world of Asia and Europe, and of the Christendom of a still remoter future:—'Comfort ye, comfort ye, my people.'"—["Hist. of Jewish Church": Part II.; New York ed., 1868: pp. 637, 641–2.

"That it [the Prophetic gift] now rose again in Samuel with fresh force, so that while still a child, according to the beautiful tradition, he was seized repeatedly and ever more irresistibly by the clear voice

of Jahve, and that then all Israel with pure confidence accustomed itself again to the higher guidance of genuine prophecy—this is here first of all a thing so great, and at the same time so novel, as had not appeared since the days of Moses. The deepest and most powerful force in the commonwealth, even the Prophetic, which alone could not only save, in the spirit of its founder, the commonwealth originally formed by it, but could lead that further, and supply to it whatever was lacking—this force took to itself fresh power, at the right time, to become, in a word, the redeemer of the community. . . By Samuel a new and peculiar direction was given to the whole people, which we do not remark either under Ehud or under Deborah: the possibility of a final victory of the Jahve-Religion, in the fight as well with the heathen as with inner corruption, first under him steps clearly forward; and what in the next centuries unfolded itself ever more fully we see here presented in its germ. . . A new power, and certainly the most spiritual which is conceivable, was from this time established among the people, a power which more than all others affected the following centuries, and brought forth all the greatness which in them was possible."—[Ewald: "Geschichte des Volkes Israel"; Göttingen ed., 1865: Band II.: S. 598, f.

XXIII.: p. 227.—"And the more claim an idea has to be considered living, the more various will be its aspects; and the more social and political is its nature, the more complicated and subtle will be its issues, and the longer and more eventful will be its course. And in the number of these special ideas, which, from their very depth and richness, cannot be fully understood at once, but are more and more clearly expressed and taught the longer they last,—having aspects many and bearings many, mutually connected and growing one out of another, and all parts of a whole, with a sympathy and correspondence keeping pace with the ever-changing necessities of the world, multiform, prolific, and ever resourceful,—among these great doctrines surely we Christians shall not refuse a foremost place to Christianity. Such, previously to the determination of the fact, must be our anticipation concerning it from a contemplation of its initial achievements."—[J. H. Newman: "Essay on Devel. of Christ. Doctrine"; London ed., 1878: p. 56.

XXIV.: p. 230.—"In the first place, then, his great design was to supply those steps in the author's demonstrations which were not discoverable without much study and research, and which had rendered the original work so abstruse and difficult as to lead a writer in the *Edinburgh Review* to say that there were not twelve individuals in

Great Britain who could read it with any facility. Dr. Bowditch himself was accustomed to remark, 'Whenever I meet in La Place with the words, 'Thus it plainly appears,' I am sure that hours, and perhaps days, of hard study, will alone enable me to discover *how* it plainly appears.'"—["Memoir of N. Bowditch," by N. Ingersoll Bowditch Boston ed., 1840: p. 62.

"Every person who is acquainted with the original must be aware of the great number of steps in the demonstrations which are left unsupplied, in many cases comprehending the entire processes which connect the enunciation of the propositions with the conclusions; and the constant reference which is made, both tacit and expressed, to results and principles, both analytical and mechanical, which are coëxtensive with the entire range of known mathematical science: but in Dr. Bowditch's very elaborate commentary every deficient step is supplied, every suppressed demonstration is introduced, every reference explained and illustrated."—[Address of H. R. H. the Duke of Sussex: President of Royal Society, 1838: Appendix to Memoir of Dr. Bowditch: p. 162.

XXV.: p. 231.—"And so, too, Plato, when he says, 'The blame is his who chooses, and God is blameless,' took this from the prophet Moses and uttered it. For Moses is more ancient than all the Greek writers. And whatever both philosophers and poets have said concerning the immortality of the soul, or punishments after death, or contemplation of things heavenly, or doctrines of the like kind, they have received such suggestions from the prophets as have enabled them to understand and interpret these things. . . Not only do we fearlessly read them [the books of Hystaspes, or of the Sibyl, or of the prophets], but as you see, we bring them for your inspection, knowing that their contents will be pleasing to all."—[Justin Martyr: Apol. I.: 44.

See also the Second Apology: "Those of the Stoic school, so far as their moral teaching went, were admirable, as were also the poets in some particulars, on account of the seed of reason [the Logos] implanted in every race of men. . . I confess that I strive with all my strength to be found a Christian, not because the teachings of Plato are different from those of Christ, but because they are not in all respects similar, as neither are those of the others, Stoics, and poets, and historians. For each man spoke well in proportion to the share he had of the spermatic word, seeing what was related to it. . . Whatever things were rightly said, among all men, are the property of us Christians."—[VIII., XIII.

In Justin's "Exhortation to the Greeks," the larger part [chaps. XV.-

xxxvii.] is occupied with the testimonies to be found in Greek poets and philosophers, especially in Plato, to certain Divine truths.

XXVI.: p. 231.—"Our book will not shrink from making use of what is best in philosophy, and other preparatory instruction. . . Let a man milk the sheep's milk if he need sustenance; let him shear the wool if he need clothing. And in this way let me produce the fruit of Greek erudition. . . For, like farmers who irrigate the land beforehand, so we also water with the liquid stream of Greek learning what in it is earthy: so that it may receive the spiritual seed cast into it, and may be capable of easily nourishing it. The *Stromata* will contain the truth mixed up in the dogmas of philosophy, or rather covered over and hidden, as the edible part of the nut in the shell. . . Philosophy does not ruin life by being the originator of false practices and base deeds, although some have calumniated it, though it be the clear image of truth, a divine gift to the Greeks; nor does it drag us away from the faith, as if we were bewitched by some delusive art, but rather, so to speak, by the use of an ampler circuit, obtains a common exercise demonstrative of the faith. . . Accordingly, before the advent of the Lord, philosophy was necessary to the Greeks for righteousness. And now it becomes conducive to piety: being a kind of preparatory training to those who attain to faith through demonstration. God is the cause of all good things; but of some primarily, as of the Old and the New Testament; and of others by consequence, as of philosophy. Perchance, too, philosophy was given to the Greeks directly and primarily, till the Lord should call the Greeks. Philosophy, therefore, was a preparation, paving the way for him who is perfected in Christ. . . But all [the sects of barbarian and Hellenic philosophy], in my opinion, are illuminated by the dawn of Light [Jesus]. . . There is then in philosophy, though stolen as the fire by Prometheus, a slender spark, capable of being fanned into a flame, a trace of wisdom, and an impulse from God."—[Clement, of Alexandria: "Stromata": I.: 1, 2, 5, 13, 17.

XXVII.: p. 231.—"It seems to me also that that fancy of Plato, that those stones which we call precious stones derive their lustre from a reflection, as it were, of the stones in that better land, is taken from the words of Isaiah in describing the city of God: 'I will make thy battlements of jasper, thy stones shall be crystal,' and 'I will lay thy foundations with sapphires.' Those who hold in greatest reverence the teaching of Plato, explain this myth of his as an allegory. And the prophecies from which, as we conjecture, Plato has borrowed, will be explained by those who, leading a godly life, devote their time to the study of the Scripture, to those who are qualified to learn, by

purity of life, and desire to advance in divine knowledge. . . Such are the sentiments of Plato [on the wickedness of Injustice], and indeed they were held by divine men before his time."—[Origen, adv. Celsus: VII.: 30, 58.

XXVIII.: p. 231.—"I cannot recount at present all the addresses of this kind which he [Origen] delivered to us, with the view of persuading us to take up the pursuit of philosophy. . . For he asserted further that there could be no genuine piety towards the Lord of all, in the man who despised this gift of philosophy,—a gift which man alone, of all the creatures of the earth, has been deemed honorable and worthy enough to possess. . . He was also the first and only man that urged me to study the philosophy of the Greeks, and persuaded me by his own moral example both to hear and to hold by the doctrine of morals. . . To secure us against falling into the unhappy experience of most, he did not introduce us to any one exclusive school of philosophy; nor did he judge it proper for us to go away with any single class of philosophical opinions, but he introduced us to all, and determined that we should be ignorant of no kind of Grecian doctrine Thus did he deal with us, selecting and setting before us all that was useful and true in all the various philosophers, and putting aside all that was false."—[Gregory Thaumat.: "Panegyric on Origen": VI., XI., XIV.

XXIX.: p. 231.—The spirit of Basil's discourse to the young on the reading of Pagan literature is sufficiently indicated by a few elegant and discreet sentences:—

"But the rather may we approve those passages in which they [the heathen writers] have commended virtue, or censured vice. For as some enjoy the delightful odor or color of flowers alone, while the bees know how to extract honey from them; so here also, to those who do not merely seek the pleasantness and sweetness of books of this sort, it is permitted to gain something of advantage from them in the spirit. Wholly, therefore, after the fashion of the bees, is use to be made by us of these books. For the bees do not light upon all flowers alike, nor indeed to some do they fly at all, but seek to avoid them altogether; and when they have once collected from some what is suitable to their use, they pass by the rest. We also, if we are wise, when anything suits our need, and is in harmony with the truth, shall collect it out of these writings, and let the rest pass. And just as in plucking flowers in the garden we avoid the thorns, so in discourses of this sort, while taking for ourselves whatever is useful we may shun what is harmful." —[Opera: Paris: 1722: Tom. II.: p. 176.

XXX.: p. 232.—"Moreover, if those who are called philosophers, and

especially the Platonists, have said aught that is true and in harmony with our faith, we are not only not to shrink from it, but to claim it for our own use from those who have unlawful possession of it. . . All branches of heathen learning have not only false and superstitious fancies, and heavy burdens of unnecessary toil, which every one of us, when going out under the leadership of Christ from the fellowship of the heathen, ought to abhor and avoid; but they contain also liberal instruction which is better adapted to the use of the truth, and some most excellent precepts of morality; and some truths in regard even to the worship of the One God are found among them. Now these are, so to speak, their gold and silver, which they did not create themselves, but dug out of the mines of God's providence which are everywhere scattered abroad."—[Augustine: "Christ. Doct."; II.: 40.

"Illustrious, therefore, both in his life and in his death, Socrates left very many disciples of his philosophy, who vied with one another in desire for proficiency in handling those moral questions which concern the chief good, the possession of which can make a man blessed. . . But among the disciples of Socrates, Plato was the one who shone with a glory which far excelled that of the others, and who not unjustly surpassed them all. . . To Plato is given the praise of having perfected philosophy by combining both parts [the active and the contemplative] into one. . . The true and highest good, according to Plato, is God; and therefore he would call him a philosopher who loves God; for philosophy is directed to the obtaining of the blessed life, and he who loves God is blessed in the enjoyment of God."—[Augustine: "Civ. Dei"; VIII.: 3, 4, 8.

Lactantius wished that Cicero, that 'man of consummate eloquence, that 'greatest author in the Roman language,' might rise from the dead, if it were possible, that he might learn and teach that better wisdom which he seemed to have been reaching after in his treatise De Officiis.—[Div. Inst.; III.: 13.

XXXI.: p. 232.—"I am sorry, from my heart, that Plato has been the caterer to all these heretics. For in the Phaedo he imagines that souls wander from this world to that, and thence back again hither, etc. . . Just as Seneca says, whom we so often find on our side, [saepe noster]: 'There are implanted within us the seeds of all the arts and periods of life; and God, our master, secretly produces our mental dispositions'; that is from the germs which are implanted and hidden in us by means of infancy."—[Tertullian: "De Anima"; XXIII.: XX.

The supposed relations between St. Paul and Seneca are treated at large by Fleury, "Saint Paul et Sénèque" [Paris, 1853]: but a brief statement concerning them, made by Troplong, covers all that can be reasonably said on the subject. He believes the alleged correspond

ence between the great Stoical philosopher and the great apostle to be apocryphal; but he dwells upon the facts that the Gospel had already been preached at Rome, and had gained converts, before Paul reached the city; that during his own residence there his word met many with converting power, some even of the imperial household; that Gallio, before whom Paul had been brought at Corinth, was the brother of Seneca, with whom he was most intimate, of whom he speaks with constant affection and admiration, and to whom some of his essays were dedicated; that it is quite impossible that Seneca, whose mind was drawn as by a natural hunger to great philosophical and social questions, should have failed to know something of the new system which was lifting its serene front against calumny and persecution, in the capital, by his side; and that his philosophical thought, his ethics, his very style, have upon them a character before unknown among heathen writers, in which seems a reflection of the peculiar Christian ideas. His conclusion is that Christianity at least enveloped Seneca with its new atmosphere, and that it modified and purified, perhaps in spite of himself, his spirit and his language.—["De l'Influence du Christianisme"; Paris ed., 1868: pp. 72–79.

XXXII.: p. 232.—"A speculative treatment of Christian doctrine was indispensable, if Christianity should be accessible to the philosophical culture of the times. It could only proceed from Platonism, which of all philosophical systems stood nearest to Christianity. While many Platonic philosophers were brought over to Christianity by this internal relation, they received the latter as the most perfect philosophy, and retained, with their philosophical mantle, their philosophical turn of mind also. . . They overvalued, even, the actual agreement of Plato with Christianity, and believed that they found many a Platonic idea in the latter, which in reality they themselves had first introduced into it."—[Gieseler: "Eccl. History"; Edinburgh ed., 1854: Vol. 1: pp. 162–3.

XXXIII.: p. 232.—The early Christian regard for good learning appears as strikingly illustrated as anywhere else in a remark of Lactantius, in his essay "De Mortibus Persecutorum"—if it be accepted as his. After recording the infamous cruelties of Galerius, who was 'wont not to inflict the slighter sorts of punishment, as to banish, to imprison, or to send criminals to work in the mines, but to burn, to crucify, to expose to wild beasts—things done daily, and without hesitation,' he adds: "But these were slight evils in the government of Galerius, when compared with what follows. For eloquence was extinguished, pleaders cut off, and the learned in the laws either exiled or slain. Useful letters came to be viewed in the same light as magical

and forbidden arts; and all who possessed them were trampled upon and execrated, as if they had been hostile to government and public enemies."—[XXII.

"Many other crimes were perpetrated at this time by the irreligious against the pious, at sea and on land; for the ungodly emperor [Julian] had enacted laws against religion. The first of these laws prohibited the children of Galileans—for this was the name he gave to Christians—from being instructed in poetry, rhetoric, or philosophy. 'For we,' said he, 'according to the old proverb, are smitten from our own wings; our authors furnish weapons to carry on war against us.'"—[Theodoret: Eccles. Hist.: III.: 8.

Ammianus, himself in religious sympathy with Julian, comments sharply on this action: "His forbidding masters of rhetoric and grammar to instruct Christians was a cruel action, and one deserving to be buried in everlasting oblivion. . . Among the exceptions [to his unobjectionable laws] was that cruel one which forbade Christian masters of rhetoric and grammar to teach, unless they came over to the heathen gods."—[XXII.: 10; XXV.: 4.

XXXIV.: p. 232.—"During the short rule of abbot Desiderius at Monte Cassino, his monks wrote out St. Austin's fifty Homilies, his Letters, his Comment upon the Sermon on the Mount, upon St. Paul, and upon Genesis; parts of St. Jerome and St. Ambrose, part of St. Bede, St. Leo's Sermons, the Orations of St. Gregory Nazianzen; the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles, and the Apocalypse; various histories, including that of St. Gregory of Tours, and of Josephus on the Jewish war, Justinian's Institutes, and many ascetic and other works; of the Classics, Cicero's de Naturâ Deorum, Terence, Ovid's Fasti, Horace, and Virgil. Maurus Lapi, in the fifteenth century, copied a thousand volumes in less than fifty years. Jerome, a monk in an Austrian monastery, wrote so great a number of books that, it is said, a wagon with six horses would scarcely suffice to draw them. . . Alcuin, in his letters to his friends, quotes Virgil again and again; he also quotes Horace, Terence, Pliny, besides frequent allusions to the heathen philosophers. Lupus quotes Horace, Cicero, Suetonius, Virgil, and Martial. Gerbert quotes Virgil, Cicero, Horace, Terence, and Sallust. Petrus Cellensis quotes Horace, Seneca, and Terence. Hildebert quotes Virgil and Cicero, and refers to Diogenes, Epictetus, Crœsus, Themistocles, and other personages of ancient history. Paschasius Radbert's favorite authors were Cicero and Terence. Abbo of Fleury was especially familiar with Terence, Sallust, Virgil, and Horace. Peter the Venerable, with Virgil and Horace; Hepidann of St. Gall took Sallust as a model of style."—[J. H. Newman: "Historical Sketches"; London ed., 1873: Vol. 2: pp. 413, 465.

XXXV.: p. 232.—"It was while occupied in his missionary labors that he [Anschar] is said to have composed the series of Scriptural designs, briefly explained by passages from the Holy Scriptures, which afterwards became known as the Bible of the Poor,—'Biblia Pauperum.' . . That it was in great demand is proved by the number of MSS. still in existence; and that books of its class were greatly required may be easily understood, when it is stated that a complete copy of the Bible at that period frequently cost a thousand florins. . . The period of its execution [from an engraved block] may probably be estimated as lying between 1410 and 1420; possibly earlier, but certainly not later. . . The next example I shall give from the Block-books is a page from the 'Book of Canticles,' as it is commonly called; but more fully entitled, 'Historia seu Providentia Virginis Mariæ ex Cantico Canticorum.' This book consists of a number of texts selected from the 'Song of Solomon,' as supposed to typify the history of the Virgin Mary. . . The third Block-book I shall allude to is the 'Apocalypse.' Some have considered this work earlier than the Biblia Pauperum. . . My next specimen is from the 'Ars Memorandi,' a work intended to recall, by means of familiar signs, the leading passages of the four Gospels."—[H. Noel Humphreys: "Hist. of the Art of Printing"; London ed., 1867: pp. 38–42.

"The rubics of the first issue of Gutenberg's Bible [about A.D. 1455], as just stated, were left blank, to be written in by hand, and spaces were also left for the illuminator to introduce the capitals; so that the book had, when completed by hand, much the effect of an illuminated MS. of the period; but the text was less free, and even less distinct, and there was some awkwardness in the ends of the lines where blanks occur, when a word could not be got in; but, on the whole, it is perhaps the noblest *coup d'essai*, in a new and intricate art, that ever was produced."—[p. 78.

XXXVI.: p. 233.—De Rossi speaks of "the universality of the pictures in the subterranean cemeteries, and the richness, the variety, the freedom of the more ancient types, when contrasted with the cycle of pictures which I see clearly becoming more restricted and impoverished toward the end of the third century." He "does not hesitate to name the first century, or the very beginning of the second, as the true date of some paintings in the crypts of Lucina, in the cemetery of Domitilla, and of others elsewhere; and others again he attributes to the middle and end of the second century, or beginning of the third. . . The Good Shepherd was undoubtedly one of the earliest and most frequent subjects of representation among the early Christians. It is the very type and sample of the peaceful character of Christian art during its first period; and it is to be seen on every species of Christian monument

that has come down to us. . . It is probably represented twice as often as any other subject; after this, Moses striking the rock, Daniel, Jonas, and Lazarus are repeated with great frequency; then, but at a considerable distance, Noah, Abraham, the Three Children, and the paralytic."—["Roma Sotterranea"; (Northcote, and Brownlow), London ed., 1879 : Part II.: pp. 9, 23, 44.

"Christianity, still in its youth, could only approach with fear and trembling that voluptuous expression of a sensuous life which was a characteristic of ancient sculpture, down to its latest periods. The danger of apostasy to the old varied forms of idolatry was too serious. Hence it was that the Christians only occasionally dared to make use of the plastic art, to express the new ideas in the most timid manner; though, in making such use, they willingly conformed to the laws of antique art. . . But the Christian idea was to find a more vigorous and general expression in the realm of painting; for in this connection there was less danger of an intermixture of ancient Pagan modes of presentation. Young Christian art availed itself more and more of this means, and conquered for itself a new field of activity, with artistic laws and technicalities of its own. . . But before this consummation could be attained, a long series of stages had to be traversed, leading from an utter tastelessness in art up to the rainbow-hued glory of the superb basilicas."—[Lübke : "History of Art"; New York ed., 1878 : Vol. 1 : pp. 372–4.

"As to Christianity setting itself against art, the Christians made all the use they could of the art-work of heathen and Christian hands alike, in the catacombs. Every symbol and myth and decoration which was not absolutely contrary to and directed against the faith, Christians cheerfully accepted. . . Up to the sack by Alaric, Rome is the seat of Græco-Christian art, which degenerates and barbarizes with all other art, until, with Alaric's taking of Rome, 'at one stride comes the dark,' and the art of the catacombs ceases."—[St. John Tyrwhitt : "Christian Art"; London ed., 1872 : pp. 59, 62.

"Christian art [in the catacombs] is obviously a new thing, at least in the thoughts which it embodies, though it makes use of the methods which have been handed down to it by ancient art, and is itself developed slowly, as lacking the stimulus of success. . . The highest type of beauty is not now the subtle grace, the Olympian calm of the Greek, nor the proud dignity of the old Roman; it is the deep feeling of the soul, eloquent of hope and love. The glowing aureole which, in Christian art, encircles the head, is woven of faith and charity. The world within and the world above have set their impress on these faces, which were cast originally in the same mould as those of the statues in the Capitol. As we gaze on the Virgin in the catacomb of Priscilla, we feel that the art which by the hand of Raphael will fix

upon the canvas the purest ideal of Christian beauty, is already born among those proscribed Christians who, in the brief interval of rest from persecution, hurriedly trace these noble outlines in memory of the confessors."—[Pressensé : "Early Years of Christianity"; London ed., 1880 : Vol. 4 : pp. 513–14.

XXXVII. : p. 233.—"He [the traveller at Ravenna] will see the tombs of Western Emperors and Gothic Kings: he will look upon the first efforts of Christian art, after it emerged from the seclusion of the Catacombs: . . above all, he will gaze in wonder upon those marvellous mosaics which line the walls of the churches—pictures which were as old in the time of Giotto as Giotto's frescoes are now, yet which retain (thanks to the furnace through which the artist passed his materials) colours as bright and gilding as gorgeous as when they were first placed on those walls in the days of Placidia or of Justinian. . . Always, whether the work be well or ill executed, dimly majestic or uncouth and ludicrous, we have the satisfaction of feeling that we are looking upon a picture which is substantially, both in colour and form, such as it was when it left the hand of the artist, perhaps fourteen centuries ago."—[Hodgkin : "Italy and her Invaders"; Oxford ed., 1880: Vol. 1: pp. 436–8.

Compare the graceful rendering by the same author of lines of Sidonius, descriptive of the Basilica raised at Lyons, in the fifth century by Bishop Patiens:—

> "Inly gleams there a light : the golden ceiling
> "Glows so fair that the sunbeams love to wander
> "Slowly over the sun-like burnished metal.
> "Marbles varied in hue, with slabs resplendent,
> "Line the vault and the floor, and frame the windows;
> "And, in glass on the walls, the green of springtide
> "Bounds the blue of the lake with winding margent."
>
> ["Italy, etc.": Vol. 2: p. 324.

XXXVIII. : p. 233.—"Even in the first half of the thirteenth century, one of the many strictly-balanced forms of metre, in which Europe was then so fruitful, became a normal and recognized form in Italy—the sonnet. . . The clearness and beauty of its structure, the invitation it gave to elevate the thought, in the second and more rapidly moving half, and the ease with which it could be learned by heart, made it valued even by the greatest masters. . . In Italy we can trace an undoubted progress from the time when the sonnet came into existence. In the second half of the thirteenth century the 'Trovatori della transizione,' as they have been recently named, mark the passage from the Troubadours to the poets—that is, to those who wrote under the influence of antiquity. The simplicity and strength of their

feeling, the vigorous delineation of fact, the precise expression and rounding off of their sonnets and other poems, herald the coming of a Dante. . . Its plan [of the Divina Commedia] and the ideas on which it is based, belong to the Middle Ages, and appeal to our interest only historically; but it is nevertheless the beginning of all modern poetry, through the power and richness shown in the description of human nature in every shape and attitude. . . More than a century elapsed before the spiritual element in painting and sculpture attained a power of expression in any way analogous to the Divine Comedy."—[Burckhardt: "Renaissance in Italy"; London ed., 1878: Vol. II.: pp. 39–43.

"It is to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that we are accustomed to assign that new birth of the human spirit—if it ought not rather to be called a renewal of its strength and quickening of its sluggish life—with which the modern time begins. And the date is well-chosen; for it was then first that the transcendently powerful influence of Greek literature began to work upon the world. But it must not be forgotten that for a long time previous there had been in progress a great revival of learning, and still more of zeal for learning, which, being caused by and directed towards the literature and institutions of Rome, might fitly be called the Roman Renaissance. . . In the fourteenth century there arose in Italy the first great masters of painting and song: and the literature of the new languages, springing into the fulness of life in the Divina Commedia, assumed at once its place as a great and ever-growing power in the affairs of men."—[Bryce: "Holy Roman Empire"; London ed., 1876: p. 241.

XXXIX.: p. 234.—"Paradise Lost, therefore, is not the less the first epic poem after that of Homer because it offers few pictures: even as the history of our Lord's Passion is not a poem because one can scarcely touch, even with the point of a needle, a passage in it which has not furnished material for a multitude of the greatest artists. The Evangelists narrate the facts with all possible dryness and simplicity, and the artist avails himself of the different portions of their narrative, though they on their part have not manifested the slightest spark of pictorial geuius."—[Lessing: Laocoön (Sir R. Phillimore's trans.); London ed., 1874: p. 142.

XL.: p. 234.—The marvellously rich description by Ruskin of the architecture of St. Mark's only sets forth, as in a golden frame, its religious significance:—"Round the walls of the porches there are set pillars of variegated stones, jasper and porphyry, and deep-green serpentine spotted with flakes of snow, and marbles, that half refuse and half yield to the sunshine, Cleopatra-like, 'their bluest veins to kiss'—the shadow, as it steals back from them, revealing line after line of azure undulation, as a receding tide leaves the waved sand; their capitals

rich with interwoven tracery, rooted knots of herbage, and drifting leaves of acanthus and vine, and mystical signs, all beginning and ending in the Cross; and above them, in the broad archivolts, a continuous chain of language and of life—angels, and the signs of heaven, and the labours of men, each in its appointed season upon the earth; and above these, another range of glittering pinnacles, mixed with white arches edged with scarlet flowers,—a confusion of delight, amidst which the breasts of the Greek horses are seen blazing in their breadth of golden strength, and the St. Mark's Lion, lifted on a blue field covered with stars, until at last, as if in ecstasy, the crests of the arches break into a marble foam, and toss themselves far into the blue sky in flashes and wreaths of sculptured spray, as if the breakers on the Lido shore had been frost-bound before they fell, and the sea-nymphs had inlaid them with coral and amethyst. . . . The whole edifice is to be regarded less as a temple wherein to pray, than as itself a Book of Common Prayer, a vast illuminated missal, bound with alabaster instead of parchment, studded with porphyry pillars instead of jewels, and written within and without in letters of enamel and gold. . . . And the man must be little capable of receiving a religious impression of any kind, who, to this day, does not acknowledge some feeling of awe, as he looks up to the pale countenances and ghostly forms which haunt the dark roofs of the Baptisteries of Parma and Florence, or remains altogether untouched by the majesty of the colossal images of apostles, and of Him who sent apostles, that look down from the darkening gold of the domes of Venice and Pisa."—[Ruskin: "Stones of Venice"; London ed., 1853: Vol. II.: pp. 66, 92, 110.

XLI.: p. 235.—"In his considerations on the poetry of the sentiments, Schiller thus expresses himself:—'If we bear in mind the beautiful scenery with which the Greeks were surrounded, and remember the opportunities possessed by a people living in so genial a climate, of entering into the free enjoyment of the contemplation of nature, and observe how conformable were their mode of thought, the bent of their imaginations, and the habits of their lives to the simplicity of nature, we cannot fail to remark with surprise how few traces are to be met amongst them of the sentimental interest with which we, in modern times, attach ourselves to the individual characteristics of natural scenery. The Greek poet is certainly, in the highest degree, correct, faithful, and circumstantial, in his descriptions of nature, but his heart has no more share in his words than if he were treating of a garment, a shield, or a suit of armor.' . . The description of nature, in its manifold richness of form, as a distinct branch of poetic literature, was wholly unknown to the Greeks. The landscape appears among them merely as the background of the picture, of which human figures

constitute the main subject. . . That which we miss in the works of the Greeks, I will not say from their want of susceptibility to the beauties of nature, but from the direction assumed by their literature, is still more rarely to be met with among the Romans. . . No description has been transmitted to us from antiquity of the eternal snow of the Alps, reddened by the evening glow or the morning dawn, of the beauty of the blue ice of the glaciers, or of the sublimity of the Swiss natural scenery, though statesmen and generals, with men of letters in their retinue, continually passed through Helvetia on their road to Gaul. . . At the period when the feelings died away, which had animated classical antiquity, a new spirit arose; Christianity gradually diffused itself, and wherever it was adopted as the religion of the state it not only exercised a beneficial influence on the condition of the lower classes, by inculcating the social freedom of mankind, but also expanded the views of men in their communion with nature. . . It was the tendency of the Christian mind to prove from the order of the universe, and the beauty of nature, the greatness and goodness of the Creator. This tendency to glorify the Deity in his works gave rise to a taste for natural description. . . In this simple description [by Basil] of scenery, and of forest life, feelings are expressed which are more intimately in unison with those of modern times than anything that has been transmitted to us from Greek or Roman antiquity."—[Humboldt: "Cosmos"; London ed., 1870: Vol. II.: pp. 372–73, 382, 391–94.

XLII.: p. 235.—"By relieving the mind from the distractions and importunities of the unruly passions, she [Christianity] improves the quality of the understanding; while at the same time she presents for its contemplation objects so great and so bright as cannot but enlarge the organ by which they are contemplated. The fears, the hopes, the remembrances, the anticipations, the inward and outward experience, the belief and the faith, of the Christian, form of themselves a philosophy, and a sum of knowledge, which a life spent in the Grove of Academus, or the painted Porch, could not have attained or collected. The result is contained in the fact of a wide and still widening Christendom."—[Coleridge: Works; New York ed., 1853: Vol. 1: p. 225.

XLIII.: p. 236.—"The birth of Christianity changed the whole firmament of thought. It was a new spiritual world into which the race was transported. Centuries of profound brooding were required ere mankind could shake off the torpor of the ancient darkness, and awake to the morning light of the Gospel. But when at last the eyes were fully opened, the natural world was revealed in a new light, learning revived in grander aspects, and science was transformed from speciality to generality."—[Prof. Benjamin Pierce: "Ideality in the Physical Sciences"; Boston ed., 1881: pp. 190–91.

As has been said of Shakespeare: "Shakespeare may not have been a religious man; he may or may not have been a Catholic, or a Prot estant; but whatever his personal views and feelings may have been, the light by which he viewed life was the light of Christianity. The shine, the shadow, and the color of the moral world he looked upon were all caused or cast by the Christian's Sun of Righteousness."—[Quoted by Principal Shairp: Princeton Review; 1880: p. 295.

XLIV.: p. 236.—"This remarkable man [Edwards] the metaphysician of America, was formed among the Calvinists of New England, when their stern doctrine retained its rigorous authority. His power of subtile argument, perhaps unmatched, certainly unsurpassed, among men, was joined, as in some of the ancient Mystics, with a character which raised his piety to fervour."—[Sir James Mackintosh: "Misc. Works"; London ed., 1846: Vol. 1: p. 108.

"The works of Jonathan Edwards were among his [Robert Hall's] favorites; and it is an ascertained fact that before he was nine years of age he had perused and re-perused, with intense interest, the treatises of that profound and extraordinary thinker, on the Affections, and on the Will. . . His predilection, next to the Scriptures, was for works of clear, strong, and conclusive reasoning, though conveyed in language far from elevated, and sometimes perhaps obscure. Thus he, for full sixty years, read Edwards's writings with undiminished pleasure."—["Memoir of Robert Hall": Works; London ed., 1832: Vol. VI.: pp. 3, 99.

Dugald Stewart spoke of Edwards as "a very acute and honest reasoner," "the most celebrated, and indisputably the ablest, champion of the scheme of necessity who has since appeared" [since Collins].—[Works; Cambridge ed., 1829: Vol. 6: pp. 281–2.

XLV.: p. 236.—"The custom of preaching, which seems to constitute a considerable part of Christian devotion, had not been introduced into the temples of antiquity; and the ears of monarchs were never invaded by the harsh sound of popular eloquence, till the pulpits of the empire were filled with sacred orators, who possessed some advantages unknown to their profane predecessors. . . The corruption of taste and language is strongly marked in the vehement declamations of the Latin bishops; but the compositions of Gregory and Chrysostom have been compared with the most splendid models of Attic, or at least of Asiatic, eloquence."—[Gibbon: "The Decline and Fall"; London ed., 1848: Vol. 2: pp. 485–6.

"Religious eloquence is as unquestionably the offspring of Christianity as popular eloquence is of democracy, or forensic eloquence of a refined civilization. Preaching was to Christianity what the sword

was to Mohammedanism, its main support, both at its origin and in all its subsequent successes. . . But while we acknowledge the preëminent moral authority of the Christian pulpit, we must not forget the intellectual results which we undoubtedly owe to it. Long after ancient elocution had vanished from its favorite haunts in the Pnyx and the Forum, when the master-pieces of Cicero and Demosthenes were little read, oratory arose again, in a form, truly, cramped and mutilated, and having but the faintest reflection of its former glory, but yet living, and prolific of life in others. . . Indeed, the ultimate effect of public clerical teaching in restoring, both in the Roman Empire and in the subsequent barbarian states, a taste for high intellectual pursuits, and for abstruse speculation, can hardly be ignored by one who traces the mental development of the European nations."—[Henry Mackenzie: "The Christian Clergy" (Hulsean Essay): Cambridge ed., 1855: pp. 67–69.

"Let him therefore [the Bishop] be well educated, skillful in the word, and of competent age. . . Let him be patient and gentle in his admonitions, well instructed himself, meditating in and diligently studying the Lord's books, and reading them frequently, that so he may be able carefully to interpret the Scriptures, expounding the Gospel in correspondence with the prophets and with the law; and let the expositions from the law and the prophets correspond to the Gospel. . . Be careful, O Bishop, to study the word, that thou mayest be able to explain everything exactly, and that thou mayest copiously nourish thy people with much doctrine, and enlighten them with the light of the law."—[Apostolical Constitutions: II.: 1, 5.

So Bede wrote to Egbert of York, at the beginning of the eighth century: "Because the spaces belonging to your diocese are too extensive for you alone to be able to go through them, and to preach the word of God in every village and hamlet, even if you should give a whole year to it, it is plainly necessary that you appoint others as assistants to you in this holy work, by ordaining priests, and by instituting teachers, who may be zealous in preaching the word of God in every village, and in celebrating the heavenly mysteries."—[Opera; London ed., 1843: Vol. 1: p. 114.

In the same spirit the Council of Arles (A.D. 813) commanded the bishops to preach in the scattered villages, as well as in towns.

Merivale seems justified in attributing important secondary consequences to the primitive preaching of the Gospel, when he speaks of "those itinerant homilists who began, from the Flavian period, to go about proclaiming moral truths, collecting groups of hearers, and sowing the seed of spiritual wisdom and knowledge on every soil that could receive it. It was by the first Christian teachers that the example of this predication was set; and the effect produced on thoughtful spirits

by the conspicuous career of St. Paul and his associates, is evinced, to my apprehension, by the self-imposed mission of Apollonius in the second, and of Dion in the third generation after them."—["History of Romans under the Empire"; London ed., 1862: Vol. 7: p. 458.

XLVI.: p. 237.—"The sources of the apparent oppositions (contrarieties) of the Scripture, are a God humbled, even unto the death upon the cross; a Messiah triumphant over death, by his own death; two natures in Jesus Christ; two advents; two states of the nature of man. . . But in Jesus Christ all the contradictions are brought into harmony."—[Pascal: "Pensées"; Paris ed., 1878: Sec. Par.: Art. IX.: 12.

XLVII.: p. 237.—Gibbon's testimony to the value of the historical works produced in the monasteries, is certainly that of an unprejudiced expert:—"The consideration of our past losses should incite the present age to cherish and perpetuate the valuable relics which have escaped, instead of condemning the Monkish Historians, as they are contemptuously styled, to moulder in the dust of our libraries; our candor, and even our justice, should learn to estimate their value, and to excuse their imperfections. Their minds were infected with the passions and errors of their times, but those times would have been involved in darkness, had not the art of writing, and the memory of events, been preserved in the peace and solitude of the cloister. . . In the eyes of a philosophic observer, these monkish historians are even endowed with a singular, though accidental merit: the unconscious simplicity with which they represent the manners and opinions of their contemporaries; a natural picture, which the most exquisite art is unable to imitate."—[Gibbon: Misc. Works; London ed., 1796: Vol. 2: p. 708.

XLVIII.: p. 239.—The knowledge of different languages and the culture of different branches of knowledge, among Christian scholars, are sometimes attributed to the influences of modern commerce, which is itself largely peculiar to Christendom. It is to be noticed, therefore, that in the darkest days of the Middle Age the same tendencies appeared. Thus Bede says of Tobias, Bishop of Rochester, that "together with his erudition in ecclesiastical and general literature, he also learned the Greek and Latin languages so perfectly that he had them as thoroughly familiar to him as the dialect of the place in which he was born."—[Hist. Eccl.: V.: 23.

He says of Theodore and Adrian, who were teaching in England in the seventh century:—"Forasmuch as both of them were, as we have said, abundantly instructed both in sacred and in secular literature, daily floods of salutary knowledge flowed from them upon the crowds

of disciples assembled around them, watering their hearts; and thus they delivered to their hearers knowledge of ecclesiastical poetry, astronomy, arithmetic, as well as the volumes of the sacred writings."—[IV.: 2.

Guizot presents in temperate words the fine intellectual qualities and attainments of the English Alcuin:—"He is a theologian by profession, and the atmosphere in which he lives [8th century] is essentially theological; yet the theological spirit does not reign alone in him, but his works and his thoughts also tend towards philosophy, and the ancient literature. It is that which he also delights in studying, teaching, and which he wishes to revive. Saint Jerome and Saint Augustine are very familiar to him; but Pythagoras, Aristotle, Aristippus, Diogenes, Plato, Homer, Virgil, Seneca, Pliny, also occur to his memory. The greater part of his writings are theological; but mathematics, astronomy, logic, rhetoric, habitually occupy him. He is a monk, a deacon, the light of the contemporaneous Church; but he is at the same time a scholar, a classical man of letters."—["Hist. of Civilization"; New York ed., Vol. 3 : p. 54.

About A.D. 1141, Peter the Venerable—friend of both Bernard and Abélard, and one of the most eminent of monks—had the Koran translated into Latin, that it might be refuted. 'He charged with the labor Pierre of Toledo, Herman of Dalmatia, an Englishman named Robert Kennet, and associated with them an Arabic scholar, and his own secretary, Pierre of Poitiers. They for the first time unveiled to Europe the Mahometan impostures, which he then proceeded to refute: a work,' —the chronicler rather sharply adds—'perhaps superfluous; since books like the Koran can have no refutation more complete than that given by a faithful translation.'

The version thus made, in what is sometimes styled the midnight of Christendom, held its place in Europe, and was the basis of other translations into modern languages, till the end of the seventeenth century.—[See "Histoire Littéraire de la France": Tom. XIII.: pp. 245, 259–60.

XLIX.: p. 239.—"A certain man, who was perfectly versed in Latin literature, steeped in all the culture and nearly all the passions of the Roman world, after having for some time mastered all the enlightenment and gazed, though from some distance, at the pleasures of that debased society, came to his senses, and fled in terror into the desert. . . To subdue himself, and conquer the flesh, as he tells us, he undertook the study of Hebrew, and put himself under the tuition, and even at the service, of a monk, a converted Jew, who greedy of interpretation taught him in a quarry and by night, for fear lest his countrymen should detect him, the secrets of the sacred language. 'And I,' said

he, 'all nourished as I still was with the flower of Cicero's eloquence, with the sweetness of Pliny and Fronto, and the charm of Virgil, began to stammer harsh and breath-disturbing words, *stridentia anhelantiaque verba.* I tied myself down to that difficult language like a slave to a mill-stone, buried myself in the darkness of that barbarous idiom like a miner in a cavern, in which after a long time he at last perceives a gleam of light. So, in its obscure depths, I began to find unknown joys, and later, from the bitter seed-time of my study I gathered in fruits of an infinite sweetness.' . . Thus was produced the translation of the Old Testament into Latin, named the Vulgate, which was one of the greatest achievements of the human mind. Through its means the whole current of the Eastern genius entered, so to speak, into the Roman civilization."—[Fréd. Ozanam : "Hist. of Civilization in Fifth Cent."; London ed., 1867 : Vol. 2 : pp. 98–9, 100.

L.: p. 240.—"The youth and early manhood of Socrates fall in the most brilliant period of Grecian history. Born during the last years of the Persian war, he was nearly contemporary with all those great men who adorned the age of Pericles. As a citizen of Athens he participated in all those elements of culture which, thanks to its unrivalled fertility of thought, congregated in the great metropolis. If poverty, and low birth, somewhat impeded his using them, still, in the Athens of Pericles, not even the lowest on the city roll was debarred from enjoying the rich profusion of art, which was for the most part devoted to the purposes of the state, nor yet from associating with men in the highest ranks of life. This free personal intercourse did far more to advance intellectual culture at that time than teaching in schools."—[Zeller : "Socrates"; London ed., 1877 : pp. 53–55.

"Pericles gave you, Alcibiades, for a tutor, Zophyrus the Thracian, a slave of his with whom he could do nothing else. . . I have only to remark, by way of contrast [with the Persians], that no one cares about your birth, or nurture, or education, or, I may say, about those of any other Athenian, unless he has a lover who takes care of him."—[Socrates : in Alcibiades I.: 122.

"It was a witty and handsome jeer which Aristippus bestowed on a sottish Father who asked him what he would take to teach his child. He answered, 'a thousand drachmas,' whereupon the other cried out, 'O Hercules, what a price! I can buy a slave at that rate!' 'Do so, then,' said the philosopher, 'and thou wilt have two slaves instead of one : thy son, and him whom thou buyest.'"—[Plutarch : "Morals"; Boston ed., 1874 : Vol. 1 : p. 11.

LI.: p. 241.—"When Carneades the Academic, and Diogenes the Stoic, came as deputies from Athens to Rome, . . the gracefulness of

Carneades' oratory gathered large and favorable audiences, and ere long filled like a wind all the city with the sound of it; so that the young men, quitting all their pleasures and pastimes, ran mad, as it were, after philosophy; which much pleased the Romans in general. But Cato, on the other side, seeing this passion for words flowing into the city, from the beginning took it ill, fearing lest the youth should be diverted that way, and should prefer the glory of speaking well before that of arms, and of doing well; . . and to frighten his son from any thing that was Greek, in a more vehement tone than became one of his age, he pronounced, as it were with the voice of an oracle, that the Romans would be certainly destroyed when they once began to be infected with Greek literature."—[Plutarch: "Lives"; Boston ed., 1859: Vol. 2: pp. 345–6.

LII.: p. 241.—Mr. Brace gives significant examples of the care of Christian people for the education of the young, in the early and later Middle Age:—

"The Council of Vaison (529 A.D.) thus treats of education: 'It hath seemed good to us that priests with parishes should receive into their houses young readers to whom they give spiritual nourishment, teaching them to study, to attach themselves to holy books, and to know the law of God.' The Synod of Orleans thus exhorts (799 A.D.), 'Let the priests in villages and towns hold schools, that all the children entrusted to them may receive the first notion of letters. Let them take no money for their lessons.' The Council of Chalons (813 A.D.) decreed that bishops should establish schools, where both literature and Scripture should be taught. Another Council proclaimed (859 A.D.), —'Let one raise, everywhere, public schools, that the Church of God may everywhere gather the double fruit of religion.' . . A Council proclaims (1179 A.D.): 'In order that the poor may have the possibility of learning to read and to be instructed, we appoint in every cathedral church a master to instruct clerks and poor scholars; but let no one demand pay for teaching.'"—["Gesta Christi"; New York ed., 1882: pp. 219, 222.

To these may be added such other instances as that of the Council of Orleans, A.D. 533, forbidding any unlettered person to be ordained priest or deacon; or the Council of Paris, A.D. 824, ordering bishops to watch over the schools with care, and to summon scholars to the provincial councils; also calling on the king to establish central schools in three important places, that his efforts, and those of his father, be not fruitless. The circular Letter of Charlemagne illustrates the same tendency, in which he requires that in bishoprics and monasteries "Care be taken not only to live orderly, according to our religion, but to instruct in the knowledge of letters, and according to the capac-

ity of individuals, all such as are able and willing to learn with God's help. For though of the two," says the Emperor, "it is better to be good than to be learned, yet to have knowledge *leads to being good.*"—[See Guizot: "Hist. of Civilization"; New York ed., Vol. 3: p. 38.

LIII.: p. 242.—"At the epoch of which we speak, or about the year 1100, there was no University of Paris. There were schools there; and among them the Episcopal school, having precedence of all others, most famous and most frequented. To that scholars came from a great distance—not from France only, which would be saying little, but from the whole of Gaul, and from foreign countries. England, Italy, and Germany began to send their youth to this city, which was destined to become the Athens of the philosophy of the Middle Ages. The courses of the school, what we should call the Lectures, had for an audience both young persons and mature men of all these nations; for the scholars were then of all ages. They gathered around the chair of the professor, in a cloister near the house of the bishop, where we have still seen the archbishop's palace, at the base of the metropolitan Church which was already named Notre Dame, but which was by no means the same magnificent and venerable monument that Maurice de Sully commenced under Philip Augustus. . . This is that which bore in the world, and which preserves in history, the name of the 'School of the Cloister,' or 'of Notre Dame.' It specially prided itself on recognizing as its chief William, named of Champeaux, from the name of the market-town of Brie, where he was born. Archdeacon of Paris, he taught with great success and éclat. He appears to have shone particularly in dialectics, and first applied in this school the forms of logic to the illustration of sacred things. They called him 'The column among teachers.'"—[Charles de Rémusat: "Abélard"; Paris ed., 1845: Tom. 1: pp. 9–11.

A further graphic account is given of this nascent University in the Cité, as it appeared a few years later, in the shade of the churches, in the sombre cloisters, in the large halls, or on the green turf of the yards—a description too long to be quoted: pp. 40–44.

LIV.: p. 242.—The dangers which constantly menaced the monasteries, and the struggle for existence which they had to maintain, are fairly illustrated in the History of the Abbey of Croyland, by Ingulphus, and its continuations. According to these chronicles, the abbey, founded by Ethelbald, A.D. 716, in the following centuries, up to A.D. 1486, had been plundered five times by Saxons, Danes, and Normans: had seven times suffered from severe extortions and spoliations, of barons and kings: had six times been attacked by the populace of the neighbourhood, had once been accidentally burned, once shaken and

split by an earthquake, and had twice been flooded by an unusual rise of water. That it maintained its life shows that something more than selfish ease and lazy luxury was contemplated by it.

It is claimed by the chronicle that from this Abbey arose the University of Cambridge. Of the Abbot Joffrid, A.D. 1109, it is said: "He was a man more learned than any of his predecessors [abbots], having imbibed literature of every description from his very cradle, with his mother's milk. . . He sent to his manor of Cottenham, near Cambridge, the lord Gislebert, his fellow-monk, and professor of Sacred Theology, together with three other monks who had accompanied him into England; who, being very well instructed in philosophical theorems, and other primitive sciences, went every day to Cambridge, and having hired a public barn there, openly taught their respective sciences, and in a short space of time collected a great concourse of scholars. For in the second year after their arrival, the number of their scholars, from both the country and the town, had increased to such a degree that not even the largest house or barn, nor any church even, was able to contain them. . . From this little spring, which has increased into a great river, we now behold the city of God made glad, and the whole of England rendered fruitful by many teachers and doctors going forth from Cambridge, after the likeness of the most holy Paradise."—[Ingulphus: "Chronicle"; London ed., 1854: pp. 234–9.

LV.: p. 242.—Mr. Hallam says with apparent justice of the Saracen "universities," at Cordova, Granada, and elsewhere, that "they were more like ordinary schools or gymnasia than universities; and it is difficult to perceive that they suggested anything peculiarly characteristic of the latter institutions, which are much more reasonably considered as the development of a native germ, planted by a few generous men, above all by Charlemagne, in that inclement season which was passing away."—["Lit. of Europe": London ed., 1847: Vol. 1: p. 17.

LVI.: p. 242.—"He [Hadrian] established a university at Rome, under the name of the Athenæum, after the type of the cherished city whence it derived its name, and he endowed its professors on a scale befitting its metropolitan character. The throne of rhetoric at Rome took precedence of all its rivals, both in rank and emolument. But the liberal sciences were exotics in Italy, and produced no popular teachers, and no celebrated schools. The activity of the Roman mind was running toward law and jurisprudence; but this was a practical subject which formed no part of the speculations to which the career of academic study was prescriptively confined."—[Merivale: "Hist. of the Romans"; London ed., 1862: Vol. 7: pp. 487–9.

LVII : p. 243.—"The most successful missionaries have been exactly those whose names are remembered with gratitude, not only by the natives among whom they labored, but also by the savants of Europe; and the labors of the Jesuit missionaries in India and China, of the Baptist missionaries at Serampore, of Gogerly and Spence Hardy in Ceylon, of Caldwell in Tinnevelly, of Wilson in Bombay, of Moffat, Krapf, and last but not least of Livingstone, will live not only in the journals of our academies, but likewise in the annals of the missionary church. . . Even if he [Dr. Legge] had not converted a single Chinese, he would, after completing the work which he has just begun, have rendered most important aid to the introduction of Christianity into China. . . After sixteen years of assiduous study, Dr. Legge had explored the principal works of Chinese literature; and he then felt that he could render the course of reading through which he had passed more easy to those who were to follow after him by publishing, on the model of our editions of the Greek and Roman classics, a critical text of the classics of China, together with a translation, and explanatory notes."—[Max Müller: "Chips, etc."; Vol. 1: pp. 301–2.

LVIII.: p. 243.—"There are many moral precepts equally commanded and enforced in common by both creeds. It will not be deemed rash to assert that most of the moral truths prescribed by the Gospel are to be met with in the Buddhistic scriptures. The essential, vital, and capital discrepancy lies in the difference of the ends to which the two creeds lead, but not in the variance of the means they prescribe for the attainment of them. . . Buddhism tends to abstract man from all that is without self, and makes self his own and sole centre. It exhorts him to the practice of many eminent virtues, which are to help him to rise to an imaginary perfection, the summit of which is the incomprehensible state of Neibban. It would be more correct to say at once that the pretended perfect being is led, by the principles of his creed, into the dark and fathomless abyss of annihilation."—[Bishop Bigandet: "Legend of Gaudama": London ed., 1880: Vol. 2: p. 258.

LIX.: p. 243.—"Considering that the nations of Europe can scarcely be said to have possessed a dramatic literature before the fourteenth or fifteenth century of the present era, the great age of the Hindú plays would of itself be a most interesting and attractive circumstance, even if their poetical merit were not of a very high order. But when to the antiquity of these productions is added their extreme beauty and excellence as literary compositions, . . we are led to wonder that the study of the Indian drama has not commended itself in a greater degree to the attention of Europeans, and especially of Englishmen. . . But

it is not in India alone that the 'Sakoontalá' is known and admired. Its excellence is now recognized in every literary circle throughout the continent of Europe; and its beauties, if not yet universally known and appreciated, are at least acknowledged by many learned men in every country of the civilized world. . . The English reader, remembering that the author of the Sakoontalá lived in the century preceding the Christian era, will at least be inclined to wonder at the analogies which it offers to our own dramatic composition of fifteen or sixteen centuries later."—[Monier Williams: Introduction to "Sakoontalá"; London ed., 1872.

It was of this ancient Indian poem that Goethe wrote:—

> "Wouldst thou the young year's blossoms and the fruits of its decline,
> "And all by which the soul is charmed, enraptured, feasted, fed,—
> "Wouldst thou the earth and heaven itself in one sole name combine?
> "I name thee, O Sakoontalá! and all at once is said!"

[See "Werke": 1882: Band I.: S. 187.

LX.: p. 244.—"There were sweeping changes in the range and character of the Germanic dialects during those ages of migration and strife, when Germany and Rome were carrying on their life and death struggle. Whole branches of the German race, among them some of the most renowned and mighty, as the Goths and Vandals, wholly lost their existence as separate communities, being scattered and absorbed into other communities, and their languages also ceased to exist. Leagues and migrations, intestine struggles and foreign conquests, produced fusions and absorptions, extensions, contractions, and extinctions, in manifold variety, but without any tendency to a general unity; and three centuries and a half ago, when the modern German first put forth its claim to stand as the common language of Germany, there was in that country the same Babel of discordant speech as at the Christian era. . . To a language so accredited [as the official speech in Central and Southern Germany] the internal impulse of the religious excitement and the political revolutions accompanying it, and the external influence of the press, which brought its literature, and especially Luther's translation of the Bible, into every reading family, were enough to give a common currency, a general value. From that time to the present, its influence and power have gone on increasing It is the vehicle of literature and instruction everywhere."—[W. D. Whitney: "The Study of Language"; New York ed., 1867: pp. 162–3.

LXI.: p. 245.—"Of all the English deistical works of the eighteenth century, the influence of two and only two survived the controversy. Hume's Essay on Miracles, though certainly not unquestioned and unassailed, cannot be looked upon as obsolete or uninfluential. Gibbon

remains the almost undisputed master of his own field, but his great work does not directly involve, though it undoubtedly trenches on, the subject of Christian evidences. But if we except these two, it would be difficult to conceive a more complete eclipse than the English deists have undergone. Woolston and Tindal, Collins and Chubb, have long since passed into the land of shadows, and their works have mouldered in the obscurity of forgetfulness. Bolingbroke is now little more than a brilliant name, and all the beauties of his matchless style have been unable to preserve his philosophy from oblivion. Shaftesbury retains a certain place as one of the few disciples of idealism who resisted the influence of Locke; but his importance is purely historical. . . The shadow of the tomb rests upon them all; a deep unbroken silence, the chill of death, surrounds them. They have long since ceased to wake any interest, or to suggest any enquiries, or to impart any impulse to the intellect of England."—[Lecky: "History of Rationalism"; New York ed., 1882: Vol. 1: pp. 189–190.

LXII.: p. 245.—"This fitness of our religion to more advanced stages of society than that in which it was introduced, to wants of human nature not then developed, seems to me very striking. The religion bears the marks of having come from a being who perfectly understood the human mind, and had power to provide for its progress. This feature of Christianity is of the nature of prophecy. It was an anticipation of future and distant ages; and when we consider among whom our religion sprung, where, but in God, can we find an explanation of this peculiarity?"—[Dr. Channing: Works; Boston ed., 1843: Vol. 3: p. 130.

"If there dwell in the midst [of the Christian Scriptures] a divine productive element, the further it passes from the moment of its nativity, the clearer and more august will it appear. It is like the seed dropped at first on an unprepared and unexpectant ground; which in its earliest development yields but a struggling and scanty growth, but each season, as another generation of leaves falls from the boughs, becomes the source, through richer nutriment, of fuller forms; till at length, when it has spread the foliage of ages, making its own soil, and deepening the luxuriance of its own roots, a forest in all its glory covers the land, and waves in magnificence over continents once bare of life and beauty. So it is with the germ of divine truth cast upon the inhospitable conditions of history; it is small and feeble in its earlier day; but when it has provided the aliment of its own growth, and shed its reproductive treasures on the congenial mind of generations and races, it starts into the proportions of a Christendom, and becomes the shade and shelter of a world."—[James Martineau: "Studies of Christianity"; Boston ed., 1866: pp. 296–7.

NOTES TO LECTURE VIII.

NOTE I.: PAGE 250.—"It [Corinth] was celebrated for maintaining the character of a highly polished and literary society, such as (even without taking into account its connexion with Greek civilization generally) furnishes a natural basis for much both of the praise and blame with which the First Epistle abounds, in regard to intellectual gifts. 'At Corinth you would learn and hear even from inanimate objects' —so said a Greek teacher within a century from this time—'so great are the treasures of literature in every direction, wherever you do but glance, both in the streets themselves and in the colonnades; not to speak of the gymnasia and schools, and the general spirit of instruction and inquiry.'"—[Dean Stanley: "Comm. on Epistles to Corinthians"; London ed., 1876: p. 6.

II.: p. 252.—"Of the general aspect of the city of Rome during the first years of its existence, we can, of course, form only a conjectural notion. It probably consisted of an irregular collection of thatched cottages, similar to that shown in later times as the Casa Romuli, on the Palatine, among which were interspersed a few diminutive chapels. . . He [Dionysius] says that the hut of Romulus lay in a hollow on the side of the Palatine which looks toward the Circus Maximus; and Plutarch places it on the descent from the Palatine to the Circus. . . It was a hut made of wood, and covered with reeds, representing the original habitation of the founder of Rome. It must have stood nearly at the western corner of the hill."—[Burn: "Rome and the Campagna"; London ed., 1871: pp. xxiv, 156.

III.: p. 252.—"He [Augustus] lived at first near the Roman Forum, above the *Scalæ anulariæ*, in a house which had been that of the orator Calvus; afterward on the Palatine, but yet in a moderate house belonging to Hortensius, neither conspicuous for spaciousness nor for ornament; in which the piazzas were small, with columns of the Alban stone, and the rooms were without any marbles or any remarkable pavement."—[Suetonius: "Octav. August.": LXXII.

IV.: p. 253.—Lactantius, for example, quotes thus:—"Under the influence of the same error (for who could keep the right course when

Cicero is in error?) Seneca said: 'Philosophy is nothing else than the right method of living, or the science of living honorably, or the art of passing a good life.'" This, Lactantius controverts, on the ground, among others, that if philosophy were needful to form the life, none but philosophers would be good men, and they always would be: against which he then cites testimonies of Seneca himself.—[Div. Inst. III.: xv.

Augustine quotes from him more largely in the Civ. Dei, v.: 8; vi.: 10, 11; and elsewhere; but he indicates no suspicion that he had received any distinct influences from Christianity.

The expression of Jerome takes special emphasis from the fact that in the same part of the same treatise he speaks of other writers with praise: as of Varius Geminius, whom he styles 'the sublime orator,' of Theophrastus, one of whose books he calls 'golden'; while he mentions, also, Cicero, Socrates, Cato the Censor, Herodotus, Chrysippus, Aristotle, Plutarch, and others. But only of Seneca does he speak as "our own," while from him he also largely quotes.—[Opera: S. Hieronymi; Cologne, 1616: Tom. I.: p. 136.

V.: p. 253.—"If the wise man had this very ring [of Gyges, making him invisible] he would think himself no more at liberty to sin than if he had it not. . . This is the meaning of this ring, and this example: if no one should know, no one even suspect, when you have done anything for the sake of riches, power, domination, lust, if it should be forever unknown to gods and men, you may not do it."—[De Officiis: III.: 9.

VI.: p. 253.—"I am accustomed to look upon his chamber itself [of T. Aristo], his very couch, as reflecting the image of ancient frugality. The magnanimity of his soul adorns them, which has no regard to ostentatious display, but refers all things to the judgment of conscience; which seeks the reward of right action not at all in popular applause, but in the action itself."—[Ep. I.: 22.

VII.: p. 254.—"Let us then say also to ourselves: 'Thy body, O man, naturally of itself breeds many diseases and passions, and many it receives befalling it from without; but if thou shalt open thy interior, thou wilt find a certain various and abundantly furnished storehouse and (as Democritus says) treasury of evils, not flowing into it from abroad, but having as it were their inbred and original springs, which vice, exceedingly affluent and rich in passions, causes to break forth. Now, whereas the diseases in the flesh are discerned by the pulses, and the flushings in the color of the skin, and discovered by unusual heats and sudden pains, and these maladies of the soul lie hid

from many who are affected with them; these are therefore worse, as removing from them the sense of the patient."—[Plutarch: "Morals"; Boston ed., 1874: Vol. 4: p. 505.

VIII.: p. 254.—"Varro, in one of his satires, enumerates the following as the most notable foreign delicacies: peacocks from Samos; grouse from Phrygia; cranes from Melos; kids from Ambracia; tunny-fishes from Chalcedon; murænas from the Straits of Gades: ass-fishes (? aselli) from Pessinus; oysters and scallops from Tarentum; sturgeons from Rhodes; *scarus*-fishes (?) from Cilicia; nuts from Thasos; dates from Egypt; acorns from Spain."—[Mommsen: "Hist. of Rome"; London ed., 1868: Vol. 4: p. 543 (note).

The fourth Satire of Horace, Lib. II., gives many further particulars of the preferences of the Roman epicures for meats and esculents of various sorts, for wines and fruits; and the eighth Satire, in the same book, describes the ridiculous imitations of great feasts by those of more economical habits.

"The Talmud does indeed offer us a perfect picture of the cosmopolitanism and luxury of those final days of Rome, such as but few classical or post-classical writings contain. We find mention made of Spanish fish, of Cretan apples, Bithynian cheese, Egyptian lentils and beans, Greek and Egyptian pumpkins, Italian wine, Median beer, Egyptian zyphus: garments were imported from Pelusium and India, shirts from Cilicia, and veils from Arabia."—[Deutsch: "Lit. Remains"; New York ed., 1874: p. 44.

IX.: p. 254.—"No one in that court vied with another in probity or industry; there was one only road to power, by prodigious feasts, and in seeking, at enormous expense and by the coarse profligacy of the cook-shop, to satisfy the insatiable appetites of Vitellius. He, abundantly satisfied if he might enjoy whatever was before him, and taking no thought for anything further, is believed to have spent in a very few months nine hundred thousand great sesterces" [$36,000,000].—[Tacitus: "Histor.": II.: 95.

X.: p. 255.—"Do not wonder that diseases are innumerable. Count the cooks! All study ceases; and the professors of liberal learning preside in deserted nooks, without any attendants. There is solitude in the schools of rhetoricians and philosophers; but how celebrated are the kitchens! what a crowd of youth presses around the fire-places of spendthrifts! . . Good Gods! what a host of men one belly keeps busy!"—[Seneca: Ep. XCV.: 23–4.

The philosopher's mention of the fish, a large mullet weighing more than four pounds, bought by Octavius for five thousand sesterces, is in the same Epistle: 43.

"From every quarter they assemble all things designed for a disdainful palate. What a stomach impaired by delicacies scarcely will admit, that is brought from the remotest ocean. They vomit, that they may eat; they eat, that they may vomit; and they do not think the feasts for which they search through all the world worthy even of being digested. . . Caius Cæsar, whom the nature of things seems to me to have produced in order to show of what the highest wickedness is capable in the midst of the highest fortune, spent at the supper of one day $350,000; and being assisted in the business by everybody's wit, yet hardly found how to make way at that one supper with the entire tribute of three provinces."—[Seneca: Consol. ad Helv. IX.

XI.: p. 255.—Even Pliny the Younger wrote of the customary accompaniments of the feasts as a matter of course, and without condemnation:—

"I have received your letter, in which you complain of the disgust which you felt at a certain very magnificent entertainment, because jesters, indecent dancers, and buffoons, wandered about among the tables. Will you not relax something of your frown? Certainly, I have nothing of the sort; but I bear with those who have. Why do I not have them? Because nothing charms me as surprising or gay when anything lascivious is offered by the dancer, anything smart by the jester, or silly by the buffoon. I am showing you not my judgment, but my special taste, in the matter. . . Let us therefore give indulgence to what is delightful to others, that we may ask it for what is pleasant to ourselves."—[Ep. IX.: 17 (to Genitor).

XII.: p. 255.—"The last days of the Republic were marked by an astonishing depravity in morals; the marriage of citizens had been abandoned, or transformed into libertinism through annual divorces. Celibacy was in fashion. Civil wars and proscriptions had left great voids in families; and under an inundation of slaves, of freedmen or of foreigners, the race of citizens was disappearing. Augustus tried to remedy, by laws and fiscal measures, the corruption of morals and the exhaustion of the legitimate population. . . The *leges Julia et Papia Poppaea* were combined in such a manner as to grant rewards of various kinds to those who were married and fathers, and to punish with various disabilities those who had no children, and more severely still unmarried persons. The most vulnerable point, and that on which the legislation struck with greatest effect, was the right of profiting from testamentary provisions. . . The unmarried person could not take any part of what had been left him; the *orbus* [married, without children] could only take one-half."—[Ortolan: "Hist. of Roman Law"; London ed., 1871: pp. 308–311.

XIII.: p. 255.—"Does any woman now blush on account of a divorce, since the time when certain distinguished women, of noble families, reckon their years not by the number of the [annual] consuls, but by that of their husbands? and go forth [from their husbands] for the sake of being married, are married for the sake of being divorced? . . Is there now any shame at adultery, since it has come to this, that no woman takes a husband except that she may excite the passion of a paramour? Modesty is a demonstration of deformity. Where can you find any woman so miserable, so squalid, that one pair of adulterers is enough for her?"—[Seneca: De Benef.; III.: 16.

XIV.: p. 255.—"She leaves the doors lately adorned, the tapestries still hanging on the house, and the branches yet green upon the threshold. So the number increases; so eight husbands have become hers in five autumns: a worthy fact for the inscription on her tomb."—[Juvenal: Sat. VI.: 227–30.

XV.: p. 255.—"It is either less, or certainly not more than the thirtieth day, oh Faustinus, since the Julian law was revived for popular restraint, and modesty was commanded to re-enter houses; and Thelesina already marries her tenth man! She who marries so often, marries not at all. She is an adulteress, under a legal name. I am less offended by a more undisguised prostitute."—[Martial: Epig.: VI.: 7.

XVI.: p. 255.—"Finally—and this is the climax of the whole infamy—as the husband gained the dowry when a divorce had taken place on account of the misconduct of the wife, it came to pass that men wishing to make their fortunes took for their wives unchaste women, provided they had property, in order afterward to repudiate them on the pretext of their licentiousness. On the other hand the women, seeing that they were protected neither by their virtue nor by their love, gave themselves up without restraint to the most frightful misconduct; and here is another proof of the truth which the experience of all time attests, that an excessive liberty of divorce leads woman on to adultery. . . Adultery seemed no more an offence since Clodius had made it serve his interests in purging him from his adulterous violation of sacred things."—[Troplong: "De l'Influence du Christianisme"; Paris ed., 1868: pp. 210–11.

The same sort of marriage had occurred, according to Plutarch, in the sixth consulship of Marius: and to his decision in favor of the wife was due her subsequent protection of him.—["Lives": Boston ed., 1859: Vol. III.: pp. 91–2.

XVII.: p. 256.—Strabo mentions this action of Cato without censure

or surprise, simply referring to it as "according to an ancient custom of the Romans."—[XI.: IX.: (Oxford ed., 1806; Tom. II.: p. 749).

Augustus, as Octavius Cæsar, had similarly taken his wife from Tiberius Nero,—the lady afterward known as Julia Augusta, of whom Tacitus speaks almost with enthusiasm.—[Annal. V.: 1.

Seneca speaks of Mæcenas as having married his one wife a thousand times; [qui uxorem millies duxit, quum unam habuerit.]—[Ep. CXIV.: 7.

This was, however, because the wife, Terentia, kept him in incessant anxiety by her threats to divorce him, she being rich.—[De Provid. III.: 9.

XVIII.: p. 256.—"The same year [of the death of Germanicus] the licentiousness of women was restrained by severe decrees of the Senate, and it was provided "that no woman should make merchandise of her body, whose grandfather, father, or husband, had been a Roman knight. For Vistilia, a lady born of a praetorian family, had openly published before the Ædiles the utter dissoluteness of her unchastity; according to a custom which prevailed among our ancestors, who thought that a sufficient punishment of prostitutes lay in their simple avowal of their infamy."—[Tacitus: Annal.: II.: 85.

XIX.: p. 256.—"Where are adulteries better arranged by the priests than among the very altars and shrines? Where are more panderings debated, or more acts of violence concerted? Finally, burning lust is more frequently gratified in the little chambers of the keepers of the temples than in the brothels themselves."—[Minucius Felix: "Octavius"; XXV.

The testimony of Tertullian to the same fact has been cited already: Lecture II.: note XII.

Ovid refers to the same thing, in connection with the temples: Ars Amator. I.: 77–88; III.: 393–4.

XX.: p. 256.—The well-known passage in Terence, illustrating the depraving influence of the alleged example of the Gods, occurs in the "Eunuchus," Act. III.: Sc. VI.: 580–605.

Seneca sharply remarks upon the same influence of stories circulated in regard to the divinities: Vit. Brev. XVI.

The testimony of Aristophanes, to the same effect, in his earlier day, has been cited already: Lecture II.: note XII.

"When Timotheus the musician was one day singing at Athens a hymn to Diana . . Cinesias, the lyric poet, stood up from the midst of the spectators, and spoke aloud, 'I wish thee with all my heart such a goddess to thy daughter, Timotheus'!"—[Plutarch: On Superstit.: "Morals"; Boston ed., 1874: Vol. 1: pp. 179–180.

XXI.: p. 256.—Not only the intense and sorrowful Tacitus, writing in sentences that almost blister the parchment, but the luxurious and libertine Sallust, whose elegant paragraphs seem commonly careless of moral distinctions, depicts, as with a pen startled into indignation, the general depravation of the last years of the Republic:—

"But the lust of licentiousness, of low debauchery, and of every sort of luxury, did not the less spread abroad; men let themselves be used as women, women publicly offered their chastity for sale; for the sake of filling themselves with food they sought all things, by land and sea; they slept, before any desire for sleep had come; they waited neither for hunger, thirst, desire of coolness, or for weariness, but anticipated all in their luxurious indulgence. These things inflamed the young, when their own properties had been wasted, to all sorts of crimes. The spirit steeped in evil arts did not easily restrain itself from any lusts; it was only more prodigally devoted, in all ways, to venal advantage and to extravagance."—["Catalina": XIII.

Seneca's testimony is terrific:—"Dost thou believe any age to have been more corrupt in its morals than that [of Clodius], in which lust could not be restrained, either by sacred things or by judicial procedures? in which, in the very inquiry instituted by the Senate, in an extraordinary exercise of its power, greater villainy was committed than that which was the object of the inquiry? It was questioned whether, after an adultery, a man could remain secure: it appeared that he could not be secure except through adultery. . . Do not believe, then, that only in our own time is it true that the largest prerogative is allowed to licentiousness, and the least to the laws."—[Seneca: Ep. XCVII.: 7, 8.

"However monstrous the crimes into which ecclesiastical passions betray men, they are, after all, less revolting than the loathsome atrocities of periods lost to all restraints of reverence; and even the Papacy of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries appears innocent, in comparison with the government of Asia and Greece under Alexander's successors, and of the Empire during the decline of Rome."—[James Martineau: "Miscellanies"; Boston ed., 1852: p. 377.

Merivale says, not extravagantly, in regard to the story of Messalina:—"We seem, indeed, in perusing the narrative before us, to be weltering in a dream of horrors, which, nevertheless, exert over us a kind of fascination, and however we may pause at intervals to question the phantasms they present to us, forbid us to shake off our constrained assent to their reality."—["Hist. of Romans"; London ed., 1856: Vol. V.: p. 537.

XXII.: p. 256.—The obelisk on the Monte Pincio, at Rome, in the public promenade, is found, from the hieroglyphics upon it, to have

been erected in honor of Antinous, in the names of Hadrian and Sabina —[See "Handbook of Rome"; London ed., 1872 : p. 93.

XXIII. : p. 257.—"The Tricliniarch and his subordinates were equally occupied in the larger saloons: where stood the costly tables of cedar-wood, with pillars of ivory supporting their massive orbs, which had, at an immense expense, been conveyed to Rome from the primeval woods of Atlas. In one, the wood was like the beautifully dappled coat of a panther; in another, the spots, being more regular and close, imitated the tail of the peacock; a third resembled the luxuriant and tangled leaves of the *apium*;—each of them more beautiful and valuable than the other; and many a lover of splendour would have bartered an estate for any one of the three. . . Next came the side-boards, several of which stood against the walls in each saloon, for the purpose of displaying the gold and silver plate and other valuables. Some of them were slabs of marble, supported by silver or gilded ram's feet, or by the tips of the wings of two griffins looking in opposite directions. There was also one of artificial marble, which had been sawn out of the wall of a Grecian temple, while the slabs of the rest were of precious metal. The costly articles displayed on each were so selected as to be in keeping with the architectural designs of the apartment. . . In the Corinthian saloon stood vessels of precious Corinthian bronze, whose worn handles and peculiar smell sufficiently announced their antiquity, together with two large golden drinking cups, on one of which were engraved scenes from the Iliad, on the other from the Odyssey. Besides these there were smaller beakers and bowls composed of precious stones, either made of one piece only, and adorned with reliefs, or of several cameos united by settings of gold. Genuine Murrhina vases also,—even at that time a riddle, and according to report imported from the recesses of Parthia,—were not wanting.

"The Egyptian saloon, however, surpassed the rest in magnificence. Every silver or golden vessel which it contained was made by the most celebrated *toreutæ*, and possessed a higher value from the beauty of its workmanship than even from the costliness of its material. . . No less worthy of admiration were the ingenious works in glass, from Alexandria; beakers and saucers of superb moulding, and imitating so naturally the tints of the amethyst and ruby, as completely to deceive the beholder; others shone like onyxes, and were cut in relief; but superior to all were some of the purest crystal, and uncoloured. Still there was one object which, on account of its ingenious construction, attracted more than any thing else the eyes of all spectators. This was a bowl of the colour of opal, surrounded at the distance of a fourth part of an inch by an azure network, carved out of the same piece as the vessel, and only connected with it by a few fine slips that had been left.

beneath the edge of the cup was written the following inscription: the letters were green, and projected in a similar manner, supported only by some delicate props: *Bibe, vivas multis annis.*"—[Becker: "Gallus"; London ed., 1866: pp. 16–20.

XXIV.: p. 257.—"The orator Calvus bewailed the fact that kitchen utensils were made of silver; but we have invented a plan for covering our carriages with engraved silver-work; and in our own time Poppæa, wife of Nero the emperor, was accustomed to have her daintier mules shod with gold."—[Pliny: Hist. Nat.: XXXIII.: 49.

"The milk of the ass is supposed to add a certain shining whiteness to the skin of women. Certainly Poppæa, the wife of Domitius Nero, taking about with her everywhere five hundred asses with foal, was accustomed to soften her whole body in their milk in the bath-tub, believing also that thus the skin was made smooth."—[Pliny: Hist. Nat.: XI.: 96.

XXV.: p. 257.—"In like manner we are commanded to love no immodesty. By this means, therefore, we are cut off from the theatre likewise, which is the private council-chamber of immodesty, wherein nothing is approved save that which is elsewhere disapproved. Wherefore its chief grace is for the most part finely framed out of filthy lewdness, such as the Atellan acteth, such as the buffoon representeth even under the character of women, banishing their distinctive modesty, so that they may blush at home more easily than in the theatre; such as, finally, the pantomime submitteth to in his own body from his childhood, that he may be able to be an actor. The very harlots also, the victims of the public lust, are brought forward on the stage . . and are bandied about by the mouths of every age and rank; their abode, their price, their description, even in matters of which it is not good to speak, are proclaimed. I pass over the rest in silence: which indeed it were fitting should remain hid in its own darkness and dens, lest it pollute the day."—[Tertullian: De Spectac: XVII.

"The ballet-dancers were quite a match for those of the present day in the variety of their pursuits, and the skill with which they followed them; their prima-donnas, Cytheris and the like, pollute even the pages of history. But their as it were licensed trade, was very materially injured by the free art of the ladies of aristocratic circles. *Liaisons* in the first houses had become so frequent that only a scandal altogether exceptional could make them the subject of special talk; a judicial interference seemed now almost ridiculous. . . The plot [of the new Mimus] was of course still more indifferent, loose, and absurd than in the harlequinade. . . The subjects were chiefly of an amorous nature, mostly of the licentious sort; for example, poet and public, without

exception, took part against the husband, and poetical justice consisted in the derision of good morals."—[Mommsen: "Hist. of Rome"; London ed., 1868: Vol. 4: pp. 547, 612.

"There was hardly any more lucrative trade in Rome than that of the actor and the dancing-girl of the first rank; the dancer Dionysia estimated her income at 200,000 sesterces (£2,000). . . It was nothing unusual for the Roman dancing-girls to throw off, at the finale, the upper robe, and to give a dance in undress for the benefit of the public."—[Vol. 4: pp. 614–5.

XXVI.: p. 257.—Valerius Maximus says that 'the first exhibition of gladiators was given at Rome in the Forum Boarium under the consulship of Appius Claudius and Marcus Fulvius [B.C. 262]: and that Marcus and Decimus Brutus gave it, in memory of their dead Father, and by way of honoring his funeral ceremonies. A combat of athletes was likewise presented by the munificence of Marcus Scaurus.'—[II.; IV.: 7.

The same statement appears, in substance, in the epitome of the XVIth Book of Livy.

XXVII.: p. 258.—"Cæsar, in his Ædileship, at the outset of his political career, undertook to present such a mass of combatants that the frightened Senate interposed objection; he had to confine himself to 320 couples. But when nothing longer hindered him, in his final triumph, not only the customary combats were presented, but a complete image of war, a sea-fight and a battle, a mixed conflict of men, horses, and elephants. Everywhere amphitheatres were erected, and their ruins rise still, from one end to the other of Roman Gaul, from Nismes to Trèves, memorials of the civilization which Rome carried thither. . . Augustus, after having imitated the extravagance of Cæsar when he had power to gain, seems to have returned to better sentiments when he had power to exercise. But the restraint which he imposed upon others he scarcely regarded for himself. The monument of Ancyra states that he had made to fight, either in his own name or in the name of his children, about ten thousand men. . . The Flavians built the Coliseum. Vespasian began it, Titus inaugurated it, with a fête of a hundred days. Under Domitian the days were not long enough for the combatants; they fought at night, by the light of torches. Trajan, whose memory is so dear to humanity, flung into the arena, at a single festival, ten thousand captives. This was on his return from the Dacian War; the games lasted a hundred and twenty-three days. Commodus gave more than a thousand combats of gladiators; one counts still eight hundred pairs of gladiators at the triumph of Aurelian; six hundred at the fêtes of Gallienus, and three hundred at the triumph of

Probus. . . The double influence, of ambition under the republic, and of power under the empire, the imperious eagerness of the populace which, whether master or slave, was determined to be amused with these murderous spectacles, concurred in keeping the class of gladiators always large in point of numbers. . . A fête was finally not complete unless it embraced combats of men with beasts; combats of bulls, of lions, of bears, or of panthers. Many, doubtless of those condemned for crime, were delivered naked to the beasts. They called it 'a chase'; but in such conditions the beast was less often the prey of the hunter than the hunter of the beast."—[Wallon: "Histoire de l'Esclavage"; Paris ed., 1879: Tom. II.: pp. 127–139.

XXVIII.: p. 258.—Merivale sums up briefly the facts of construction in the Colosseum, and of its dedication, as follows:—"The height of this celebrated structure, the cornice of which is still preserved throughout one-third of its circuit, is said to be 160 feet; the major axis of its elliptical circumference measures 615, the minor 510 feet, while the length and breadth of the arena itself are respectively 281 and 176 feet. Rows of seats rise concentrically to the level of the upper story, the lowest row, or podium, being assigned to the senators, the vestals, and the emperor with his personal attendants. Eighty-seven thousand spectators were accommodated within the walls. The building was of the rich and warm travertine stone, or encrusted with marble; the most conspicuous parts shone with precious gems and metals a gilded network protected the sitters in the lowest rows from the chance assaults of the animals beneath them. . . The name of Colosseum popularly attached to it, and improperly written Coliseum, first occurs in the works of our countryman Bede, in the seventh century. . The dedication gave room for the display of pious magnificence on a scale hitherto unrivaled. A battle of cranes with dwarfs was a fanciful novelty, and might afford diversion for a moment; there were combats of gladiators, among whom women were included, though no noble matron was allowed to mingle in the fray; the capacity of the vast edifice was tested by the slaughter of five thousand animals within its circuit. The show was crowned with the immission of water into the arena, and with a sea-fight."—["Hist. of the Romans'; London ed., 1862: Vol. VII.: pp. 40–41, 55.

XXIX.: p. 258.—"The Circus was fitted for containing a vast number of people. Dionysius of Halicarnassus says 150,000; Pliny, 260,000; Victor, 380,000; the modern Victor, 385,000; and the Notitia Imperii, 405,000."

Gibbon estimates 150,000 as the probable number to be accommodated, though he admits that Pliny's statement can hardly be that of one who was deceived.—[Misc. Works; London ed., 1796: Vol. 2: pp. 145–9

XXX.: p. 259.—"We have seen in our day a representation of the mutilation of Attis, that famous god of Pessinus, and a man burnt alive as Hercules. We have made merry amid the ludicrous cruelties of the noon-day exhibition, at Mercury examining the bodies of the dead with his hot iron; we have witnessed Jove's brother [Pluto], mallet in hand, dragging out the corpses of the gladiators."—[Tertullian : Apol.: 15.

For the exposure of Laureolus, under Domitian, 'on no fictitious cross,' to a Caledonian bear, see Martial, de Spectac. VII.; on Scaevola, with 'his hand reigning in the astonished flame,' Epig. VIII.: 30; on Mucius, criticised for preferring to sacrifice his hand in the fire rather than be enveloped in the blazing tunic, Epig. X.: 25.

"Then they being first seized who confessed [to being Christians], and afterward on their information a great multitude, were convicted not so much of the crime of burning the city, as of enmity toward the human race. Mockeries also were added to their deaths, as they, clothed in skins of wild beasts, died under the laceration of dogs, or were suspended on crosses, or were set on fire and burned as the day descended, for the purpose of nocturnal illumination. Nero offered his own gardens for the spectacle."—[Tacitus : Annal.: XV.: 44.

Plutarch takes an image from the burning of men, in the theatre, to illustrate the folly of supposing wicked men happy and safe because they live in splendid circumstances:—"There are some people that differ little or nothing from children, who, many times beholding malefactors on the stage, in their gilded vestments and short purple cloaks, dancing with crowns upon their heads, admire and look upon them as the most happy persons in the world, till they see them gored and lashed, and flames of fire curling from beneath their sumptuous and gaudy garments."—["Morals"; Boston ed., 1874 : Vol. IV.: p. 154.

XXXI.: p. 259.—"They [the spectacles] filled the atmosphere of intellectual life at Rome with a contagion the influences of which all the advantages of high mental cultivation, and of an elevated social condition, were powerless to neutralize, and to which the delicate sex was only too accessible. One inhaled the passionate enthusiasm for the games of the circus, of the theatre and the arena, with the very air in which one lived; it was one of those diseases peculiar to the great city, the element of which was already inoculated in the infant, if one may so say, in its mother's womb. But how pernicious were the general effects which must be attributed to the influence of these spectacles on the morality of the higher classes, it is almost impossible to specify in particulars. . . The active part which the emperors took in the representations superabundantly proves that there was, even in the highest circles of society, a passion for these games which degenerated into a veritable mania, which could be arrested by none of the barriers which

ancient customs and laws interposed."—[Friedlaender : "Mœurs Romaines"; Paris ed., 1867 : Tom. II. : pp. 37, 38.

XXXII. : p. 259.—"Claudius armed three-banked and four-banked galleys, with nineteen thousand men, the edge of the lake being girdled with rafts, that there might be no facility of escape, and still embracing space enough for energy in rowing, for skill on the part of pilots, for the onset of ships, and for all the customary incidents of battle. On the rafts were stationed companies of infantry and squadrons of cavalry, of the prætorian cohorts, with bulwarks in front, from which catapults and balistæ might be directed. Marine forces occupied the rest of the lake, with decked ships. As in a theatre, an innumerable multitude from neighbouring towns as well as from the city, covered banks and hills, and the heights of mountains, in their eagerness to see or in honor to the emperor. He presided, in splendid military dress, Agrippina not far from him in a gold-wrought mantle of state. The battle, though between criminals, was fought with the spirit of brave men; and after much bloodshed, they were excused from proceeding to complete massacre."—[Tacitus : Annal. : XII. : 56.

XXXIII. : p. 260.—"Now for a long time the Syrian Orontes has flowed into the Tiber, and has borne upon it its language, and morals, and the slanting harp-strings, with the flute-player, and the foreign tambourines, and girls required to stand for prostitution at the Circus. Go there! any to whom a barbarian harlot, with ornamented turban, is attractive."—[Juvenal : Sat. III. : 62–66.

"We suffer in our times the evils of long peace; luxury, more ruthless than war, has laid itself upon us, and avenges a conquered world. No crime is wanting, no deed of lust, since Roman poverty passed away. Hence, Sybaris has flowed to these hills, and Rhodes, and Miletus, and intoxicated Tarentum, garlanded and insolent."—[Sat. VI. : 292–297.

Gibbon criticises Juvenal, as possessing justness of understanding and honesty of heart, but being deficient in point of sweetness and sensibility, and as not allowing himself to bestow praise on virtuous characters of his own time, even with the view of rendering the vicious more ugly by the contrast. But he says, himself:—"I know that there never, perhaps, was an age more profligate than that of Juvenal; in which morals were enervated by luxury; the heart hardened by the institutions of domestic slavery and the amphitheatre; sentiments debased by the tyranny of government; and every characteristic and manly principle subverted, by the mixture and confusion of nations in one great city."—[Misc. Works; London, 1796: Vol. 2: pp. 100, 108.

XXXIV.: p. 260.—Canon Rawlinson, in a striking passage, traces the frightful viciousness of the early imperial period to this want of any clear expectation of future life:—

"Men generally looked to this life as alone worthy of their concern or care, and did not deem it necessary to provide for a future the coming of which was so uncertain. All thought was concentrated on the modes of attaining in this world the utmost possible enjoyment, the infinite capacity of man for enjoyment vainly seeking to obtain satisfaction within the narrow term of a human lifetime. . . Death, ever drawing nearer, ever snatching away the precious moments of life, leaving men's store perpetually less and less, and sure to come at last and claim them bodily for his victims, made life, except in the moments of high-wrought excitement, a continual misery. Hence the greatness and intensity of the heathen vices; hence the enormous ambition, the fierce vengeance, the extreme luxury, the strange shapes of profligacy; hence the madness of their revels, the savageness of their sports, the perfection of their sensualism; hence Apician feasts, and Capuan retirements, and Neronic cruelties, and Vitellian gormandism; they before whose eyes the pale spectre ever stood, waving them onward with his skeleton hand to the black gulf of annihilation, fled to these and similar excesses to escape, if it might be, for a few short hours the thought which haunted them, the terror which dogged their steps. In the wild carelessness of the Anacreontic drinking-song, in the mad license of comedy, . . we see the efforts made to shut out for a while the sense of the Awful Presence, and to divert the soul from brooding on a woe felt to be intolerable."—["University Sermons"; London ed., 1861: pp. 40, 41.

XXXV.: p. 261.—In justice to Seneca, some of his words on this matter should be quoted, and not merely referred to:—

"Nothing is so destructive to good morals as to sit long in one of these spectacles; then most easily vices steal upon one through the pleasure which he feels. I return more greedy, ambitious, luxurious, yes, more cruel and inhuman, because I have been among such men. By chance I happened upon the noon-day shows, expecting sports, and jests, and something of relaxation, by which men's eyes might be rested from the sight of human blood. On the contrary, whatever had before been fought had been matter of mercy; now, all trifles omitted, there are simple murders; combatants have nothing to cover them; exposed in their whole bodies to the stroke, they never strike in vain. . . In the morning, men are exposed to lions and bears, at noon to their own spectators. Those who kill are commanded to be set against those who are to kill; and they keep him who is conqueror for another slaughter. The end of those fighting is death; by sword and fire the

thing is completed. . . 'The spectacle is intermitted; in the meantime men have their throats cut, lest nothing should be done.' Come now! Do you not understand that such evil examples as these run back upon those who do such things?"—[Epist. VII.: 2, 5.

It can hardly be denied, however, that there is an important element of truth in the scornful words in which Macaulay has satirized Seneca:

"It is very reluctantly that Seneca can be brought to confess that any philosopher had ever paid the smallest attention to anything that could possibly promote what vulgar people would consider as the well-being of mankind. . . No, to be sure. The business of a philosopher was to declaim in praise of poverty with two millions sterling out at usury, to meditate epigrammatic conceits about the evils of luxury, in gardens which moved the envy of sovereigns, to rant about liberty, while fawning on the insolent and pampered freedmen of a tyrant, to celebrate the divine beauty of virtue with the same pen which had just before written a defence of the murder of a mother by a son."—[Essay on Bacon; "Works": London ed., 1873: Vol. VI: pp. 205–6.

XXXVI.: p. 261.—"He [Nero] planned a new fashion of city houses, and that there should be piazzas before blocks and dwellings, from the balconies of which fires might be arrested; and he constructed these at his own expense. He had it in contemplation to extend the walls as far as to Ostia, and thence to bring the sea into the old part of the city by a canal. A limit was set to extravagant expenses; public suppers were restricted to the distribution of food in baskets; the Christians were smitten down with tortures—a class of men holding a recent and mischievous superstition; the revels of the charioteers were forbidden; and the factious partisans of the ballet-dancers were exiled, with themselves."—[Suetonius: "Nero"; XVI.

XXXVII.: p. 261.—"The circus supplies these opportunities to a fresh love, and the sand sprinkled in the agitated forum for the sad offices. On that sand often has the son of Venus fought; and he who has been looking upon wounds receives a wound. While he talks, and touches her hand, and asks for the programme of races, and inquires which has conquered, having given his pledge for the bet, wounded he sighs, and becomes himself part of the spectacle on which he came to look."—[Ovid: Ars Amator.; I. 163–170.

More particular directions are given, 138–163; and are dwelt upon in Amor. III.: EL. II.

XXXVIII.: p. 261.—"But however these things and the like may attract attention or be estimated [traditions concerning the founding of the city], I shall not consider of any great moment. For myself, I

would have each man intently apply his mind to these points: what their life, and what their manners were; by what men, and through what skillful endeavors, both in peace and in war, their empire was acquired and increased. Then, as discipline, little by little, wasted away, let him follow in his mind their moral habits, at first yielding as if slightly; then, as more and more they sank away; then as they began to fall precipitately; until he comes fairly to these times of ours, in which we are neither able to endure our vices, nor the remedies for them."—[Livy: Præf. Histor.

XXXIX.: p. 262.—"I approach a work opulent in calamities, gloomy with combats, full of discord through civil strifes, ferocious even in peace itself. . . The city devastated with conflagrations, in which its most ancient shrines were consumed, and the Capitol was itself burned by the hands of citizens; religious rites polluted; multiplied adulteries; the sea full of exiles; the rocks made pestilential by slaughter. In the city a still more cruel rage. Nobility, wealth, honors laid aside and honors borne, regarded as criminal; and the surest destruction the consequence of virtues."—[Tacitus: Histor.: I.: 2.

XL.: p. 263.—

"On that hard Pagan world disgust
And secret loathing fell:
Deep weariness and sated lust
Made human life a hell.

"In his cool hall, with haggard eyes,
The Roman noble lay;
He drove abroad, in furious guise,
Along the Appian way;

"He made a feast, drank fierce and fast,
And crown'd his hair with flowers—
No easier nor no quicker pass'd
The impracticable hours."

[Matthew Arnold: Poems; London ed., 1869: Vol. 2: p. 244.

XLI.: p. 264.—"On the same side [with the Jews] were the Greeks, with their Chaos of Religion, full of mingled beauty and ugliness, virtue and vice, piety and lust, still more confounded by the deep mysteries of the priest, the cunning speculations of the sophist, the awful sublimity of the sage, by the sweet music of the philosopher and moralist and poet, who spoke and sung of man and God in strains so sweet and touching; there were rites in public; solemn and pompous ceremonies, processions, festivals, games to captivate that wondrous people; there were secret mysteries, to charm the curious and attract

the thoughtful; Greece, with her Arts, her Science, her Heroes and her Gods, her Muse, voluptuous and sweet.

"There too was Rome, the Queen of nations, and Conqueror of the world, who sat on her seven-hilled throne, and cast her net eastward and southward and northward and westward, over tower and city and realm and empire, and drew them to herself, a giant's spoil; with a Religion haughty and insolent, that looked down on the divinities of Greece and Egypt, of 'Ormus and the Ind,' and gave them a shelter in her capacious robe; Rome, with her practised skill; Rome, with her eloquence; Rome, with her pride; Rome, with her arms, hot from the conquest of a thousand kings.

"On the same side are all the institutions of all the world; its fables, wealth, armies, pride, its folly and its sin. On the other hand, are a few Jewish fishermen, untaught, rude, and vulgar; not free from gross errors; despised at home, not known abroad; collected together in the name of a young carpenter, who died on the gallows, and whom they declared to be risen from the dead; men with no ritual, no learning, no books, no brass in their purse, no philosophy in their mind, no eloquence on their tongue. A Roman skeptic might tell how soon these fanatics would fall out, and destroy themselves, after serving as a terror to the maids and a sport to the boys of a Jewish hamlet, and so that 'detestable superstition' come to an end!"—[Theodore Parker: "Discourse of Religion"; Boston ed., 1843: pp. 310–311.

XLII.: p. 264.—"The destruction of Jerusalem put an end to the outward existence of the Jewish nationality. The temple fell, the sacrifices ceased. . . Spread abroad over the earth, Judaism henceforth was united only by the common Law, and by the common doctrine contained in the newly collected Talmud. Thus it became completely separated from Christianity. Talmudic Judaism severed all the connections which had hitherto bound it to Christianity. Henceforth three times every day in the synagogues was invoked the awful curse on the renegades, the Christians. . . It was therefore no longer possible to confound the Christians with the Jews. Henceforth they were recognized by the heathen as a *genus tertium*—a third party beside Heathenism and Judaism."—[Uhlhorn: "Conflict of Christianity"; New York ed., 1879: pp. 253–4.

XLIII.: p. 265.—As an example of the forms of address, at once tender and austere, by Christian teachers to the higher social classes at Rome, nothing perhaps is better than the following passage from Jerome, concluding his eulogy of Paul, the first Hermit:—

"I am inclined, at the end of my treatise, to ask those who know not the extent of their patrimonies, who cover their houses with mar

bles, who sew the price of whole farms into their garments with a single thread, What was ever wanting to this naked old man? Ye drink from a gem; he satisfied nature from the hollow of his hands. Ye weave gold into your tunics; he had not even the vilest garment of your bond-slave. But, on the other hand, to that poor man Paradise is open; you, gilded as you are, Gehenna will receive. He, though naked, kept the garment of Christ; you, clothed in silk, have lost Christ's robe. Paul lies covered with meanest dust, to rise in glory; you are crushed by wrought sepulchres of stone, to burn with all your works. Spare, I beseech you, yourselves; spare, at least, the riches which you love. Why do you wrap even your dead in golden vestments? Cannot the corpses of the rich decay, save in silk? I beseech thee, whosoever thou art that readest this, to remember Hieronymus the sinner, who, if the Lord gave him choice, would much sooner choose Paul's tunic with his merits, than the purple of kings with their punishments."—["The Hermits"; Philadelphia ed., 1868: pp. 94–5. Canon Kingsley's trans.

XLIV.: p. 265.—"*They* deserve the name of faction who conspire to bring odium on good men and virtuous, who cry out against innocent blood, offering as the justification of their enmity the baseless plea that they think the Christians the cause of every public disaster, of every affliction with which the people are visited. If the Tiber rises as high as the city walls, if the Nile does not send its waters up over the fields, if the heavens give no rain, if there is an earthquake, if there is a famine or a pestilence, straightway the cry is, 'Away with the Christians, to the Lion!'"—[Tertullian: Apolog.: 40.

So Augustine said nearly two centuries later:—"In recounting these things, I have still to address myself to ignorant men; so ignorant, indeed, as to give birth to the common saying, 'Drought and Christianity go hand in hand.'"—[Civ. Dei: II.: 3.

XLV.: p. 265.—Plato had said long before, what should have been realized, if anywhere, in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, but what the persecuted Christians hardly found there:—

"Until philosophers are kings, or the kings and princes of this world have the spirit and power of philosophy, and political greatness and wisdom meet in one, and those commoner natures who follow either to the exclusion of the other are compelled to stand aside, cities will never cease from ill—no, nor the human race, as I believe—and then only will this our State have a possibility of life, and behold the light of day."—["Republic": V.: 473.

XLVI.: p. 265.—"Though under the oppressive bondage of the body,

though led away by depraving customs, though enervated by lust and passion, though in slavery to false gods—yet, whenever the soul comes to itself, as out of surfeit, or a sleep, or a sickness, and attains something of its natural soundness, it speaks of God; using no other word, because this is the peculiar name of the true God. . . O noble testimony of the soul, by nature Christian!"—[Tertullian: Apol.: 17. (Comp. Test. Animæ, *passim*).

It is essentially the same thought which Augustine afterward expressed in his "Confessions":—"Thou movest us to delight in praising Thee; for Thou hast formed us for Thyself, and our hearts are restless till they find rest in Thee!"—[I.: 1.

XLVII. : p. 266.—"Christ, as the founder of a system of mundane Ethics, revises and overrules all bygone moralities, issuing anew whatever is of unchangeable obligation, and consigning to non-observance or oblivion whatever had a temporary force, or a local reason. With a touch, with a word—a word full of far-reaching inferences—he rules the ages to come: and he so sends morality forward, he so launches it into the boundless futurity of the human system on earth, as that it shall need no redressing, no complementing, no retrenchment, even in the most distant era. This is done, not by systematic codification, but by the characteristic practice of *instancing* at the critical points, and wherever an ambiguity is to be excluded. Beauty of contour, in the human form, is secured by the ligaments at the joints, and by adhesions of the integuments to the bony structure at places. It is so that in Christ's apothegms, in his apologues, and in his pointed replies to sophistical questions, he imparts a divine symmetry and majesty to his body of laws. . . Christ's law wears the grace of heaven, though it be firmly knit together, as law must be if it is to hold a place in a world such as this."—[Isaac Taylor: "Restoration of Belief"; Boston ed., 1867: pp. 261–2.

XLVIII.: p. 267.—"The exclusion from the greater mysteries at Eleusis of all who had not been duly prepared and passed through the little ones, was so strictly kept to that the warders of the temple there once had two Acarnanians put to death only for having gone in with the crowd, by mistake, to the consecrated area. But if purity was desired in those who were to be initiated, we are not to understand by the expression, moral purity of soul, the idea of which, to the extent we are acquainted with it as an ordinance of religion, was quite strange to heathendom. If a man had touched a corpse, he was just as impure as if he had committed murder; and if one killed another, whether unintentionally or deliberately, the acts were here equivalent. Hence, too, hetairai were unhesitatingly admitted to the mysteries, and the

means of purification were entirely external and mechanical. They consisted in part of ablutions in salt and fresh water, and principally of fumigation with sulphur, and smearing with the blood of a sow in young. . . Plato, speaking with unmistakable reference to the Eleusinia, . . thought that this rite served only to strengthen and make a man secure in unrighteousness."—[Döllinger: "The Gentile and the Jew"; London ed., 1862: Vol. 1: pp. 191, 200. (See the Republic, II.: 363.)

XLIX.: p. 267.—Tacitus refers to Christianity simply as 'a destructive superstition'; Suetonius, as 'a new and malefic superstition'; Pliny the Younger, as 'a perverse and extravagant superstition.' Epictetus' reference to the Christians is incidental and disdainful: "And is it possible that any one should be thus disposed toward these things [the guards and swords of a tyrant] from madness, and the Galileans from mere habit, yet that no one should be able to learn, from reason and demonstration, that God made all things in the world, and all its parts for the use of the whole?"—[IV.: 7.

Marcus Aurelius' mention of them is equally slight and contemptuous:—"What a soul is that which is ready, if at any moment it must be separated from the body, and ready either to be extinguished or dispersed, or to continue to exist; but so that this readiness comes from a man's own judgment, not from mere obstinacy, as with the Christians."—["Meditations": XI.: 3.

L.: p. 268.—"A final clearance of the gods and goddesses was to be effected: and this, not by the gentle means of philosophic suasion, but by bringing thousands of the people, in all provinces of the Roman empire, into a position of unavoidable resistance toward the government, neither party finding it possible to retreat from its ground; not the government, because the first principles of the empire were impugned by this opposition; not the Christian people, because it was not a mere opinion that sustained their position, but a belief toward a PERSON, whose authority they regarded as paramount to every other."—[Isaac Taylor: "Restoration of Belief"; Boston ed., 1867: p. 72.

LI.: p. 269.—"We who bear wisdom not in our dress but in our mind, we do not speak great things, but we live them; we boast that we have attained what they [the philosophers] sought for with the utmost eagerness, and have not been able to find. . . How beautiful is the spectacle to God when a Christian does battle with pain; when he is drawn up against threats, and punishments, and tortures; when, mocking the noise of death, he treads under-foot the horror of the executioner; when he raises up his liberty against kings and princes, and

yields to God alone, whose he is; when, triumphant and victorious, he tramples upon the very man who has pronounced sentence against him! . . Yet boys and young women among us treat with contempt crosses, and tortures, wild beasts, and all the bugbears of punishment, with the inspired patience of suffering."—[Minucius Felix: "Octavius": XXXVIII., XXXVII.

LII: p. 271.—The expectations of Christians concerning the Immortality are abundantly shown in the catacombs:—

"The phrase *In pace* appears in an epitaph A.D. 290, and after the middle of the next century is rarely absent; sometimes standing alone, sometimes coupled with the word used to denote the death or burial, or with the verb *quiescit*. The prayer, 'Mayest thou live among the saints,' is found on an epitaph of A.D. 268; and 'Mayest thou be refreshed with the holy souls,' in the year 291; and in the year 307, 'Sweet soul, drink and live.' . . Another particular worth mentioning about these ancient epitaphs is that the souls of the deceased are not unfrequently called '*spiritus sancti*.' . . Scratched in the mortar around a grave in the lower part of the cemetery of Thraso: 'Prima, thou livest in the glory of God, and in the peace of our Lord Jesus Christ.'"—[Northcote: "Epitaphs of the Catacombs"; London ed., 1879: pp. 30, 41, 89.

LIII.: p. 271.—"For the sanctities of domestic life, and for the pathetic beauty of maternal love, no poet had a deeper sense than Euripides. The following lines, spoken apparently by Danaë, make us keenly regret the loss of the tragedy that bore her name; all the tenderness of the Simonidean elegy upon her fable seems to inspire the maiden's longing for a child to fill her arms, and sport upon her knee:—

> 'He, leaping to my arms and in my bosom,
> Might haply sport, and with a crowd of kisses
> Might win my soul forth; for there is no greater
> Love-charm than close companionship, my Father.'

"And where was the charm of children ever painted with more feeling than in these verses from the same play?

> 'Lady, the sun's light to our eyes is dear,
> And fair the tranquil reaches of the sea,
> And flowery earth in May, and bounding waters;
> And so right many fair things I might praise;
> Yet nothing is so radiant and so fair
> As for souls childless, with desire sore-smitten,
> To see the light of babes about the house.'

"In the next quotation, beautiful by reason of its plainness, a young man is reminded of the sweetness of a mother's love:—

'Nought is more dear to children than their mother.
Sons, love your mother; for there is no love
Sweeter than this that can be loved by men.'"

[Symonds: "Greek Poets": Second Series; London ed., 1876: pp. 289–290.

LIV.: p. 272.—Tertullian's exhortations against feminine luxury may sometimes have been needed, but they mark the vast distinction between the women to whom they were addressed and those of the society of the earlier Empire:—"I know not whether the wrist that has been wont to be surrounded with the bracelet like a palm-leaf, will endure till it grow into the numb hardness of its own chain! I know not whether the leg that has rejoiced in the anklet will suffer itself to be squeezed into the gyve! I fear that the neck beset with pearl and emerald nooses will give no room to the broadsword! Wherefore, blessed sisters, let us meditate on hardships, and we shall not feel them; let us abandon luxuries, and we shall not regret them. Let us cast away earthly ornaments, if we desire heavenly; . . clothe yourselves with the silk of uprightness, the fine linen of holiness, the purple of modesty. Thus appareled, you will have God as your Lover." —["On Female Dress": II.: 13.

LV.: p. 272.—Tacitus treats it as almost a recompense for the terrible calamity of the fall of the amphitheatre at Fidenae, by which he says that fifty thousand persons were killed or maimed—[Suetonius numbers the killed alone at twenty thousand: "Tiberius," XL.]—that "while the disaster was yet recent, the houses of those of high rank were opened, supplies and physicians were widely furnished; and the city in those days, though sad in aspect, was likened again to the customs of those in old days who were wont after great battles to succor the wounded with largesses and with care."—[Annal. IV.: 63.

LVI.: p. 272.—The Stoical temper is well expressed by Seneca, in many passages like these:

"He [the wise man] will assist others in the time of their tears, but will not join in these; he will give his hand to the shipwrecked, hospitality to the banished wanderer, alms to the needy, etc., etc.: but he will do all this with an undisturbed spirit, an unchanged countenance. The wise man will therefore not be moved with pity, but will help others, will benefit them, as one born for the common assistance and the public good, of which he would give to each his share. . . Pity is a vice of minds too favorably disposed toward suffering."—[De Clem. II.: 6.

"A wise man is not afflicted by the loss of children, or of friends; he bears their death in the same spirit in which he expects his own; he

does not fear the one, any more than he grieves for the other.' –[Ep LXXIV.

"One is ungrateful; he has not done me an injury, but himself; I had the benefit of my gift when I bestowed it; nor will I on this account give more sluggishly, but with greater diligence; what I have lost in this one, I will regain in others. Indeed I will confer benefit again on this very man, and, like a good husbandman, will conquer the sterility of the soil by care and culture. . . It is not a mark of magnanimity to give and to lose; this is the evidence of such greatness of mind, to lose and still to give."—[De Benef.: VII.: 32.

LVII.: p. 273.—"Further, admonishing and showing whence we may be clean and purged, He [the Lord] added that alms must be given. He who is pitiful teaches and warns us that pity must be shown; and because He seeks to save those whom at a great cost He has redeemed, He teaches that those who after the grace of baptism have become foul may once more be cleansed [by alms-giving]."—[Cyprian: "Works and Alms"; 2.

"We who valued above all things the acquisition of wealth and possessions, now bring what we have into a common stock, and communicate to every one in need; we who hated and destroyed one another, and on account of their different manners would not live with men of a different tribe, now, since the coming of Christ, live familiarly with them, and pray for our enemies, and endeavour to persuade those who hate us unjustly to live conformably to the good precepts of Christ, to the end that they may become partakers with us of the same joyful hope of a reward from God, the ruler of all."—[Justin Martyr: Apol. I.: 14.

"Do you therefore, O bishops, be solicitous about their maintenance, being in nothing wanting to them; exhibiting to the orphans the care of parents; to the widows, the care of husbands; to those of suitable age, marriage; to the artificer, work; to the unable, commiseration; to the strangers, a house; to the hungry, food; to the thirsty, drink; to the naked, clothing; to the sick, visitation; to the prisoners, assistance. Besides these, have a greater care of the orphans, that nothing may be wanting to them. . . But an orphan who, by reason of his youth, or he that by the feebleness of old age, or the incidence of disease, or the bringing up of many children, receives alms—such a one shall not only not be blamed, but shall be commended; for he shall be esteemed an altar to God, and be honoured by God."—["Apostolical Constitutions": IV.: 2, 3.

"St. Jerome relates how Fabiola, the descendant of the Fabii, . . sold all her goods, and raised out of the proceeds a hospital for the poor, which she served in person. The daughter of consuls and dictators

dressed the wounds of the maimed and miserable, of slaves whom their owners had discarded, carried the epileptic sufferers on her own shoulders, staunched the blood of sores, and in fine, as St. Jerome said, performed all the services which wealthy and charitable Christians were accustomed to transact by the hands of their slaves. But a stronger faith conquered all natural disgust; and therefore popular veneration attached itself to the woman who had so scorned and trampled upon her hereditary grandeur, that she might become the serving-maid of misfortune."—[Fréd. Ozanam: "Hist. of Civilization, etc."; London ed., 1867: Vol. II.: p. 68.

"Many of our brethren, through their exceeding great love and brotherly affection, neglecting themselves, and befriending one another, constantly superintending the sick, ministering to their wants without fear and without cessation, and healing them in Christ, have died most willingly with them. Filled with disease from others, catching disorders from their neighbors, they expressed the pain from them and infused it into themselves. . . The best of our brethren, indeed, have departed life in this way, some presbyters, some deacons, and of the people those that were exceedingly commended. . . They took up the bodies of the saints with their open hands and on their bosoms, cleaned their eyes, and closed their mouths, carried them on their shoulders, and composed their limbs, embraced, clung to them, prepared them decently, washing and wrapping them up, and ere long they themselves shared in receiving the same offices; those that survived always following those before them."—[Ep. of Dionysius, after Plague at Alexandria: Eusebius: Eccl. Hist. VII.: 22.

LVIII.: p. 273.—"A decent portion was reserved for the maintenance of the bishop and his clergy; a sufficient sum was allotted for the expenses of the public worship, of which the feasts of love, the *agapœ* as they were called, constituted a very pleasing part. The whole remainder was the sacred patrimony of the poor. According to the discretion of the bishop, it was distributed to support widows and orphans, the lame, the sick, and the aged of the community; to comfort strangers and pilgrims; and to alleviate the misfortunes of prisoners and captives, more especially when their sufferings had been occasioned by their firm attachment to the cause of religion. . . The pagans, while they derided the doctrines, acknowledged the benevolence of the new sect. . . There is some reason likewise to believe that great numbers of infants who, according to the inhuman practice of the times, had been exposed by their parents, were frequently rescued from death, baptized, educated, and maintained by the piety of the Christians, and at the expense of the public treasure."—[Gibbon "Decline and Fall"; Boston ed., 1854: Vol. II.: pp. 200–201.

"Neither the religion nor the philosophy of Greece and Rome tended to comfort the poor. The divinities were cruel; the Stoic affected to despise the sufferings of the indigent; the Epicurean took no thought of them. Throughout the vast regions of Mogul, India, and China, the use of hospitals is unknown to this day. In no country did Christianity find such institutions existing. . . The history of their rise and progress can be traced in few words. In the year 380 the first hospital in the West was founded by Fabiola, a devout Roman lady, without the walls of Rome. St. Jerome says, expressly, that 'this was the first of all.' And he adds that it was a country-house, destined to receive the sick and the infirm, who before used to lie stretched on the public ways. The Pilgrims' hospital at Rome, built by Pammachius, became also celebrated. In 330, the priest Zotichus, who had followed Constantine to Byzantium, established in that city, under his protection, a hospice for strangers and pilgrims. . . St. Basil, who founded the first hospitals of Asia, mentions a house for the reception of the sick and of travellers, near the city of Cesarea, which became afterwards the ornament of the country, and like a second city. St. Chrysostom built several hospitals at Constantinople."—["Mores Catholici"; London ed., 1836; Vol. 7: pp. 408–9.

LIX.: p. 274.—Tacitus speaks of Pomponia Græcina, a distinguished woman, married to Plautius, who received an ovation on his return from Britain, as accused of "a foreign superstition," and remitted to the judgment of her husband. Being pronounced innocent by him, she lived to a great age, but in continual sadness, which in the end turned out to her glory.—[Annal. XIII.: 32.

A common interpretation of the incident has been that she was accused of being a Christian: "And this interpretation has lately received important confirmation by the discovery in a very ancient crypt, near the catacomb of St. Callixtus, of the gravestones of a Pomponius Græcinus, and other members of the same family, showing that in a very early period of the Church's history some of them were undoubtedly Christian."—["Roma Sotterranea": (Northcote and Brownlow) London ed., 1879: Vol. 1: pp. 82, 83.

LX. p. 274.—"Flavius Sabinus seems to have had four children, of whom the most conspicuous was Titus Flavius Clemens, the consul and martyr. He married the daughter of his cousin who was sister to the Emperor Domitian, and called by the same name as her mother, Flavia Domitilla. . . The facts of Clemens's martyrdom and Domitilla's banishment are attested by Dio Cassius. 'The charge of atheism was brought against them both, on which charge many others also had been condemned, going after the manners and customs of the Jews;

and some of them were put to death, and others had their goods confiscated; but Domitilla was only banished to Pandatereia.'"—["Roma Sotterranea": (Northcote and Brownlow); London ed., 1879: Vol. 1: pp. 84, 85.

Gibbon says of the same facts: "The guilt imputed to their charge was that of atheism and Jewish manners; a singular association of ideas which cannot with any propriety be applied except to the Christians, as they were obscurely and imperfectly viewed by the magistrates and by the writers of that period."—["The Decline and Fall": London ed., 1848: Vol. 2: p. 183.

LXI.: p. 274.—"The tradition regarding this emperor [Hadrian] that he caused temples to be dedicated to Christ, is the more improbable, because he entertained very erroneous and unfavorable notions of the Christians. . . Elagabalus (218–222) went so far as to think of blending the Christian religion with the worship of his god. Severus Alexander (222–235) and his mother, Julia Mammæa, were addicted to a similar but more rational syncretism, and gave the Christians many proofs of their good-will."—[Gieseler: "Church History"; New York ed., 1876: Vol. 1: pp. 125, 177.

"In his domestic chapel he [Alexander Severus] placed the statues of Abraham, of Orpheus, of Apollonius, and of Christ, as an honor due to those respectable sages who had instructed mankind in the various modes of addressing the homage to the supreme and universal Deity."—[Gibbon: "The Decline and Fall"; London ed., 1848: Vol. II.: p. 209.

LXII.: p. 274.—"Undoubtedly various feelings entered into the demand for the persecution of the Christians. The magistrate regarded them as transgressors of a principle in public law, as evil-doers, as fosterers of treason and sedition; and was disposed to punish them accordingly. But the people generally, and sometimes the rulers themselves, yielded to a superstitious impulse in ascribing to their rejection of sacrifice and of idol-worship every public calamity, which testified, as they supposed, to the wrath of the offended deities. The execution of the Christians was thus popularly regarded as a means of propitiation."—[Merivale: "Boyle Lectures"; New York ed., 1865: p. 251 (note).

LXIII.: p. 275.—"Suffer me to become food for the wild beasts, through whose instrumentality it will be granted me to attain to God. I am the wheat of God; and let me be ground by the teeth of the wild beasts, that I may be found the pure bread of Christ."—[Ignatius: Ep. to Romans: IV.

"But when they were about also to fix him [Polycarp] with nails, he said, 'Leave me as I am; for He that giveth me strength to endure the fire, will also enable me, without your securing me by nails, to remain without moving in the pile.' They did not nail him then, but simply bound him. And he . . looked up to heaven, and said, 'O Lord God Almighty, . . I give Thee thanks that Thou hast counted me worthy of this day and this hour, that I should have a part in the number of Thy martyrs, in the cup of Thy Christ, to the resurrection of eternal life."—[Ep. of Church at Smyrna: XIII., XIV.

LXIV.: p. 275.—"Blandina was bound and suspended on a stake, and thus exposed to the assaults of wild beasts; and as she thus appeared to hang after the manner of the cross, by her earnest prayers she infused much alacrity into the contending martyrs. . . After all these, on the last day of the shows of gladiators, Blandina was again brought forth, together with Ponticus, a youth about fifteen years old. . . And thus, after scourging, after exposure to the beasts, after roasting, she was finally thrown into a net, and cast before a bull; and when she had been well tossed by the animal, and had now no longer any sense of what was done to her, by reason of her firm hope, confidence, faith, and her communion with Christ, she too was despatched. Even the Gentiles confessed that no woman among them had ever endured sufferings as many and great as these."—[Eusebius: Hist. Eccl.: V.: 1. (Letter from Christians in Gaul.)

Renan has clearly recognized the immense effect, even social and political, of the wonderful example of Blandina:—

"Blandina belonged [as a slave] to a Christian lady, who had no doubt introduced her to the faith of Christ. The true emancipation of the slave, the emancipation by heroism, was in large part her work. The pagan slave was considered essentially vicious, without moral life. What better way could there be of reinstating him, and setting him free, than by showing him capable of the same virtues, and the same sacrifices, with the free man? How was it possible to treat with disdain women who had been seen in the amphitheatre loftier in spirit than their mistresses themselves? . . We hasten to say that it was not Spartacus who overthrew slavery; it was, far more, Blandina."—[Renan: Marc-Aurèle; Paris ed., 1882: pp. 312, 613.

LXV.: p. 275.—"Many things are also related of her [Potamiæna's] fortitude in suffering for faith in Christ; and, at length, after horrible tortures and pains, the very relation of which makes one shudder, she was, with her mother Macella, committed to the flames. It is said that the Judge, Aquila by name, after having applied the severest tortures to her on every part of her body, at last threatened that he would give

her body to be abused by the gladiators. [Having escaped this, and being ordered to immediate execution] she nobly sustained the issue; having boiling pitch poured over different parts of her body, by little and little, from her feet up to the crown of her head. Such, then, was the conflict which this noble virgin endured."

It does not surprise one to read, further, that Basilides, the officer to whom her execution was committed, became himself a Christian after this scene, received baptism, and "bearing a distinguished testimony to the Lord, was beheaded."—[Eusebius: Hist. Eccl.: VI.: 5.

LXVI.: p. 276.—"'After a few days, we were taken into the dungeon, and I was very much afraid, because I had never felt such darkness. O terrible day! O the fierce heat of the shock of the soldiery, because of the crowds! I was very unusually distressed by my anxiety for my infant. . . Such solicitude I suffered for many days, and I obtained leave for my infant to remain in the dungeon with me; and forthwith I grew strong; and the dungeon became to me as it were a palace, so that I preferred being there to being elsewhere. . . And I grieved over the gray hairs of my father, that he alone of all my family would not rejoice over my passion. And I comforted him, saying, On that scaffold [high platform] whatever God wills shall happen. For know that we are not placed in our own power, but in that of God. And he departed from me in sorrow.' . . Perpetua is first led in. She was tossed, and fell on her loins; and when she saw her tunic torn from her side, she drew it over her as a veil, rather mindful of her modesty than her suffering. Then she was called for again, and bound up her dishevelled hair; for it was not becoming for a martyr to suffer with dishevelled hair, lest she should appear to be mourning in her glory. . . And when the populace called for them into the midst, that as the sword penetrated their body they might make their eyes partners in the murder, they [the martyrs] rose up of their own accord, and transferred themselves whither the people wished; but they first kissed one another, that they might consummate their martyrdom with the kiss of peace."—["Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas": I.: 2; II.: 1; VI.: 3, 4.

LXVII.: p. 277.—"And why have I also surrendered myself to death, to fire, to the sword, to the wild beast? But he who is near to the sword is near to God; he that is among the wild beasts is in company with God; provided only he be so in the Name of Jesus Christ."—[Ignatius: Ep. to Smyrnæans: IV.

"You have borne the sharpest examination by torture, even unto the glorious consummation, and have not yielded to sufferings, but rather the sufferings have given way to you. The end of torments,

which the tortures themselves did not give, the crown has given. . . The tortured stood more brave than the torturers; and the limbs, beaten and torn as they were, overcame the hooks that bent and tore them. The scourge, often repeated with all its rage, could not conquer invincible faith, even although the membranes which enclosed the entrails were broken, and it was no longer the limbs but the wounds of the servants of God that were tortured. Blood was flowing which might quench the blaze of persecution, which might subdue the flames of Gehenna, with its glorious gore."—[Cyprian: Ep. VIII.

"They have put fetters on your feet, and have bound your blessed limbs, and the temples of God, with disgraceful chains, as if the spirit also could be bound with the body, or your gold could be stained by the contact of iron. . . Oh, feet blessedly bound, which are loosed not by the smith but by the Lord! Oh, feet blessedly bound, which are guided to Paradise, in the way of salvation! Oh, feet, lingering for a while among the fetters and cross-bars, but to run quickly to Christ on a glorious road!"—[Cyprian: Ep. LXXVI. (to Martyrs in the mines).

"It is of God's permitting, that we thus suffer. For, but very lately, in condemning a Christian woman to the pimp rather than to the lion, you made confession that a taint on our purity is considered among us something more terrible than any punishment and any death."—[Tertullian: Apolog. 50.

Of Sanctus, Eusebius says:—"An ambitious struggle in torturing arose between the governor and the tormentors against him; so that when they had nothing further that they could inflict, they at last fastened red-hot plates of brass to the most tender parts of his body. But he continued unsubdued and unshaken, firm in his confession, refreshed and strengthened by the celestial fountain of living water that flows from Christ. But the corpse itself was evidence of his sufferings, as it was one continued wound, mangled and shrivelled, that had entirely lost the form of man to the external eye."—[Eccl. Hist.: V.: 1.

LXVIII.: p. 277.—"In the first place, martyrdom is not in your power, but in the condescension of God; neither can you say that you have lost [by a preceding natural death] what you do not know whether you would deserve to receive. Then, besides, God, the Searcher of the reins and heart, sees you, and praises and approves you; and He who sees that your virtue was ready in you, will give you a reward for your virtue. . . It is one thing for the spirit to be wanting for martyrdom, and another for martyrdom to have been wanting for the spirit."—[Cyprian: "On the Mortality": 17.

"Since, O Son, thou desirest martyrdom, hear! Thou, indeed, desirest that which is a matter suited for the blessed. First of all, over

come the evil one with thy good acts, by living well; and when He, thy King, shall see thee, be thou secure. . . Even now, if thou hast conquered by good deeds, thou art a martyr in Him. Thou, therefore, who seekest to extol martyrdom with thy word, in peace clothe thyself with good deeds, and be secure."—[Commodianus: "Christian Discipline": LXII.

"If he who kills a man of God sins against God, he also who presents himself before the judgment-seat becomes guilty of his death. And such is the case with him who does not avoid persecution, but out of daring presents himself for capture. Such a one, so far as in him lies, becomes an accomplice in the crime of the persecutor. And if he also uses provocation, he is wholly guilty, challenging the wild beast."
[Clement of Alex.: "Stromata": IV.: 10.

LXIX.: p. 278.—"For I myself, too, when I was delighting in the doctrines of Plato, and heard the Christians slandered, and saw them fearless of death, and of all other things which are counted fearful, perceived that it was impossible that they could be living in wickedness and pleasure. For what sensual or intemperate man, or who that counts it good to feast on human flesh [of which Christians were accused], could welcome death, that he might be deprived of his enjoyments, and would not rather continue always the present life, and attempt to escape the observation of the rulers? And much less would he denounce himself, when the consequence would be death."—[Justin Martyr: Apology II.: XII.

LXX.: p. 279.—"It would be difficult to overrate its influence [that of Christianity] in the sphere we have next to examine. There is scarcely any other single reform so important in the moral history of mankind as the suppression of the gladiatorial shows, and this feat must be almost exclusively ascribed to the Christian Church. When we remember how extremely few of the best and greatest men of the Roman world had absolutely condemned the crimes of the amphitheatre, it is impossible to regard without the deepest admiration the unwavering and uncompromising consistency of the patristic denunciations. . . The extinction of the gladiatorial spectacles is, of all the results of early Christian influence, that upon which the historian can look with the deepest and most unmingled satisfaction. . . Christianity alone was powerful enough to tear this evil plant from the Roman soil."—[Lecky: "Hist. of European Morals"; New York ed., 1876: Vol. 2: pp. 36–7, 40, 41.

LXXI.: p. 279.—Under the light of the vivid Christian beneficence, and beneath the blaze of martyr-fires, the criticisms of Stuart Mill on the Christian morality read like the dreams of a dyspeptic recluse:—

"Christian morality (so-called) has all the characters of a reaction; it is, in great part, a protest against Paganism. Its ideal is negative, rather than positive; passive, rather than active; Innocence, rather than Nobleness; Abstinence from Evil, rather than energetic pursuit of Good; in its precepts (as has been well said), 'thou shalt not' predominates unduly over 'thou shalt.' In its horror of sensuality, it made an idol of asceticism, which has been gradually compromised away into one of legality. . . It is essentially a doctrine of passive obedience; it inculcates submission to all authorities found established; who, indeed, are not to be actively obeyed when they command what religion forbids, but who are not to be resisted, far less rebelled against, for any amount of wrong to ourselves. . . What little recognition the idea of obligation to the public obtains in modern morality, is derived from Greek and Roman sources, not from Christian."

Mr. Mill subsequently concedes that "every thing which is excellent in ethics may be brought within the sayings of Christ" without excessive violence to their language; but he leaves the preceding remarks unchanged.—[Essay "On Liberty"; Boston ed., 1863 : pp. 95–97.

. LXXII. : p. 280.—"Looking with human eyes, it is not possible to see how the evil could have been avoided. The wickedness long entrenched in the world; that under-current of sin which runs through the nations; the low civilization of the race; the selfishness of strong men, their awful wars; the hideous sins of slavery, polygamy; the oppression of the weak; the power of lust, brutality, and every sin,—these were obstacles that even Christianity could not sweep away in a moment, though strongest of the daughters of God. . . Let us judge these men lightly. Low as the church was in the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries, it yet represented the best interests of mankind, as no other institution."—[Theodore Parker: "Discourse of Religion": Boston ed., 1842 : pp. 403–4.

NOTES TO LECTURE IX.

NOTE I.: PAGE 288.—The following extracts, from widely differing authors, illustrate clearly the change referred to:—

"Nemesis was originally, as it appears, a goddess of nature, only known in particular localities, and honoured at Smyrna and Cyzicus, at Patræ, and in Asia Minor, but especially at Rhamnus in Attica; and in that character she was mother of Helena by Zeus. From the time of the Persian wars she acquired an ethical signification, and became the goddess of justice, assigning to each his measure, and giving every one his due,—the personification of the jealousy ascribed to the gods by the ancients; and hence she was contemplated often as an inimical power, morose and threatening toward the prosperous, but ever the avenger of all insolence."—[Döllinger: "The Gentile and the Jew"; London ed., 1862: Vol. 1: p. 99.

"Nemesis is the fundamental idea of the Greek drama. It appears strongest in Æschylus, as a prophetic and awful law, mysteriously felt, and terribly revealed. Sophocles uses it to point the deep moralities which govern human life. In Euripides it degenerates into something more akin to a sense of vicissitudes; it becomes more sentimental —less a religious or moral principle than a phenomenon inspiring fear and pity. . . Entirely to eliminate the idea of Nemesis which gave its character to Greek tragedy was what Euripides, had he been so inclined, could hardly have succeeded in effecting. Though he never impresses on our minds the dogma of an avenging deity, like Æschylus, or of an inevitable law, like Sophocles, he makes us feel the chance and change of human life, the helplessness of man, the stormy sea of passions, sorrows, and vicissitudes on which the soul is tossed. . . With him, the affairs of life are no longer based upon a firm foundation of Divine law, but gods intervene mechanically and freakishly like the magicians in Ariosto or Tasso. Their agency is valuable, not as determining the moral conduct of the personages, but as an exhibition of supernatural power which brings about a sudden revolution of events."—[Symonds: "Greek Poets": First Series; London ed., 1877: pp. 204, 215–17.

II.: p. 289.—"Nature! we are surrounded and embraced by her: powerless to separate ourselves from her, and powerless to penetrate beyond her. Without asking or warning, she snatches us up into her circling dance, and whirls us on until we are tired, and drop from her arms. . . She is always building up and destroying; but her workshop is inaccessible. . . She rejoices in illusion. Whoso destroys it in himself and others, him she punishes with the sternest tyranny. . . She tosses her children out of nothingness, and tells them not whence they came, nor whither they go. It is their business to run, she knows the road. She wraps man in darkness, and makes him forever long for light. She creates him dependent upon the earth, dull and heavy; yet is always shaking him until he attempts to soar above it. . . She is vanity of vanities; but not to us, to whom she has made herself of the greatest importance."—[Goethe: Aphorisms on Nature: trans. by T. H. Huxley, in "Nature," Vol. 1: pp. 9–10. (Goethe's "Werke"; Stuttgart, 1881; Band XXXVI.: S. 227, f.)

III.: p. 289.—"It teaches [the doctrine of transmigration] that the present life is but one of an indefinite series of existences which each individual soul is destined to pass through; that death is only the termination of one, and the entrance upon another, of the series. Further, it holds that all life is one in essence; that there is no fundamental difference between the vital principle of a human being and that of any other living creature; so that, when a soul quits its tenement of flesh, it may find itself next imprisoned in the body of some inferior animal; being, in fact, liable to make experience of all the various forms of life, in its progress toward the final consummation of its existence. . . The inexorable fate which dooms each creature to a repeated entrance upon a life full of so many miseries in the present, fraught with such dangers for the future, is what the Hindu dreads, and would escape. He flies from existence, as the sum of all miseries; the aim of his life is to make sure that it be the last of him. . . The antiquity of this strange doctrine, and its dominion over the popular mind of India, are clearly shown by the fact that even Buddhism, the popular revolution against the creeds and the forms of the Brahmanic religion, implicitly adopted it, venturing only to teach a new and more effective method of escaping from the bonds of existence into the longed-for freedom of nonentity."—[Prof. W. D. Whitney: "Oriental and Linguistic Studies": 1st Series; New York ed., 1872: pp. 46–7.

IV.: p. 290.—"They [the Egyptians] were also the first to broach the opinion that the soul of man is immortal, and that, when the body dies, it enters into the form of an animal which is born at the moment, thence passing on from one animal into another, until it has circled

through the forms of all the creatures which tenant the earth, the water, and the air, after which it enters again into a human frame, and is born anew. The whole period of the transmigration is, they say, three thousand years. There are Greek writers, some of an earlier, some of a later date, who have borrowed this doctrine from the Egyptians, and put it forward as their own. I could mention their names, but abstain from doing so."—[Herodotus: II.: 123.

"He himself [Empedocles, of Agrigentum] had already been bird shrub, and fish, young man and maiden. . . As even the spirits nearest of kin, when enclosed in strange bodies, did not recognize one another here below, it came to pass that by putting animals to a painful death, and eating them, the son sinned against the father, the children of her womb against their mother, for they fed on the flesh of their parents; and therefore the sparing of animal life, and abstinence from flesh-meat, became a sacred obligation. If the philosopher did not extend this further, to the vegetable world, he only abstained from so doing partly on the score of impossibility, partly on the hypothesis that by the destruction of vegetable existence the transition into a higher organism was rendered possible to the indwelling spirit."—[Döllinger: "The Gentile and the Jew"; London ed., 1862: Vol. 1: p. 265.

V.: p. 291.—"Connected with the re-awakening of the dead, at least in some of the more recent, or post-Christian, writings of the Persians, there is frequent mention of a glorious hero-prophet, by whose ministry, as one chief organ of Ormazd, the empire of the *devs* shall be subverted, earth herself shall be restored to something of her pristine glory, and the wrongs of man redressed. The name of this expected champion of the Perso-Aryan race is Sosiosh (the Benefactor). . . The meagre hint of Sosiosh, thus communicated in the early part of the Avesta, was expanded and embellished in the works of the Sassanian epoch, and especially in the *Bundehesh*. That benefactor was from first to last a *man;* and like two other beings, his precursors, now associated with him in the work of liberation, and each reigning in succession for a thousand years, he was distinctly held to be the offspring of the holy Zoroaster; yet the name of Sosiosh alone, as greatest or as last in order of the hero-prophets, was the rallying-point where Persians were accustomed to find refuge from the miseries of their present lot."—[Hardwick: "Christ, and other Masters"; London ed., 1882: pp. 566–7.

VI.: p. 291.—"Now comes the last age of the Cumæan Song; the great series of the centuries is born anew. At length the Virgin returns; returns the Saturnian reign; at length a new generation of men is sent down from high heaven."—[Virgil: Eclogue IV.: 4–7.

VII.: p. 291.—"But among all the useful institutions that demonstrate the superior excellence of the Roman Government, the most considerable perhaps is the opinion which the people are taught to hold concerning the gods; and that which other men regard as an object of disgrace, appears in my judgment to be the very thing by which this republic is chiefly sustained. I mean superstition; which is impressed with all its terrors, and which influences both the private actions of the citizens, and the public administration of the state, to a degree that can scarcely be exceeded. . . As the people are always fickle and inconstant, filled with irregular desires, precipitate in their passions, and prone to violence, there is no way to restrain them but by the dread of things unseen, and by the pageantry of terrifying fiction. The ancients therefore acted not absurdly, nor without good reason, when they inculcated the notions concerning the gods, and the belief of infernal punishments."—[Polybius: Gen. Hist.: VI.: Ex. 3.

This philosophy of the usefulness of religion was recognized by Voltaire himself, in the famous line on which he is said to have prided himself, that "If there were no God, it would be necessary to invent one" (Si Dieu n' existait pas, il faudrait l'inventer).—[Epitre, CXI.: Œuvres; Paris ed., 1876: Tom. II.: p. 649.

Part of Plutarch's essay on the "Fortune of the Romans" has been lost, but he seems to have expressed his governing thought about the matter in sentences like these, from the portion which we have:—

"I think it may be truly affirmed that, notwithstanding the fierce and lasting wars which have been between Virtue and Fortune, they did both amicably conspire to rear the structure of her [Rome's] vast empire and power, and join their united endeavours to finish the most beautiful work that ever was of human production. . . For want of one supreme ruler over all, while all aspired to rule, the world was filled with unspeakable violence, confusion, and revolution in all things, until such time as Rome was raised to its just strength and greatness, which, comprehending under her power many strange nations, and even transmarine dominions, did lay the foundation of firmness and stability in the greatest of human affairs; for by this vast compass of one and the same empire, government was secured as in an unmovable circle, resting upon the centre of peace. . . It is manifest to him that will reason aright, that the abundance of success which advanced the Roman empire to such vast power and greatness is not to be attributed to human strength and counsels, but to a certain divine impulse, and a full gale of running Fortune, which carried all before it that hindered the rising glory of the Romans."—[Plutarch: "Morals"; Boston ed., 1874: Vol. 4: pp. 199, 200, 214.

VIII.: p. 292.—"Never would the oracle at Delphi have been so

celebrated and famous, nor replenished with so many gifts from all peoples and kings, unless each age had had experience of the truth of its oracles. Now, for a long time, it has not done this [given true responses]. As then it is now in less repute, because the truth of its oracles is less surpassing, so formerly it could not have had so much renown except by reason of its preëminent truth. Perhaps the force of the earth, which agitated with a divine afflatus the mind of Pythia, has vanished with age; as we see certain streams dry up, or turned and twisted into another channel."—[Cicero: De Divin.: I.: 19.

Strabo said:—"Many things having already been said by us concerning the oracle of Ammon, we add only this: In ancient days, divination in general, and oracles, were held in the highest honor; now the same are completely neglected, the Romans being content with the oracular words of the Sibyl, and with Etruscan divination by inspection of entrails, interpretation of omens, and observations of the heavens. Therefore the oracle is almost wholly deserted, which was formerly held in such high esteem."—[Strabo: Rer. Geog: XVII.: 43; (Oxford ed., 1807: Tom. II.: p. 1152.)

IX.: p. 292.—"For at that time men were guests of the gods, and fed at the same tables with them, on account of their justice and piety. Hence, without any delay, and in a very conspicuous manner, the pious were honored by the gods, and the impious were punished. Afterwards, too, the pious were changed from men into gods; and these are even honored at present. . . Now, however, when vice has spread itself throughout every part of the earth, the divine nature is no longer produced out of the human; or, in other words, men are no longer gods, but are only dignified with the appellation in immoderate flattery; and in consequence of their unjust conduct while they live on the earth, they experience the wrath of divinity when they go hence."—[Pausanias: "Descript. of Greece": VIII.: 2.

X.: p. 292.—"He added to both the numbers and the dignity of the priests, and increased their revenues, especially in the case of the vestal virgins. When, to fill the place of one of these who had died, it was needful that another be taken [*lit.* be captured], and many solicited that the names of their daughters should not be placed upon the list, he swore that if either of his own grand-daughters were of competent age she should have been offered."—[Suetonius: Octav. August.: XXXI

"In order that the public esteem of the priests might be increased, and their own spirit be made more ardent for the sacred services to be performed, it was decreed [under Tiberius] that to the vestal virgin Cornelia, who had been taken in place of Scantia, two thousand great sesterces should be given [$80,000], and that as often as Augusta should

enter the theatre she should take her place in the seats of the vestals."—[Tacitus: Annal.: IV.: 16.

XI.: p. 293.—"After that, Lepidus being dead, he [Augustus] at length assumed the office of Pontifex Maximus, which he had not ventured to take while Lepidus lived, he caused the prophetical books of whatever sort, either in Greek or in Latin, to be brought together, and more than two thousand of those thus collected from all quarters he burned, the authors of them being unknown, or little adapted to their office; and only the Sibylline books he retained, and even these with a careful selection; and he deposited them in two gilded chests, at the base of the statue of the Palatine Apollo."—[Suetonius: Octav. August.: XXXI.

XII.: p. 294.—"At last he [Marius] hatched that execrable sedition, which wrought Rome more mischief than all her enemies together had done, as was indeed foreshown by the gods. For a flame broke forth of its own accord, from under the staves of the ensigns, and was with difficulty extinguished. Three ravens brought their young into the open road, and ate them, carrying the relics into the nest again. Mice having gnawed the consecrated gold in one of the temples, the keepers caught one of them, a female, in a trap; and she bringing forth five young ones in the very trap, devoured three of them. But what was greatest of all, in a calm and clear sky, there was heard the sound of a trumpet, with such a loud and dismal blast as struck terror and amazement into the hearts of the people. . . Whilst the Senate sat in consultation with the soothsayers, concerning these prodigies, in the temple of Bellona, a sparrow came flying in, before them all, with a grasshopper in its mouth, and letting fall one part of it, flew away with the remainder. The diviners foreboded commotions and dissensions between the great landed proprietors and the common city populace; the latter, like the grasshopper, being loud and talkative, while the sparrow might represent the 'dwellers in the field.'"—[Plutarch: "Lives"; Boston ed., 1859: Vol. 3: pp. 150–151.

XIII.: p. 294.—"Many prodigies happened in this year. The Capitol was settled upon by ill-omened birds; houses were thrown down by frequent shakings of the earth; and, as wider mischief was feared, in the fright of the populace every weaker person was trampled down. The failure of crops, with the famine thence arising, was regarded as a prodigy. Nor were the complaints secret only, but with tumultuous clamors people surrounded Claudius when administering the laws, and drove him by force to the furthest part of the Forum, till amid a circle of soldiers he broke through the incensed crowds."—[Tacitus Annal.: XII.: 43.

XIV.: p. 295.—"A want of acquaintance with nature, an eager desire and readiness to find something of the wonderful in things the most insignificant, and a boundless credulity, multiplied these signs of warning to such a degree that we can only dwell with astonishment on the indefatigable anxiety of the Senate in taking them all into account. Not only eclipses of sun and moon, but other phenomena of both these heavenly bodies, rainbows of unusual colours, shooting stars, and abortions of man and beast, entered into the list of these prodigies. Then there were showers of stones, earth, chalk, and ashes; idols shed tears or sweated blood, oxen spoke, men were changed into women, cocks into hens, lakes or brooks ran with blood or milk, mice nibbled at the golden vessels of the temples, a swarm of bees lighted on a temple or in a public place, or lightning struck a temple or other public building, an occurrence especially alarming. For all these prodigies, which terrified Senate and people, a procuration was necessary; that is, they had to be averted by prayer and expiatory rites; for the favor of the threatening or angry deity had to be reconquered."—[Döllinger: "Gentile and Jew"; London ed., 1862: Vol. II.: pp. 99-100.

XV.: p. 295.—There is equal sadness and severity in the words in which Tacitus describes the theme with which he was forced in the Annals to occupy his pen, the state of the empire after Augustus :—

"But no one may compare our Annals with the writings of those who arranged accounts of the ancient affairs of the Roman people. They related, with free digression, vast wars, the storm of cities, kings routed and captured, or, if at any time they turned to internal affairs, the struggles of Consuls against Tribunes, the agrarian and the grain laws, the contests of plebeians and patricians. To us remains an inglorious labor, on a narrow field. . . For the locations of nations, the various fortunes of battles, the famous deaths of leaders, hold and refresh the attention of readers; but we bring together cruel mandates, constant accusations, deceitful friendships, the destruction of the innocent, in an obvious monotony and wearisomeness of things. . . Even fame and virtue find some enraged by them, as if attacking their different traits by examples too close at hand. But I return to what has been begun."—[Tacitus: Annal.: IV.: 32, 33.

The effect of his times on the mind of the great historian is clearly traced by Merivale:—

"In the Dialogue on Oratory, his earliest utterance, he displays a just sense of the evil tendencies of his day; but his rebuke to the spirit of the age is tempered with gentleness and reserve, and shows at least a disposition to appreciate every element of good. . . The Histories abound in keen discrimination of crimes and vices, and in burn

ing sarcasms on wickedness in high places; yet even in the Histories the dark picture of sin and suffering is relieved by some broader views of incidents and manners. . . But the Annals, the latest of the author's works, the most mature and finished of his productions, is almost wholly satire. Tacitus rarely averts his eyes from the central figure of monstrous depravity, around which, in his view, all society is grouped. He paints the age all Tiberius, or all Nero. Like the Roman soldier chained to his own prisoner, he finds no escape from the horrors he has undertaken to delineate. He enjoys no relief himself, and he allows none to his reader."—["Romans under the Empire"; London ed., 1862: Vol. 7: pp. 342–3.

Yet Tacitus was the man, among all those of distinguished genius at the time, who seemed to the amiable and cultivated Pliny the Younger most worthy to be imitated, and with whose name he was most gratified to have his own associated.—[Ep. VII.: 20.

XVI.: p. 295.—Ammianus Marcellinus, the clear-sighted, modest, honest, and resolute soldier, who wrote as a Pagan, though he wrote after Constantine, furnishes in his Roman History frequent and striking illustrations of the bewildering fears which even in his time possessed the souls of brave men when any unusual occurrence was noticed. Among them are such examples as these:—

"At that time a monster, horrible both to see and to describe, was produced at Daphne, a beautiful and celebrated suburb of Antioch: namely, an infant with two mouths, two sets of teeth, two heads, four eyes, and only two very short ears. Such a misshapen offspring was an omen that the republic would become deformed."—[XIX.: 12: 19.

"For several days in succession many terrible omens were seen [at Antioch], as if the gods were offended, since those who were skilled in the interpretation of prodigies foretold that impending events would be melancholy. For the statue of Maximian Cæsar, which was placed in the vestibule of the palace, suddenly lost the brazen globe, formed after the figure of the heavens, which it bore in its hand. Also the beams in the council-chamber sounded with an ominous creak; comets were seen in the daytime."—[XXV.: 10: 1, 2.

"At this time a new kind of prodigy appeared in the corn district of Tuscany; those who were skillful in interpreting such things being wholly ignorant of what it portended. For in the town of Pistoia, at about the third hour of the day, in the sight of many persons, an ass mounted the tribunal, where he was heard to bray loudly. All the bystanders were amazed, as were all those who heard of the occurrence, as no one could conjecture what was to happen."—[XXVII.: 3: 1.

"In that town [Bregitio] his Destiny, by numerous prodigies, portended to him [Valentinian] his approaching fate. For a very few

days before, some of those comets, which ever give token of the ruin of lofty fortunes, appeared in the heavens. Also, a short time before, a thunderbolt fell at Sirmium, accompanied with a terrible clap of thunder, and set fire to a portion of the palace and senate-house; and much about the same time an owl settled on the top of the royal baths at Sabaria, and pouring forth a funeral strain withstood all the attempts to slay it with arrows or stones."—[XXX.: 5: 15, 16.

"After many true prophecies uttered by diviners and augurs, dogs were seen to recoil from howling wolves, and the birds of night constantly uttered querulous and mournful cries; and lurid sunrises made the mornings dark. . . All which circumstances pointed out, almost as in express words, that the end of the emperor's [Valens'] life was at hand."—[XXXI.: 1: 2, 3.

XVII.: p. 296.—"The augury by the inspection of entrails, for a time neglected, though it was the old Roman way to inquire into the future, now came into frequent use. Alexander Severus paid teachers to give lectures on the subject. Not only the entrails of animals but also of men were examined, in order to discover what the future would bring. The general insecurity of the time, the dread of what might be coming, or the ambition which was waiting for the death of the Emperor, with the hope of taking his place—all led to it. The last heathen emperors were particularly and passionately addicted to this magic art. Women and children were cut open alive in the palace of Diocletian's co-regent, in order to inspect their entrails."—[Uhlhorn: "Conflict of Christianity"; New York ed., 1879: p. 317.

XVIII.: p. 298.—"Now when Titus was come into this [upper] city, he admired not only some other places of strength in it, but particularly those strong towers which the tyrants, in their mad conduct, had relinquished; for when he saw their solid altitude, and the largeness of their several stones, and the exactness of their joints, as also how great was their breadth, and how extensive their length, he expressed himself after the manner following: 'We have certainly had God for our assistant in this war, and it was no other than God who ejected the Jews out of these fortifications; for what could the hands of men, or any machines, do toward overthrowing these towers'"!—[Josephus: "Wars of Jews"; VI.: 9: § 1.

XIX.: p. 298.—"The nature of such a work [History of Prophecy] ought to be, that every prophecy of the Scripture be sorted with the event fulfilling the same; . . allowing, nevertheless, that latitude which is agreeable and familiar unto divine prophecies; being of the nature of their author, with whom a thousand years are but as one

day; and therefore are not fulfilled punctually at once, but have springing and germinant accomplishment throughout many ages, though the height or fullness of them may refer to some one age." —["Advancement of Learning"; Bacon's Works: New York ed. 1864: Vol. VI.: pp. 199–200.

XX.: p. 299.—"But what more than all else characterized the Jew, was his confident and happy belief in a brilliant and happy future for humanity. . . Hope—what the Jew calls *tiqva*—this assurance of something which is by no means proved, but to which we attach ourselves all the more eagerly because we have no certainty of it—was the very soul of the Jew. His Psalms were like one continuous harp-note, filling his life with harmony and melancholy faith; his prophets had the words of eternity: the second Isaiah, for instance, the prophet of the Captivity, depicted the future in the brightest colours that have ever been revealed to the dreams of man."—[Renan: "Hibbert Lectures": London ed., 1880: pp. 43–44.

XXI.: p. 299.—"The expectation of a Messiah had grown up among the Israelitish people long before the time of Jesus, and just then had ripened to full maturity. And from its beginning this expectation was not indefinite, but determined and characterized by many important particulars. . . In general, the whole Messianic era was expected to be full of signs and wonders. The eyes of the blind should be opened, the ears of the deaf should be unclosed, the lame should leap, and the tongue of the dumb praise God. These merely figurative expressions soon came to be understood literally, and thus the idea of the Messiah was continually filled up with new details, even before the appearance of Jesus. Thus many of the legends respecting him had not to be newly invented; they already existed in the popular hope of the Messiah."—[Strauss: "Life of Jesus" London ed., 1846: Vol. I.: pp. 80–81.

XXII.: p. 299.—"This view of Christ's person arose from the direct impression which his appearance among men made upon the eye-witnesses, and through them upon the whole human race. This image of Christ, which has always propagated itself in the consciousness of the Christian Church, originated in, and ever points back to, the revelation of Christ himself, without which, indeed, it could never have arisen. As man's limited intellect could never, without the aid of revelation, have originated the idea of God, so the image of Christ could never have sprung from the consciousness of sinful humanity, but must be regarded as the reflection of the actual life of such a CHRIST." —[Neander: "Life of Jesus Christ"; New York ed., 1856: p. 3.

XXIII.: p. 301.—"Afterwards he [Celsus] says, 'If it were possible that all the inhabitants of Asia, Europe, and Libya, Greeks and Barbarians, were to come under one law'; but, judging this quite impossible, he adds, 'any one who thinks this possible, knows nothing.' It would require careful consideration and lengthened argument to prove that it is not only possible, but that it will surely come to pass, that all who are endowed with reason shall come under one law. The Stoics indeed hold that when the strongest of the elements prevails all things shall be turned into fire. But our belief is that the Word shall prevail over the entire rational creation, and change every soul into His own perfection; in which state every one, by the mere exercise of his power, will choose what he desires, and obtain what he chooses. For although in the diseases and wounds of the body there are some which no medical skill can cure, yet we hold that in the mind there is no evil so strong that it may not be overcome by the Supreme Word and God."—[Origen: adv. Celsus: VIII.: 72.

XXIV.: p. 302.—"It was given as the chief and most necessary sign of His coming [the Holy Spirit] on those who had believed, that every one of them spoke in the tongues of all nations; thus signifying that the unity of the Catholic Church would embrace all nations, and would in like manner speak in all tongues. . . The gospel of Christ was preached in the whole world, not only by those who had seen and heard Him, but also after their death by their successors, amid the horrible persecutions, diverse torments and deaths of the martyrs; God also bearing them witness, with signs and wonders, and divers miracles and gifts of the Holy Ghost, that the people of the nations, believing in Him who was crucified for their redemption, might venerate with Christian love the blood of the martyrs which they had poured forth with devilish fury, and that the very kings by whose laws the church had been wasted might become profitably subject to that Name which they had cruelly striven to banish from the earth."—[Augustine: Civ. Dei: XVIII.: 49, 50.

"The sixth [prophetic age] is now passing, and cannot be measured by any number of generations, as it has been said, 'It is not for you to know the times, which the Father hath put in His own power.' After this period, God shall rest, as on the seventh day, when He shall give us rest in Himself. But there is not now space to treat of these ages; suffice it to say, that the seventh shall be our Sabbath, which shall be brought to a close not by an evening, but by the Lord's day, as an eighth, an eternal day. Then we shall rest and see, see and love, love and praise. This is what shall be in the end without end."—[Civ. Dei: XXII.: 30.

XXV.: p. 302.—"As with Heraclitus, so with the Stoics, it is the fire-matter, or centre of vital heat, from which all motion proceeds, and which, by virtue of its purity and capacity of motion, is at the same time infinite intelligence. All is either the deity itself, or a form adopted by it. . . In the great conflagration, which takes place after the expiration of a world-period or 'great year,' all organized beings will be destroyed, these gods [the stars, etc.] will disappear, all multiplicity and difference be lost in God's unity; which means, all will become ether again."—[Döllinger: "The Gentile and the Jew"; London ed., 1862: Vol. 1: pp. 350–351.

The later Stoics were inclined to give prominence to the element of water as the instrument of the coming destruction:—

"But at that time it [the sea] being released from rule, shall be borne abroad without measure. After what fashion, sayest thou? In the same way in which the future conflagration is to come to pass. Each shall occur at such time as it shall seem good to God to give beginning to better things, and to finish the old. Fire and water have dominion over earthly things. From these is the beginning, from these also the end, of all things. Whensoever, then, new things are pleasing to the universe, the sea shall be sent from above upon us, in like manner as the fury of fire when another sort of end is preferred. . . The ocean being driven back from our abodes [at the subsidence of the deluge] shall be thrust into his secret recesses, and the ancient order shall be reëstablished. Every living creature shall be generated anew, and a race of men unskilled in wickedness shall be given to the earth, a race born to better hopes. But even their innocence shall not long endure with them; only while men are still recent. Speedily wickedness shall again steal back; virtue is hard to be found, she requires a teacher and a governor. Even without a master, vices are learned."—[Seneca: Natur. Quaest.: III.: 28, 30.

XXVI.: p. 302.—"These two things, then, thou must bear in mind: the one, that all things from eternity are of like forms, and come round in a circle, and that it makes no difference whether a man shall see the same things during a hundred years or two hundred, or an infinite time. . . As it happens to thee in the amphitheatre and such places, that the continual sight of the same things, and the uniformity, make the spectacle wearisome, so it is in the whole of life; for all things above, below, are the same, and from the same. How long then? . . Constantly consider how all things, such as they now are, in time past also were; and consider that they will be the same again. And place before thine eyes entire dramas and stages of the same form, whatever thou hast learned from thy experience, or from older history: for example, the whole court of Hadrian, and the whole court of Anto-

ninus, and the whole court of Philip, Alexander, Crœsus; for all these were such dramas as we see now, only with different actors."—[M. Aurelius: "Meditations": II.: 14; VI.: 46; X.: 27.

XXVII.: p. 302.—Polybius expressed the highest wisdom of his time in political philosophy, when he said:—

"Such is the circle in which political societies are revolved [Monarchy, Tyranny, Aristocracy, Oligarchy, Democracy Anarchy, and Monarchy again], and such the natural order in which the several kinds of government are varied, till they are at last brought back to that original form from which the progress was begun. With the help of being acquainted with these principles, though it may not perhaps be easy to foretell the exact time of every alteration in a state, if our minds are free from prejudice and passion we shall very rarely be deceived in judging of the degree of exaltation or decline in which it subsists, or in declaring the form into which it must at last be changed."—[Gen. Hist.: VI.: Ex. 1.

XXVIII.: p. 303.—"And those of the Stoic school—since, so far as their moral teaching went, they were admirable, as were also the poets in some particulars, on account of the seed of reason [the Logos] implanted in every race of men—were, we know, hated and put to death; Heraclitus, for instance, and among those of our own time Musonius, and others. . . I confess that I both boast, and with all my strength strive, to be found a Christian; not because the teachings of Plato are different from those of Christ, but because they are not in all respects similar, as neither are those of the others, stoics, and poets, and historians. For each man spoke well in proportion to the share which he had of the spermatic [seminal] Word, seeing what was related to it. . . Whatever things were rightly said, among all men, are the property of us Christians. . . For all the writers were able to see realities darkly, through the sowing of the implanted Word that was in them."—[Justin Martyr: Apology II.: VIII., XIII.

XXIX.: p. 303.—"Philosophy does not ruin life by being the originator of false practices and base deeds, though some have calumniated it, although it be the clear image of truth, a Divine gift to the Greeks; nor does it drag us away from the faith, as if we were bewitched by some delusive art, but rather, so to speak, by the use of an ampler circuit, it obtains a common exercise, demonstrative of the faith. . . Before the advent of the Lord, philosophy was necessary to the Greeks for righteousness. And now it becomes conducive to piety; being a kind of preparatory training to those who attain to faith through demonstration. . . Philosophy was a preparation, paving the way for him who

is perfected in Christ. . . There is then in philosophy, though stolen as the fire by Prometheus, a slender spark, capable of being fanned into flame, a trace of wisdom and an impulse from God. . . It is evident that the Apostle [Paul], by availing himself of poetical examples from the *Phænomena* of Aratus, approves of what had been well-spoken by the Greeks; and intimates that, by the unknown God, God the Creator was in a roundabout way worshipped by the Greeks; but that it was necessary by positive knowledge to apprehend and learn Him through His Son."—[Clement of Alex.: "Stromata": I.: 2, 5, 17, 19.

XXX.: p. 303.—"For the Christians are distinguished from other men neither by country, nor language, nor the customs which they observe. For they neither inhabit cities of their own, nor employ a peculiar form of speech, nor lead a life which is marked out by any singularity. . . But inhabiting Greek as well as barbarian cities, according as the lot of each of them has determined, and following the customs of the natives in respect to clothing, food, and the rest of their ordinary conduct, they display to all their wonderful and confessedly paradoxical conduct. They dwell in their own countries, but simply as sojourners. As citizens they share in all things with others, yet endure all things as if foreigners. . . They obey the prescribed laws, and at the same time surpass the laws by their lives. They love all men, and are persecuted by all. . . To sum up all in one word: what the soul is in the body, that Christians are in the world. The soul is dispersed through all the members of the body, and Christians are scattered through all the cities of the world. The soul dwells in the body, yet is not of the body; and Christians dwell in the world, yet are not of the world. The invisible soul is guarded by the visible body; and though Christians are known indeed to be in the world their godliness remains invisible. . . The soul is imprisoned in the body, yet preserves that very body; and Christians are confined in the world as in a prison, yet they are the preservers of the world. . . God has assigned them this illustrious position, which it were unlawful for them to forsake."—[Ep. to Diognetus: v., vi.

XXXI.: p. 304.—"I saw a golden ladder, of marvellous height, reaching up even to heaven, and very narrow, so that persons could only ascend it one by one; and on the sides of the ladder was fixed every kind of iron weapon. There were swords, lances, hooks, daggers; so that if any one went up carelessly, or not looking upwards, he would be torn to pieces, and his flesh would cleave to the iron weapons. And under the ladder was crouching a dragon of wonderful size, who lay in wait for those who ascended, and frightened them

from the ascent. . . And I went up, and I saw an immense extent of garden, and in the midst of the garden a white-haired man sitting in the dress of a shepherd, of large stature, milking sheep; and standing around were many thousand white-robed ones. And he raised his head, and looked upon me, and said to me, 'Thou art welcome, Daughter.'" —["Pass. of Perpetua and Felicitas": I.: 3.

XXXII.: p. 304.—"In January, A.D. 250, St. Fabian fell a victim to the persecution of Decius. And a few years later, A.D. 257, there was published the first imperial edict that we know of which interfered with the liberty of the Christians in their use of the catacombs. The edict itself has not been preserved, but from the language of two contemporary authors we can almost restore its very words. It distinctly forbade 'all Christian assemblies, and all visits to the places called cemeteries,' and threatened the severest punishment upon any who should disobey. . . On one occasion, when a great number of the faithful had been seen entering the subterranean crypt to visit their tombs, the entrance was hastily built up, and a vast mound of sand and stones heaped in front of it, that they might be all buried alive, even as the martyrs whom they had come to venerate."—["Roma Sotterranea"; London ed., 1879: Part First: pp. 150, 155.

XXXIII.: p. 304.—"No one has been able to introduce and make known what seemed to him the truth, I do not say among many foreign nations, but even amongst the individuals of one single nation, in such manner that the knowledge and belief of the same should extend to all. . . And yet there are throughout the whole world—throughout all Greece, and all foreign countries—countless individuals who have abandoned the laws of their country, and those whom they had believed to be gods, and have yielded themselves up to the obedience of the law of Moses, and to the discipleship and worship of Christ; and have done this not without exciting against themselves the intense hatred of the worshippers of images, so as frequently to be exposed to cruel tortures, and sometimes even to be put to death. Yet they embrace, and with all affection preserve, the words and teaching of Christ. . . From which it is no doubtful inference, that it is not by human power or might that the words of Jesus Christ come to prevail with all faith and power over the understandings and souls of all men."—[Origen: De Princip. (Rufinus' trans.): IV.: 1, 2.

"We have to say, moreover, that the Gospel has a demonstration of its own, more divine than any established by Grecian dialectics. And this diviner method is called by the apostle 'the manifestation of the Spirit and of power.' . . And although I have previously mentioned a Gospel declaration uttered by the Saviour, I shall nevertheless quote

it again, as it confirms both the divine manifestation of our Saviour's foreknowledge regarding the preaching of His gospel, and the power of His word, which, without the aid of teachers, gains the mastery over those who yield their assent to persuasion accompanied with divine power; and the words of Jesus referred to are, 'The harvest is plenteous, but the labourers are few; pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest that He will send forth labourers into His harvest.'"—[Origen adv. Celsus: I.: 2, 62.

XXXIV.: p. 305.—"The books of the Holy Scriptures were found, and they were committed to the flames; the utensils and furniture of the church were abandoned to pillage; all was rapine, confusion, tumult. . . Presbyters and other officers of the church were seized, without evidence by witnesses or confession, condemned, and together with their families led to execution. In burning alive, no distinction of sex or age was regarded; and because of their great multitude, they were not burned one after another, but a herd of them were encircled by the same fire; and servants, having millstones tied about their necks, were cast into the sea. . . He [Galerius] began this mode of execution by edicts against the Christians, commanding that after torture and condemnation they should be burned at a slow fire. They were fixed to a stake, and first moderate flame was applied to the soles of their feet, until the muscles, contracted by burning, were torn from the bones; then torches, lighted and put out again, were directed to all the members of their bodies, so that no part had any exemption. Meanwhile, cold water was continually poured on their faces, and their mouths moistened, lest, by reason of their jaws being parched, they should expire. At length they did expire, when, after many hours, the violent heat had consumed their skin, and penetrated into their intestines. . . And now, when Galerius was in the eighteenth year of his reign, God struck him with an incurable plague. . . He grew emaciated, pallid, and feeble, and the bleeding then staunched. The ulcer began to be insensible to the remedies applied, and a gangrene seized all the neighbouring parts. It diffused itself the wider, the more the corrupted flesh was cut away. . . The humors having been repelled, the distemper attacked his intestines, and worms were generated in his body. The stench was so foul as to pervade not only the palace, but even the whole city. . . At length, overcome by calamities, he was obliged to acknowledge God, and he cried aloud, in the intervals of raging pain, that he would re-edify the Church which he had demolished, and make atonement for his misdeeds; and when he was near his end he published an edict of the tenor following: . . 'We, from our wonted clemency, have judged it fit to extend our indulgence to those men, and to permit them again to be Christians, and

to establish the places of their religious assemblies. . . Wherefore, it will be the duty of the Christians, in consequence of this our toleration, to pray to their God for our welfare, and for that of the public, and for their own."—["De Mort. Persecut.": XII., XV., XXI., XXXIII–IV.

If this treatise was by Lactantius, to whom it is commonly and probably ascribed, it has a peculiar interest and importance, not only as giving the testimony of an eye-witness to the events recorded, but as showing under what influences the eloquent and famous Pagan professor was himself converted into the fervent Christian disciple.

XXXV.: p. 305.—"Indeed, the armed soldiery surrounded a Christian town in Phrygia, together with the garrison, and hurling fire into it burnt them, together with women and children, calling upon Christ the God of all. And this, because all the inhabitants of this town, even the very governor and magistrate, with all the men of rank, and the whole people, confessed themselves Christians, and would not in any degree obey those who commanded them to offer sacrifice."—[Eusebius: Eccl. Hist.: VIII.: 11.

XXXVI.: p. 305.—"It is a fundamental human right, a privilege of nature, that every man should worship according to his own convictions: one man's religion neither harms nor helps another man. It is assuredly no part of religion to compel religion—to which free will and not force should lead us—the sacrificial victims even being required of a willing mind. You will render no real service to your gods by compelling us to sacrifice. For they can have no desire of offerings from the unwilling, unless they are animated by a spirit of contention, which is a thing altogether undivine."—[Tertullian: Ad Scapul.: II.

"For see that you do not give a further ground for the charge of irreligion, by taking away religious liberty, and forbidding free choice of deity, so that I may no longer worship according to my inclination, but am compelled to worship against it. . . But with you liberty is given to worship any god but the true God, as though He were not rather the God whom all should worship, to whom all belong."—[Tertullian: Apologet.: XXIV.

XXXVII.: p. 305.—The jubilant feeling of the time seems to roll in resounding echo through the noble lines of Mrs. Alexander:—

> "Then souls of men were shaken with emotions new and strange,
> And creeds and thoughts were tossing in an agony of change.
> The world, that had grown weary of its pleasures and its gains,
> Felt a tide of youth and rapture rush through its wasted veins,
> And life it never knew before was stirring to its core
> The proud and puissant empire that was 'pagan Rome' no more.

The seed that was so small had grown a tree that flourished grand.
The leaven in the woman's cake had leavened all the land.
Where silver Jordan runneth from the Lake of Galilee,
A narrow kingdom lies between the mountains and the sea;
From its hill-sides red with vineyards, the gentle Syrian wind
Bore the only voice that answered to the sobbing of mankind.
To the cottage of the fisher, to the poor man's mean abode,
The 'Desire of Nations' came, the Incarnate Son of God.
The sign that was a sign of shame to pagan and to Jew,
Had become an image glorious, that all men flocked unto;
The martyr at the stake for this esteemed the world but loss,
The Emperor victorious won his battles in the Cross!"

[Cecil Frances Alexander: "Contemporary Review": Vol. IV.: pp. 176–7.

XXXVIII.: p. 305.—"The Gospel, preached by men without name, without study, without eloquence, cruelly persecuted, and destitute of all human support, did not fail to get established in a short time throughout the whole world. It is a fact which nobody can deny, and a fact which proves that the work was of God."—[Bayle: "Dict. Historique"; Art. "Mahomet": Rem. O.; Paris ed., 1820; Tom. X.: p. 67.

"It is a very astonishing spectacle, the triumph of the Christian religion, and the downfall of Paganism, after a contest which held the attention of the world for three hundred years. That twelve men, born in the midst of the lowest condition, among a people hated by all nations, should have undertaken to change the face of the world, to refashion its beliefs and its manners, to abolish the superstitious worships which had everywhere entwined themselves with political institutions, to subject to one and the same law, hostile to all the passions, both sovereigns and their subjects, slaves and their masters, the noble and the lowly, the rich and the poor, the instructed and the ignorant; to do this with no support, either of force, or of eloquence, or of argumentative discussion, but on the contrary in spite of the violent opposition of everything which possessed any power to oppose, in spite of the persecutions of emperors and magistrates, of the interested resistance of idol-priests, of the railings and the contempt of philosophers, of the frenzy of fanaticism; that these men, by exhibiting to the nations the instrument of an infamous punishment, should have conquered alike the fanaticism of the mob, the philosophers and the priests, the magistrates and the emperors; that the cross should have been exalted upon the palace of the Cæsars, from which had gone so many bloody edicts against the disciples of Christ, and that by suffering and by dying these men should have thus overcome all human powers,—it is a fact unique in history; a marvellous fact, which strikes one instantly as a vast and evident exception to all which we know of man. . . Divine in its establishment, divine in its effects, the Christian re

ligion possesses all those marks of truth which impose the obligation to accept it on those to whose knowledge it has been brought."—[La Mennais: "Essai sur l'Indifférence"; Œuvres: Paris ed., 1823: Tom. IV.: pp. 451–2, 481.

When he wrote as above, La Mennais was a devout priest of the Roman Catholic Church; but Rousseau before him had written in much the same vein, and under similar impressions from the extraordinary history:—

"After the death of Jesus Christ, twelve poor fishermen and mechanics undertook to instruct and to convert the world. Their method was simple; they preached without art, but with hearts deeply moved; and of all the miracles with which God honored their faith the most striking was the saintliness of their life. Their disciples followed their example, and their success was prodigious. The pagan priests, becoming alarmed, made princes understand that the State was in danger, since the offerings were diminished. Persecutions arose, and the persecutors only availed to hasten the progress of that religion which they sought to extinguish. All Christians rushed to martyrdom, all peoples rushed to baptism. The history of those first centuries is a continual prodigy."—[Œuvres: Paris ed., 1793; "Melanges": Tom. IV.: p. 262.

"Mahomet established himself by killing, Jesus Christ by causing his own friends to be killed; Mahomet, by forbidding to read; Jesus Christ, by commanding to read. In fine, the methods are so opposite that if Mahomet has taken the way to succeed, humanly judging, Jesus Christ has taken the way to perish, on any human calculation. And in place of concluding that because Mahomet succeeded, Jesus Christ was well able to succeed, it ought to be said that since Mahomet has succeeded, Christianity must have perished if it had not been sustained by a wholly Divine force."—[Pascal: Pensées; Paris ed., 1878: Sec. Par.; Art. XII.: 10.

XXXIX.: p. 305.—"A calumnious accusation was made against Athanasius the bishop, the emperor being assured that he was intent on desolating not that city only, but all Egypt, and that nothing but his expulsion out of the country could save it. The governor of Alexandria was therefore instructed by an imperial edict to apprehend him. But he fled again, saying to his friends, 'Let us retire for a little while; it is but a small cloud which will soon pass away.'"—[Socrates: Hist. Eccl.: III.: 13–14.

XL.: p. 305.—"Rome having been stormed and sacked by the Goths, under Alaric their king, the worshippers of false gods made an attempt to attribute this calamity to the Christian religion, and began to blaspheme the true God with even more than their wonted bitterness and

ascerbity. It was this which kindled my zeal for the house of God, and prompted me to undertake the defence of the City of God against the charges and misrepresentations of its assailants."—[Augustine: "Retractations": II.: 43.

XLI.: p. 307.—"Anskar was born in 801. His pious mother strove to bring him up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. At an early age he was sent for education to the monastery of Corbie, which was then in high repute, both for the piety and the learning of its monks. What progress Anskar made in learning, we have no means of ascertaining; but during a long life of labor and hardship he gave evidence of fervent and intelligent piety. . . Ascetic as he was, constitutionally and educationally, and over-estimating, as he did all his days, the virtue of wearing a hair-cloth shirt, by night and day, there was a practical element in his devotion which is often wanting in that of the ascetic. His enthusiastic mind glowed with the ambition of preaching the gospel to the heathen, and haply gaining even the supreme honor of the martyr's crown. . . His life had been from the first a life of labor, and it was so to the end. It was from beginning to end a life of faith, a life of prayer, a life of devoted and single-hearted service of God, a life of disinterested beneficence toward man. In those rude days it might be expected that such a man should be credited with miraculous powers. But he ever declared that he sought for and knew of no greater miracle than this, that the grace of God should make of Anskar a good man. At last, in his sixty-fourth year, he entered into his rest. His last words were: 'Lord, be merciful to me a sinner! Into Thy hands I commend my spirit.'"—[Dr. T. Smith: "Mediæval Missions"; Edinburgh ed., 1880: pp. 124–6, 138.

XLII.: p. 307.—"St. Imier heard the bells of the monastery which was one day to replace his hermitage echoing through the night. 'Dear brother,' he said to his only companion, 'dost thou hear that distant bell that has already waked me three times?' 'No,' said the servant. But Imier rose, and allowed himself to be guided by this mysterious sound across the high plateau and narrow gorges of the valley of Doubs, as far as the gushing fountain where he established himself, and which has retained his name to the present time." (The town of St. Imier is at the present time one of the most flourishing centres of watch-making in the Bernese Jura.)—[Montalembert: "Monks of the West"; London ed., 1861: Vol. 2: pp. 324–5.

XLIII.: p. 307.—"Roger de Hautrive, the senior monk, went into the Vexin to take possession of the domain which the wounded knight gave to St. Evroult, as I have related, but he found the land uncultivated, and almost a desert. In the first place he erected an oratory

with boughs of trees, in honor of St. Nicholas. . . It often happened in the night that while Roger de Hautrive, as he himself used to relate, was singing matins in his chapel of boughs, a wolf took his station without, and as it were responded to the chant with his howlings There he labored, until he had brought under cultivation the land which for a long season had been deserted, on account of the war and other calamities; and there Roger de Sap, after some years succeeding the former senior monk, began the building of a church of stone."—[Ordericus Vitalis : III. : 12.

XLIV. : p. 308.—"The richest districts of France trace their prosperity to this origin; witness, amongst a thousand other places, that portion of La Brie, between Meaux and Jouarre, once covered by a vast forest, the first inhabitant of which was the Irish monk Fiacre, whose name still continues popular, and whom our gardeners honor as their patron saint, probably without knowing anything whatever of his history. . . It is pleasant to appeal to more certain witnesses by following upon our modern maps the traces of monastic labor through the forests of ancient France, and by observing a multitude of localities, the mere names of which indicate wooded districts evidently transformed into fields and plains by the monks. . . It was natural that it [the plough] should be the principal instrument of monastic culture; and it may be said, without exaggeration, that it formed, along with the cross of the Redeemer, the ensign and emblazonry of the entire history of the monks during these early ages. *Cruce et Aratro* . . It seems to me that we should all contemplate with emotion, if it still existed, that monk's plough, [Theodulph's], doubly sacred, by religion and by labor, by history and by virtue. For myself, I feel that I should kiss it as willingly as the sword of Charlemagne or the pen of Bossuet."—[Montalembert: "Monks of the West"; London ed., 1861: Vol. 2: pp. 376–9.

"Of the Anglo-Saxon husbandry we may remark that Domesday Survey gives us some indications that the cultivation of the church lands was much superior to that of any other order of society. They have much less wood upon them, and less common of pasture; and what they had appears often in smaller and more irregular pieces; while their meadow was more abundant, and in more numerous distributions."—[Sharon Turner: "Hist. of Anglo-Saxons"; London ed., 1852: Vol. 2: p. 478.

XLV. : p. 308.—"In the year of our Lord 565, there came into Britain a famous priest and abbot, a monk by habit and life, whose name was Columba, to preach the word of God to the provinces of the northern Picts, who are separated from the southern parts by steep

and rugged mountains; . . and he converted that nation to the faith of Christ, by his preaching and example. . . Before he passed over into Britain, he had built a noble monastery in Ireland, which, from the great number of oaks, is in the Scottish tongue called Dearm-ack—the Field of Oaks. From both which monasteries many others had their beginning, through his disciples, both in Britain and Ireland."—[Bede: Hist. Eccles.; III.: 4.

"Like twenty other saints of the Irish calendar, Columba bore a symbolical name borrowed from the Latin, a name which signified the dove of the Holy Ghost. . . Columba was not only himself a poet, but he lived always in great and affectionate sympathy with the bards who at that time occupied so high a place in the social and political institutions of Ireland. . . To Columba was to fall the honour of introducing civilization into the stony, sterile, and icy *Escosse la Sauvage*, which the imagination of our fathers made the dwelling-place of hunger, and of the prince of demons. . . The monastic apostle of Caledonia, apart from the prevailing efficacy of his prayers, had made an attentive study of the winds and of all the phenomena of nature which affected the lives of the insular and maritime people whom he sought to lead into Christianity. A hundred different narratives represent him to us as the Eolus of those fabulous times and dangerous seas."—[Montalembert: "Monks of the West"; London ed., 1867: Vol. III.: pp. 99, 114, 138, 230.

"We are probably safe in asserting that for two centuries or more Iona was the place in all the world whence the greatest amount of evangelistic influence went forth, and on which, therefore, the greatest amount of blessing from on high rested. . . It is beyond question that under the ministrations of the 'family of Iona' the Pictish nation were reclaimed from barbarism to civilization, and converted from heathenism to Christianity. And it is very worthy of notice that in this mission, while the results were national, the processes were individual. . . As an observant sailor, he [Columba] was weather-wise. With the practised eye and loving heart of a naturalist, he gained a knowledge of the habits of all the creatures of earth and air, and by the very potency of love he went far to regain that dominion over the inferior creation which was originally given to sinless man. . . Let me, a Scotsman, addressing a Scottish audience, say that we have a noble heritage in the name and memory of Columba: a heritage which entails on us the duty of generous emulation; a shield blazoned in all its quarterings with inspiriting devices."—[Dr. T. Smith: "Mediæval Missions"; Edinburgh ed., 1880: pp. 50, 55.

XLVI.: p. 308.—"Having said thus much, he passed the day joyfully till the evening; and the boy above mentioned said, 'Dear Mas

ter, there is yet one sentence not written' [in the translation of the Gospel of St. John.] He answered, 'Write quickly.' Soon after, the boy said, 'It is finished.' He replied, 'It is well; you have said the truth. It is finished! Receive my head into your hands; for it is a great satisfaction to me to sit facing my holy place, where I was wont to pray, that I may even sitting call upon my Father.' And thus, on the pavement of his little cell, singing 'Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost,' when he had named the Holy Ghost he breathed his last, and so departed to the Heavenly Kingdom."—[Cuthbert: Epist. de Obit. Bedæ.

XLVII.: p. 309.—"The end of so sad a world was at once the hope and the terror of the Middle Age. See the old statues in the cathedrals of the tenth and eleventh centuries, meagre, dumb, grimacing in their shrunken stiffness, with the look of suffering life, yet unsightly as death! See how they implore, with clasped hands, the moment at once desired and dreaded, the second death of the resurrection, which will put an end to their unspeakable sorrows, and make them pass out of nothingness into being, out of the tomb unto God! It is the image of the poor world; hopeless after so many desolations. . . This frightful hope of the final Judgment took additional force from the calamities which preceded the year 1000, or which closely followed it. It seemed as if the order of the seasons were inverted, and the elements were following novel laws. A terrible pestilence devastated Aquitaine; the flesh of the sick seemed stricken by fire, it detached itself from their bones, and fell in rottenness. . . It was still worse, a few years later. Famine ravaged all the world, this side of the East; Greece, Italy, France, England. 'The *muid* of corn,' says a contemporary, 'rose to sixty gold *sous*. The rich grew lean and pale; the poor ate forest roots; many, horrible to tell, were left to devour human flesh. Along the roads, the strong seized the weak, tore them in pieces, roasted, and devoured them.' . . It was under the good King Robert that this terrible epoch of the year 1000 passed away; and it seemed as if the Divine anger had been disarmed by this simple-hearted man, in whom the Peace of God was as it were incarnate. Human nature took courage, and hoped to endure a little longer. It raised itself from its death-struggle, and began again to live, to labor, to build; to build, first of all, the churches of God. 'After the three years following the year 1000,' says Glaber, 'in all the world, especially in Italy and in Gaul, the basilicas of the churches were renovated, though for the most part they were already so beautiful as to need no such care. Nevertheless, the Christian peoples seemed to rival each other as to which should build them most magnificently. One might say that the world shook off and flung aside its old age, to robe itself again in the white raiment of

the churches.'"—[Michelet: "Histoire de France"; Paris ed., 1855 · Tom. II.: pp. 133–6, 144.

XLVIII.: p. 312.—"'Plantations,' replied the [General] Court, 'are above the rank of an ordinary corporation; they have been esteemed other than towns, yea, than many cities. Colonies are the foundations of great Commonwealths. It is the fruit of pride and folly to despise the day of small things.'" [A.D. 1646].—[See Bancroft: "History of United States"; Boston ed., 1838: Vol. 1: p. 441.

"Lastly, (and which was not least,) a great hope & inward zeall they [the pilgrims from Holland] had, of laying some good foundation, or at least to make some way thereunto, for y^e^ propagating & advancing y^e^ gospell of y^e^ kingdom of Christ in those remote parts of y^e^ world: yea, though they should be but even as stepping-stones unto others for y^e^ performing of so great a work. . . What could they see but a hidious & desolate wilderness, full of wild beasts & willd men? and what multituds ther might be of them they knew not. Nether could they, as it were, goe up to y^e^ tope of Pisgah, to vew from this willdernes a more goodlie cuntrie to feed their hops; for which way soever they turnd their eys (save upward to y^e^ heavens) they could have little solace or content in respecte of any outward objects. [A.D. 1620.] . . Thus out of smalle beginings greater things have been produsd by his hand y^t^ made all things of nothing, and gives being to all things that are; and as one small candle may light a thousand, so y^e^ light here kindled hath shone to many, yea in some sorte to our whole nation; let y^e^ glorious name of Jehova have all y^e^ praise." [A.D. 1630.] —[Gov. Bradford: "Of Plimoth Plantation"; Mass. Hist. Soc. ed., 1856: pp. 24, 78, 279.

XLIX.: p. 314.—"The universal office of all law may then be referred simply to the moral determination of human nature, [the defining of the invisible boundary within which the existence and activity of each person shall have free scope,] as it appears in the Christian view of life. For Christianity is not merely to be acknowledged as the rule of life, but it has in fact transformed the world; so that all our thoughts, however alien or even hostile to it, are yet controlled and pervaded by it."—[Savigny: "Private International Law"; Edinburgh ed., 1880: pp. 534–5.

L.: p. 314.—"The controversies of bygone centuries ring with a strange hollowness on the ear. But if, turning from ecclesiastical historians, we apply the exclusively moral tests which the New Testament so invariably and so emphatically enforces, if we ask whether Christianity has ceased to produce the living fruits of love and charity

and zeal for truth, the conclusion we should arrive at would be very different. If it be true Christianity to dive with a passionate charity into the darkest recesses of misery and of vice, to irrigate every quarter of the earth with the fertilizing stream of an almost boundless benevolence, and to include all the sections of humanity in the circle of an intense and efficacious sympathy; if it be true Christianity to destroy or weaken the barriers which had separated class from class and nation from nation, to free war from its harshest elements, and to make a consciousness of essential equality and of a genuine fraternity dominate over all accidental differences; if it be, above all, true Christian ity to cultivate a love of truth for its own sake, a spirit of candour and of tolerance towards those from whom we differ—if these be the marks of a true and healthy Christianity, then never since the days of the apostles has it been so vigorous as at present; and the decline of dogmatic systems and of clerical influence has been a measure if not a cause of its advance."—[Lecky: "History of Rationalism"; New York ed., 1882: Vol. 1: pp. 200–201.

"For a time the leaven of Christianity seemed lost in the lump of human sin; but it was doing its great work in ways not seen by human eyes. The most profound of all revolutions must require centuries for its work. The good never dies. The persecutions directed by tyrannical emperors against the new faith, only helped the work. What is written in blood is widely read, and not soon forgotten. . . However, to see the earnest of that vast result Christianity is destined to work out for the nations, we must not look at kings' courts, . . but in the common walks of life, its every-day trials; in the sweet charities of the fireside and the street; in the self-denial that shares its loaf with the distressful; the honest heart that respects others as itself. Looking deeper than the straws of the surface, we see a stream of new life is in the world, and, though choked with mud, not to be dammed up. . . The history of Christianity reveals the majestic preëminence of its earthly founder."—[Theodore Parker: "Discourse of Religion"; Boston ed., 1842: pp. 399–400.

LI. : p. 315.—"Confucianism is more purely national than Buddhism and Mohammedanism; and in this respect it contrasts more sharply with the world-wide presence of Christianity. Yet if Confucianism is unknown beyond the frontiers of China, it is equally true that neither Buddhism nor Mohammedanism have done more than spread themselves over territories contiguous to their original homes. . . In the streets of London or of Paris we do not hear of the labours of Moslem or Buddhist missionaries, instinct with any such sense of a duty and mission to all the world in the name of truth, as that which animates, at this very hour, those heroic pioneers of Christendom whom

Europe has sent to Delhi or to Pekin."—[Canon Liddon: Bampton Lectures; New York ed., 1868: p. 134.

LII.: p. 315.—The rage and hopelessness of unbelief have forcible and tragic expression in words like these:—"But it is when we open the Book of Nature, that book inscribed in blood and tears; it is when we study the laws regulating life, the laws productive of development, —that we see plainly how illusive is this theory that God is Love. In all things there is cruel, profligate, and abandoned waste. The law of murder is the law of growth. Life is one long tragedy; creation is one great crime. And not only is there waste in animal and human life, there is also waste in moral life. The instinct of love is planted in the human breast, and that which to some is a solace is to others a torture. . . The affections, therefore, are weapons, and are developed according to the Darwinian law. Love is as cruel as the shark's jaw, as terrible as the serpent's fang. The moral sense is founded on sympathy, and sympathy is founded on self-preservation. . . The following facts result from our investigations: Supernatural Christianity is false. God-worship is idolatry. Prayer is useless. The soul is not immortal. There are no rewards and there are no punishments in a future state. . . In each generation the human race has been tortured, that their children might profit by their woes. Our own prosperity is founded on the agonies of the past. Famine, pestilence, and war are no longer essential to the advancement of the human race. But a season of mental anguish is at hand, and through this we must pass, in order that our posterity may rise. The soul must be sacrificed; the hope in immortality must die. A sweet and charming illusion must be taken from the human race, as youth and beauty vanish never to return."—[Winwood Reade: "The Martyrdom of Man"; New York ed.: pp. 519, 446, 522, 542.

LIII.: p. 316.—"Every educated man loves Greece, owes gratitude to Greece. Greece was the lifter-up to the nations of the banner of art and science, as Israel was the lifter-up of the banner of righteousness. Now the world cannot do without art and science. And the lifter-up of the banner of art and science was naturally much occupied with them, and conduct was a homely, plain matter. And this brilliant Greece perished for lack of attention enough to *conduct;* for want of conduct, steadiness, character. . . Nay, and the victorious revelation now, even now,—in this age when more of beauty and more of knowledge are so much needed, and knowledge, at any rate, is so highly esteemed,—the revelation which rules the world even now, is not Greece's revelation, but Judæa's; not the preëminence of art and science, but the preëminence of righteousness. . . But there is this difference between

the religion of the Old Testament and Christianity. Of the religion of the Old Testament we can pretty well see to the end, we can trace fully enough the experimental proof of it in history. But of Christianity the future is as yet almost unknown. For that the world cannot get on without righteousness we have the clear experience, and a grand and admirable experience it is. But what the world will become by the thorough use of that which is really righteousness, the method and the secret and the sweet reasonableness of Jesus, we have as yet hardly any experience at all. . Yet Christianity is really all the grander for that very reason which makes us speak about it in this sober manner,—that it has such an immense development still before it, and that it has as yet so little shown all it contains, all it can do. Indeed, that Christianity has already done so much as it has, is a witness to it; and that it has not yet done more is a witness to it too."—[Matthew Arnold: "Literature and Dogma"; New York ed., 1883: pp. 319–20, 329–30.

LIV.: p. 316.—"From whatever source they may have been derived, the prophecies in the Pollio are some of the most remarkable things in the whole of heathen literature. It is impossible to read of the Virgin returning, of the Serpent being crushed, of the Child sent down from heaven, of earth and sea and sky rejoicing in his reign, without feeling, 'This spake he not of himself.' No wonder that in many a series of those marvellous stalls, the glory of their cathedral choirs, among the prophets who have foretold the Advent of our LORD, the name of Virgil should so frequently occur. In some of the rituals of the south of Italy the 22nd of September contained a commemoration of Virgil, as the prophet who foretold to the heathen world the LORD'S coming. And the Sequence, appropriated to that day, in allusion to the legend which represents St. Paul as having visited the tomb of Virgil, commenced thus:—

Ad Maronis mausoleum
Flebat Paulus super eum
Piæ rorem lacrymæ:
Quanti, inquit, te fecissem
Si te vivum invenissem,
Poetarum maxime!"

[J. M. Neale: Essays on Liturgiology;
London ed., 1867: pp. 394–5.

NOTES TO LECTURE X

NOTE I.: PAGE 328.—"Descended from a family of note, he [Norbert] lived at first after the manner of the ordinary secular clergy, sometimes at the court of the archbishop Frederic the First, of Cologne, sometimes at that of the emperor Henry the Fifth. But in the year 1114, being caught by a storm, while riding out for his pleasure, a flash of lightning struck near him, and prostrated him to the earth. On recovering his breath and coming to his senses, he felt admonished by the thought of the sudden death from which he had been saved as by a miracle, and resolved to begin a more serious course of life. . . He laid aside his sumptuous apparel for a humbler dress, and after a season of earnest spiritual preparation, entered the order of priests. . . Whenever he entered the vicinity of villages or castles, and the herdsmen saw him, they left their cottages, and ran to announce his arrival. As he proceeded onward, the bells rang; young and old, men and women, hastened to church, where, after performing mass, he spoke the word of exhortation to the assembled people. After sermon he conversed with individuals on the concerns of the soul. He did not take up his residence, as was customary with itinerant ecclesiastics and monks, in the church or in a monastery, but in the midst of the town, or in the castle, where he could speak to all, and bestow on such as needed the benefit of his spiritual advice. Thus he made himself greatly beloved among the people."—[Neander: "History of the Church": Vol. IV.: pp. 244-5.

"He sold all his possessions, bestowed the money on the poor, reserving to himself only ten marks of silver, and a mule to carry the sacred vestments and utensils for the altar; and then, clothed in a lamb-skin, with a hempen cord round his loins, he set out to preach repentance and a new life."—[Jameson: "Legends of Monastic Orders"; London ed., 1872: p. 210.

II.: p. 331.—"Bruno Bauer maintained that the Johannine narrative was not, as the treatment of it by Strauss supposed, the simple deposit of a legendary tradition, but was the reflective work of a thinker and of a poet conscious of his procedure—the product of an individual conception. The history of Jesus thus became a philosophical and po-

etical romance; which occasioned the witty expression of Ebrard, who reduced the narrative of it to a single line: 'At that time it came to pass——that nothing came to pass!'"—[Godet: "Comm. on Gospel of John"; Edinburgh ed., 1876: Vol. 1: p. 11.

III.: p. 331.—"Between good men and God there is a cordial friendship, virtue uniting them. Do I say, friendship? Nay, rather a relationship and likeness; since in fact a good man himself only differs from God in his temporal condition; he is his disciple, his emulator, and his true child."—[Seneca: De Prov.: I.

"He [the wise man] makes himself equal with the gods; he tends toward God, mindful of his own original. No wicked man strives to ascend to God, whence he had descended. But why is it, that you do not judge that something of the divine exists in him who is a part of God? All this system, in which we are contained, it is one, it is God; and we are his companions and his members."—[Ep. Mor.: XCII.

"God is near thee, with thee, within thee: thus I say to you, Lucilius: a sacred spirit resides within us, observer and guardian of our evil things and our good: he, according as he is treated by us, so treats us. No good man is without God."—[Seneca: Ep. ad Lucil.: XLI.

"The first and the chiefest punishment of the wicked is to have sinned; nor is there any crime, however Fortune may embellish it with her gifts, however she may defend and vindicate it, which stands unpunished; since the torment of wickedness is in the wickedness itself."—[Ep. Mor.: XCVII.

"So let us give, in the same way in which we should wish to receive; above all things, [let us do it] freely, speedily, and without hesitation."—[De Benef.: II.: 1.

"Never did that perfect man who had by diligence attained virtue rail at Fortune; never received he with lamentation things accidental. . . Whatsoever happened, it was not spurned by him as evil, and as something that had fallen upon him, but as a thing committed to him. 'This, whatever it is,' said he, 'is mine; it is troublesome and hard; for this reason let us diligently perform it.' . . He gave to many an understanding of his own character, and shined before them no otherwise than as a light shines amid darkness."—[Ep. Mor.: CXX.

IV.: p. 332.—"The evil-doer mourns in this world, and he mourns in the next; he mourns in both. He mourns, and suffers, when he sees the evil of his own work. . . As a solid rock is not shaken by the wind, wise people falter not amidst blame and praise. Wise people, after they have listened to the laws, become serene, like a deep, smooth, and still lake. . . If a man does what is good, let him do it again; let him delight in it; happiness is the outcome of good. . . Not to com

mit any sin, to do good, and to purify one's mind, that is the teaching of the Awakened. . . Not to blame, not to strike, to live restrained under the law, to be moderate in eating, to sleep and sit alone, and to dwell on the highest thoughts,—this is the teaching of the Awakened." —[Buddha's "Dhammapada": Müller's trans.; London ed., 1870: I.: 15; VI.: 81–2; IX.: 118; XIV.: 183, 185.

"That moral code [the Buddhist], taken by itself, is one of the most perfect which the world has ever known. On this point all testimonies, from hostile and from friendly quarters, agree. Spence Hardy, a Wesleyan missionary, speaking of the 'Footsteps of the Law,' admits that a collection might be made from the precepts of this work, which in the purity of its ethics could hardly be equalled from any other heathen author. M. Laboulaye remarks: 'It is difficult to comprehend how men not assisted by revelation could have soared so high, and approached so near to the truth.' . . Among the virtues recommended, we find not only reverence of parents, care for children, submission to authority, gratitude, moderation in time of prosperity, submission in time of trial, equanimity at all times, but virtues unknown in any heathen system of morality, such as the duty of forgiving insults, and not rewarding evil with evil. All virtues, we are told, spring from Maitrî, and this Maitrî can only be translated by charity and love. . . Mr. Barthélemy St. Hilaire says: 'I do not hesitate to add, that with the single exception of Christ, there is no figure, among the founders of religion, more pure or attractive than that of Buddha. His life shows no stain. His continual heroism was equal to his conviction; and if the theory which he proclaimed is false, his personal example is without reproach. He is the finished model of all the virtues which he preached; his self-abnegation, his charity, his unchangeable sweetness, never for a moment give way; at twenty-nine years he abandons his Father's royal court to become a religious mendicant; through six years of meditative retreat he silently matures his doctrine; he propagates it, by the simple power of persuasive speech, through more than half a century; and when he dies, in the arms of his disciples, it is with the serenity of a sage who has practised goodness all his life, and who is fully assured that he has found the truth.'" —[Max Müller: "Chips," etc.; New York ed., 1881: Vol. 1: pp. 217–19.

V.: p. 332.—"The most renowned demi-god of Indian mythology, and most celebrated hero of Indian history, is the eighth Avatára or incarnation of Vishnu. He cannot be said to belong really to the Epic age, but almost exclusively to the Puránic [not earlier, Hardwick says, than the eighth, nor later than the twelfth century, of the Christian era: "Christ and other Masters"; p. 198.] . . Her [his mother's] eighth child was Krishna, who was born at midnight, with

a very black skin, and a peculiar curl of hair, resembling a Saint Andrew's cross, on his breast. The gods now interposed to preserve the life of his favored baby from Kansan's vigilance, and accordingly lulled the guards of the palace to sleep with the Yoga-nidrá, or mysterious slumber. . . Krishna now incited Nanda and the cowherds to abandon the worship of Indra, and to adopt that of the cows which supported them, and the mountains which afforded them pasturage. Indra, incensed at the loss of his offerings, opened the gates of heaven upon the whole race, and would have deluged them, had not our hero plucked up the mountain Govarddhana, and held it as a substantial umbrella above the land. He soon took to repose from his labors, and amused himself with the Gopis, or shepherdesses, of whom he married seven or eight, among whom Rádhá was the favorite, and to whom he taught the round dance. . . He afterward married Satyabhámá, daughter of Satrájit, and carried off Rukmini, daughter of Bhishmaka. His harem numbered sixty thousand wives, but his progeny was limited to eighteen thousand sons. When afterward on a visit to Indra's heaven, he behaved, at the persuasion of his wife, in a manner very unbecoming a guest, by stealing the famous Párijáta tree, which was then thriving in Indra's garden. A contest ensued, in which Khrishna defeated the gods, and carried off the sacred tree."—[The Bhagavad Gitá: Thomson's trans.; Chicago ed., 1874: pp. 252–4.

VI.: p. 335.—The religion of the Brâhmanas "has no knowledge either of pilgrimages or of holy places. Thousands of times in the Brâhmanas the sacred enclosure is compared to this lower world, in contrast with heaven; it is never regarded as forming a definite locality, and, as is somewhere said, 'when consecrated by the holy word, the entire earth is an altar.'"—[Barth: "Religions of India"; Boston ed., 1882: p. 62.

"Our divine religion, the truth of which (if any history be true) is abundantly proved by historical evidence, has no need of such aids as many are willing to give it, by asserting that the wisest men of this world were ignorant of the two great maxims, that 'we must act in respect of others as we should wish them to act in respect of ourselves,' and that, 'instead of returning evil for evil, we should confer benefits even on those who injure us'; but the first rule is implied in a speech of Lysias, and expressed in distinct phrases by Thales and Pittacus and I have even seen it word for word in the original of Confucius, which I carefully compared with the Latin translation. . . The beautiful *Aryá* couplet, which was written at least three centuries before our era, pronounces the duty of a good man, even in the moment of his destruction, to consist not only in forgiving, but even in a desire of benefiting, his destroyer, as the sandal-tree, in the instant of its

overthrow, sheds a perfume on the axe which fells it; and . . . the verse of SADI represents a return of good for good as a right reciprocity, but says to the virtuous man, 'Confer benefits on him who has injured thee,' using an Arabick sentence, and a maxim apparently of the ancient Arabs."—[Sir William Jones: Works; London ed., 1807: Vol. 3: pp. 242–244.

VII.: p. 335.—"Nor do I think the Jews themselves dare contend that no one has belonged to God except the Israelites, since the increase of Israel began on the rejection of his elder brother. . . They cannot deny that there have been certain men, even of other nations, who belonged, not by earthly but by heavenly fellowship, to the true Israelites, the citizens of the country that is above. Because, if they deny this, they can be most easily confuted by the case of the holy and wonderful man Job, who was neither a native nor a proselyte, but, being bred of the Idumean race, arose there and died there, and who is so praised by the divine oracle that no man of his times is put on a level with him as regards justice and piety."—[Augustine: "Civ. Dei": XVIII.: 47.

"Therefore if any of them [the heathen philosophers] be found to have said what Christ too hath said, we congratulate him, but we follow him not. 'But he came before Christ.' If any man speaketh what is true, is he therefore before the Truth itself? Regard Christ, O man, not when He came to thee, but when He made thee."—[Augustine: on Ps. CXLI.: vs. 7.

"If the Gentiles themselves could have anything holy and right in their doctrines, our saints did not condemn it, however much the Gentiles themselves were to be detested, for their superstitions, and idolatry, and pride, and the rest of their corruptions. For when Paul the Apostle also was saying something concerning God before the Athenians, he adduced as a proof of what he said, that certain of them had said something to the same effect; which certainly would not be condemned but recognized in them if they should come to Christ. And the holy Cyprian uses similar evidence against the same heathens."

He concludes in regard to both heathen and heretics, that "we ought not to be moved to the desire of correcting what is bad in them belonging to themselves, without being willing to acknowledge what is good in them of Christ."—[Augustine: on Baptism (against the Donatists): VI.: 44.

VIII.: p. 338.—"We are altogether ignorant of religious history—a fact which I hope some other lecturer will prove to you at a future time—if we do not lay it down as a fundamental principle, that Christianity at its origin is no other than Judaism, with its fertile principles

of almsgiving and charity, with its absolute faith in the future of humanity, with that joy of heart of which Judaism has always held the secret,—and denuded only of the distinctive observances and features which had been invented to give a character of its own to the peculiar religion of the children of Israel."—[Renan: "Hibbert Lectures"; London ed., 1880: pp. 16–17.

Compare the words of Canon Liddon, and their superior justness and force appear beyond question:—

"Christianity was cradled in Judaism; but was the later Judaism so entirely in harmony with the temper and aim of Christianity? Was the age of the Zealots, of Judas the Gaulonite, of Theudas, likely to welcome the spiritual empire of such a teacher as our Lord? Were the moral dispositions of the Jews, their longings for a political Messiah, their fierce legalism, their passionate jealousy for the prerogatives of their race, calculated—I do not say to further the triumph of the Church, but—to enter even distantly into her distinctive spirit and doctrines? Did not the Synagogue persecute Jesus to death, when it had once discovered the real character of his teaching? . . Men do not persecute systems which answer to their real sympathies. St. Paul was not a Christian at heart, and without intending it, before his conversion."—[Bampton Lectures; New York ed., 1868: pp. 137–8.

Dr. Channing's judgment is equally clear, and as strongly expressed:—

"Some have pretended that Christianity grew from the ruins of the ancient faith. But this is not true: for the decline of the heathen systems was the product of causes singularly adverse to the origination of such a system as Christianity. . . We cannot find, then, the origin of Christianity in the heathen world. Shall we look for it in the Jewish? You know the character, feelings, expectations of the descendants of Abraham at the appearance of Jesus; and you need not be told that a system more opposed to the Jewish mind than that which he taught cannot be imagined. There was nothing friendly to it in the soil or climate of Judea. As easily might the luxuriant trees of our forests spring from the sands of an Arabian desert. . . This suddenness with which this religion broke forth, this maturity of the system at the very moment of its birth, this absence of gradual development, seems to me a strong mark of its Divine original."—[Dr. Channing: Works; Boston ed., 1843: Vol. 3: pp. 358–361.

Renan himself, in his most recent work, makes the broadest distinction between the incipient Christianity, and that which has ever since been recognized and inspiring among men:—

"While wholly Jewish at its origin, Christianity has come so fully to lay aside, with time, almost everything which it derived from that race, that the thesis of those who consider it an Aryan religion, *par*

excellence, is in many respects true. During the centuries, we have put into it our own modes of feeling, all our aspirations, all our characteristics, all our imperfections. The exegesis by which Christianity may be carved from the contents of the Old Testament, is the falsest in the world. Christianity has been the breaking off from Judaism, the abrogation of the Thora. St. Bernard, Francis of Assisi, St. Elizabeth, St. Theresa, Francis de Sales, Vincent de Paul, Fénelon, Channing, these are not Jews in any respect. They are men of our race, feeling with our sensibilities, thinking with our brain. Christianity has been the traditional principle, upon which they have embroidered their own poem. . . The Bible has thus borne fruits which were not at all its own. Judaism has been only the wild-stock, on which the Aryan race has produced its flower. In England, in Scotland, the Bible has become the national book of that branch of the Aryan people which least of all resembles the Hebrew."—["Marc-Aurèle"; Paris, 1882: pp. 635–36.

The significant fact in this is, that while Judaism followed its own line of development, up to the time of Christ's advent, altogether new forces there came into exhibition, out of which have proceeded the rich, various, and incessant spiritual life and culture of the following centuries. It is not the world of mediæval or of modern thought which has made Christianity. It is Christianity which has shaped, educated, and inspired that world.

IX.: p. 340.—"Philo did not participate in the warm desires and hopes which filled the heart of a believing Jew. The idea of the Messiah has become in him a dead coal: nothing but the phlegma of it remains with him, the hope of a miraculous restoration of the scattered Jews from all parts of the earth to Palestine by a superhuman Divine appearance, which shall be recognized only by the just. . . It must be acknowledged, that in his system the human mind has made the attempt to complete the union of the pre-Christian religions. To Christianity, hardly then in its dawn, he presents himself in this respect as a rival. But blinding as is the resemblance, on a superficial view, of many of his ideas and modes of expression with Christianity, the principle of both is fundamentally different, and even the seemingly similar, when taken in its connection with the whole, has a quite different meaning. . . His system came, like an apparitional contrast, to the cradle of Christianity; or appeared like an impalpable dissolving Fata-morgana on the horizon on which Christianity had to arise."—[Dorner: "The Person of Christ"; Edinburgh ed., 1861: Vol. 1: pp. 34, 39–40.

X.: p. 342.—The infidel explanation of the development of Christianity, as set forth by one of the most energetic of recent sceptical writers, seems about as sufficient as would be an attempt to account for the Atlantic Ocean by the upsetting of a child's milk-cup:—

"However much the Pharisees and Sadducees might differ on matters of tradition, they were perfectly agreed on this point, that the ceremonial laws were necessary for salvation. These laws could never be given up by Jews, unless they first became heretics; and this was what eventually occurred. A schism arose among the Jews; the sectarians were defeated and expelled. Foiled in their first object, they cast aside the law of Moses, and offered the Hebrew religion without the Hebrew ceremonies to the Greek and Roman world. . . Jesus was a carpenter by trade, and was urged by a prophetic call to leave his workshop and to go forth into the world, preaching the gospel which he had received. The current fancies respecting the approaching destruction of the world, the conquest of the Evil Power, and the reign of God, had fermented in his mind, and had made him the subject of a remarkable hallucination. He believed that he was the promised Messiah or Son of Man, who would be sent to prepare the world for the kingdom of God, and who would be appointed to judge the souls of men, and to reign over them on the earth."—[Winwood Reade: "Martyrdom of Man"; New York ed.: pp. 218, 227.

Another sceptical theory on the subject seems no more satisfactory, and to do, if possible, rather less justice to human intelligence:—

"Orthodox Christology is the product of ages of darkness, and has nothing in common with the lessons of Jesus, as propagated either by Peter or by Paul. It is at warfare with philosophy and science, and sustained by constant appeals to credulity and ignorance. It stands, because thousands know no better."—[Wise: "Origin of Christianity"; Cincinnati ed., 1868: p. 535.

XI.: p. 342.—"Believing himself sent from Heaven as the common moderator and arbiter of all nations, and subduing those by force whom he could not associate to himself by fair offers, he labored thus that he might bring all regions, far and near, under the same dominion. And then, as in a festival goblet, mixing lives, manners, customs, wedlock, all together, he ordained that every one should take the whole habitable world for his country, of which his camp and army should be the chief metropolis and garrison: that his friends and kindred should be the good and virtuous, and that the vicious only should be accounted foreigners."—[Plutarch: on Alexander the Great: "Morals": Boston ed., 1874: Vol. 1: p. 481.

XII.: p. 344.—"For if any one thinks that less fruit of renown is to be derived from Greek verses than from Latin, he is vastly mistaken; inasmuch as the Greek writings are read among almost all peoples, while the Latin are confined to the boundaries of the language itself, which are narrow enough."—[Cicero: "Orat. pro Arch."; X.

Elsewhere Cicero speaks of the comparative meagreness of the Latin language, though at other times he eulogized it.—[Comp. De Finibus· I.: 3; III.: 15.

Horace says that 'New words, lately fashioned, have permission, if they descend from a Greek source, and are not violently turned aside' in their new use.—[Art. Poet.; 52–3.

"The Greek language was already generally diffused in Italy in the time of Hannibal. In the higher circles a knowledge of that language, which was the general medium of intercourse for ancient civilization, had long been a far from uncommon accomplishment; and now, when the change in the position of Rome had so enormously increased the intercourse with foreigners and the foreign traffic, such a knowledge was, if not necessary, yet in all probability of very material importance, to the merchant as well as the statesman. By means of the Italian slaves and freedmen, a very large portion of whom were Greek or half-Greek by birth, the Greek language and Greek knowledge to a certain extent reached even the lower ranks of the population, especially in the capital. . . Men of senatorial families not only addressed a Greek audience in Greek, but even published their speeches, and in the time of Hannibal wrote their chronicles in Greek. . . We have already spoken of the metrical Annals of Nævius, and of Ennius [in Latin]; both belong to the earliest historical literature of the Romans, and those of Nævius may be regarded as the oldest of all Roman historical works. At nearly the same period were composed the Greek 'Histories' of Quintus Fabius Pictor, and of Publius Scipio, the son of Scipio Africanus. In the former case they availed themselves of the poetical art which was already to a certain extent developed, and addressed themselves to a public with a taste for poetry; in the latter case they found the Greek forms ready to their hand, and addressed themselves primarily to the cultivated foreigner. The former plan was adopted by the plebeian authors; the latter by those of quality. . . Cato's 'Origines,' not published before the close of this epoch, formed at once the oldest historical work written in Latin, and the first important prose work in Roman literature."—[Mommsen: "History of Rome"; New York ed., Vol. II.: pp. 492–3, 545–6.

XIII.: p. 344.—"The working force in the universe [according to the Stoics] is God. The world is bounded and spherical. It possesses a general unity, while containing the greatest variety in its several parts. The beauty and adaptation of the world can only have come from a thinking mind, and prove, therefore, the existence of Deity. Since the world contains parts endowed with self-consciousness, the world as a whole, which must be more perfect than any of its parts, cannot be unconscious; the consciousness which belongs to the uni

verse is Deity. The latter permeates the world as an all-pervading breath, as artistically creative fire, as the soul and reason of the All, and contains the rational germs of all things. . . At the end of a certain cosmical period all things are reabsorbed into the Deity, the whole universe being resolved into fire in a general conflagration. The evolution of the world then begins anew, and so on without end. . . The human soul is a part of the Deity, or an emanation from the same; the soul and its source act and react upon each other. The soul is the warm breath in us. Although it outlives the body, it is yet perishable, and can only endure, at the longest, till the termination of the world-period in which it exists. . . The sage alone attains to the complete performance of his duty. The sage is without passion, although not without feeling; he is not indulgent, but just toward himself and others; he alone is free; he is king and lord, and is inferior in inner worth to no other rational being, not even to Zeus himself; he is lord also over his own life, and can lawfully bring it to an end according to his own free self-determination."—[Ueberweg: "Hist. of Philosophy"; New York ed., 1873: Vol. 1: pp. 194, 198.

XIV.: p. 345.—"I therefore spent as much of my time as possible with one who had lately settled in our city—a sagacious man, holding a high position among the Platonists—and I progressed, and made the greatest improvements daily. And the perception of immaterial things quite overpowered me, and the contemplation of ideas furnished my mind with wings, so that in a little while I supposed that I had become wise; and, such was my stupidity, I expected forthwith to look upon God, for this is the end of Plato's philosophy."—[Justin Martyr: "Dial. with Trypho": II.

XV.: p. 346.—"During this inward struggle, the acquaintance which he [Augustine] had gained, by means of Latin translations, with works relating to the Platonic and New-Platonic philosophy, proved of great service to him. He says himself that they enkindled in his mind an incredible ardor. They addressed themselves to his religious consciousness. Nothing but a philosophy which addressed the heart—a philosophy which coincided with the inward witness of a nature in man akin to the divine, . . nothing but such a philosophy could have possessed such attractions for him in the then tone of his mind. . . He arrived, in this way, first at a religious idealism, that seized and appropriated to itself Christian elements; and was thus prepared to be led over to the simple faith of the gospel. At first this Platonic philosophy was his all; and he sought nothing further. . . As he afterwards said of himself, he wanted that which alone can give the right understanding of Christianity, and without which any man will

have only the shell of Christianity without its kernel—the Love which is rooted in Humility. . . By degrees, in proportion as Christianity penetrated from the inner life through his whole mode of thinking, he came to perceive the difference between Platonic and Christian ideas, and unshackled his system of faith from the fetters of Platonism."—[Neander: Hist. of Church; Boston ed., 1854: Vol. 2: pp. 355–8.

XVI.: p. 346.—"One might indulge in an interesting speculation whether Seneca, like so many other Stoics, had not Shemitic blood in his veins. The whole district from which he came was thickly populated with Phœnician settlers, either from the mother country, or from her great African colony. The name of his native province Bætica, the name of his native city Corduba, are both said to be Phœnician. Even his own name, though commonly derived from the Latin, may perhaps have a Shemitic origin; for it was borne by a Jew of Palestine early in the second century. This however is thrown out merely as a conjecture."—[Lightfoot: Comm. on Ep. to Philippians; London ed., 1879: p. 277.

If the philosopher had any relationship of blood to the Jewish people, he certainly failed to recognize it himself when he said of the Jews, as quoted by Augustine:—

"When, meanwhile, the customs of that most accursed nation have gained such strength that they have been now received in all lands, the conquered have given laws to the conquerors!"—[Civ. Dei: VI.: 11.

XVII.: p. 347.—"For there is not any city of the Grecians, nor any of the barbarians, nor any nation whatsoever, whither our custom of resting on the seventh day hath not come, and by which our fasts and lighting up lamps, and many of our prohibitions as to our food, are not observed; they also endeavour to imitate our mutual concord with one another, and the charitable distribution of our goods, and our diligence in our trades, and our fortitude in undergoing the distresses we are in, on account of our laws; and what is here matter of the greatest admiration, our law hath no bait of pleasure to allure men to it, but it prevails by its own force; and as God himself pervades all the world, so hath our law passed through all the world also."—[Josephus: "Adv. Apion": II. 40.

XVIII.: p. 348.—"The main point is, that Christianity could not have become that universal form of the religious consciousness which it is, had not the whole development of the world-history up to the time of Christianity,—the general intellectual culture which through the Greeks became the common possession of the nations, the uniting rule of the Romans over peoples, with all their political institutions

and the general civilization dependent upon these—had not this broken through the barriers of the sentiment of nationality, and dissolved much which had divided peoples from each other, setting them in relations of opposition not only externally, but still more internally. The universalism of Christianity could never have passed over into the general consciousness of the nations, except it had had the political universalism for its stepping-stone. . . Both religions [Paganism and Judaism] had in this way made room for a new religion ; and if we regard the matter from the stand-point of teleological contemplation, we can only consider it as a distinct arrangement of Divine Providence that Christianity should step forth into existence before men at precisely that point of time at which so great a vacancy was to be filled in the religious life of the old world. . . Human nature has a need, impossible of denial, for the recognition of the supernatural, and for communion with it; and the general prevalence of an all-denying unbelief only calls up a more energetic desire for faith. So also there lay at the root of a great part of superstition a need, which sought for the satisfaction which it could find only in Christianity—the need of redemption from the deep-felt discord within, and of reconciliation with the unknown God, toward which the longing aspiration consciously or unconsciously was reaching."—[F. C. Baur : "Geschichte der Christ. Kirche"; Tübingen ed., 1863 : Band I. : S. 5, f.

XIX. : p. 349.—"What the Resurrection was in itself, lies beyond the sphere of historical inquiry. Historical contemplation has only to keep itself to this point: that for the faith of the disciples the Resurrection of Jesus became the most fixed and incontrovertible certainty. In this faith Christianity first secured the firm foundation of its historical development. What for all the succeeding history is the indispensable basis is not so much the fact itself of the Resurrection of Jesus, as, rather, the faith in that fact. . . No psychological analysis can enter into the interior spiritual process through which, in the consciousness of the disciples, their faithlessness in presence of the death of Jesus was changed into their conviction of his Resurrection. . . We can therefore only continue to stand by this: that for them, whatever the intervening means may have been, the Resurrection of Jesus became to their consciousness a matter of fact, and possessed for them all the reality of a historical fact."—[F. C. Baur: "Geschichte der Christ. Kirche": Band I. : S. 39, f.

XX. : p. 350.—"It is Christianity alone which, as the religion of humanity, as the religion of no caste, of no chosen people, has taught us to respect the history of humanity, as a whole; to discover the traces

of a divine wisdom and love in the government of all the races of mankind, and to recognize, if possible, in even the lowest and crudest forms of religious belief, not the work of demoniacal agencies, but something that indicates a divine guidance."—[Max Müller: "Science of Religion"; New York ed., 1872: pp. 22–23.

"Buddhism has succeeded in taming barbarians, and still shows itself admirably calculated to assist in maintaining order and discipline; but has it ever supported a people in its endeavours after progress, in its recuperative efforts when smitten by disaster, in its struggle against despotism? No such instances are known, and indeed we had no right to expect them. Buddhism does not measure itself against this or that abuse, does not further the development or reformation of society, either directly or indirectly, for the very simple reason that it *turns away* from the world on principle. Let us reckon fully with the meaning and the ultimate consequences of this principle. It must and does result in absolute quietism—nay, even indifferentism."—[Kuenen: "National and Universal Religions"; New York ed., 1882: pp. 299–300.

XXI.: p. 351.—"All the evidences of Christianity may be traced to this great principle,—that every effect must have an adequate cause. We claim for our religion a divine original, because no adequate cause for it can be found in the powers or passions of human nature, or in the circumstances under which it appeared; because it can only be accounted for by the interposition of that Being, to whom its first preachers universally ascribed it, and with whose nature it perfectly agrees."—[Dr. Channing: Works; Vol. 3: pp. 119–120.

"Remove from Christianity every thing in it which is supernatural and divine, and then the problem which we have to do with is this:—A revolution in human affairs, in the highest degree beneficial in its import, was carried forward upon the arena of the great world, by means of the noble behaviour of men who command our sympathy and admiration, as brave, wise, and good. But this revolution drew the whole of its moral force from a Belief, which—how shall we designate it?—was in part an inexplicable illusion; in part a dream, and in large part a fraud! This, the greatest forward moment which the civilized branches of the human family have ever made, took its rise in bewildered Jewish brains! Indestructible elements of advancement, to which even infidel nations confessedly owe whatever is best and most hopeful within them, these elements of good, which were obtained for us at so vast a cost, had their source in a congeries of exaggerations, and in a mindless conspiracy, hatched by chance, nursed by imposture, and winged by fanaticism!"—[Isaac Taylor: "Restoration of Belief"; Boston ed., 1867: pp. 104–5.

XXII.: p. 351.—"Just as, according to the Brahminical theory, each of the Indian sacred rivers loses in time its sanctity, so India itself is gradually losing every thing which is characteristic of it. I may illustrate the completeness of the transformation which is proceeding by repeating what I have learned, on excellent authority, to be the opinion of the best native scholars: that in fifty years all knowledge of Sanscrit will have departed from India, or, if kept alive, will be kept alive by the reäctive influence of Germany and England."—[Sir H. S. Maine: "Village Communities"; London ed., 1871: pp. 24–5.

Yet this is the language which that all-accomplished scholar, Sir William Jones, described as "more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either."—[Works: Vol. 3: p. 34.

XXIII.: p. 352.—"Mankind, moving solemnly on its appointed road, from age to age, passes by its imperfect teachers, guided by their light, blessed by their toil, and sprinkled with their blood. But Truth, like her God, is before and above us forever. So we pass by the lamps of the street, with wonder at their light, though but a smoky glare; they seem to change places, and burn dim in the distance as we go on; at last the solid walls of darkness shut them in. But high over our heads are the unsullied stars, which never change their place, nor dim their eye. So the truths of the Scriptures will teach forever, though the record perish, and its authors be unknown. They came from God, through the soul of man."—[Theodore Parker: "Discourse of Religion"; Boston ed., 1842: p. 376.

"The grand objects of the physical universe, discernible from every latitude, look in at the understanding of all nations, and secure the unity of Science. And the glorious persons of human history, imperishable from the traditions of every civilized people, keeping their sublime glance upon the Conscience of ages, create the unity of Faith. And if it hath pleased God the Creator to fit up one system with one Sun, to make the daylight of several worlds: so may it fitly have pleased God the Revealer to kindle amid the ecliptic of history One Divine Soul, to glorify whatever lies within the great year of his moral Providence, and represent the Father of Lights. The exhibition of Christ as his Moral Image has maintained in the souls of men a common spiritual type, to correct the aberrations of their individuality, to unite the humblest and the highest, to merge all minds into one family,—and that the family of God."—[James Martineau: "Miscellanies" Boston ed., 1852: p. 280.

XXIV. FINIS.—The clearest prophetic judgment of the Jewish Church, in the days which heard the first proclamation of Christianity, could have been expressed by no other so well and so wisely as by Gamaliel:—"His learning was so eminent, and his character so revered, that he is one of the seven who alone among Jewish doctors have been honored with the title of 'Rabban.' As Aquinas, among the schoolmen, was called *Doctor Angelicus*, and Bonaventura *Doctor Seraphicus*, so Gamaliel was called the 'Beauty of the Law'; and it is a saying of the Talmud, that 'since Rabban Gamaliel died, the glory of the Law has ceased.' . . He lived and died a Jew; and a well-known prayer against Christian heretics was composed or sanctioned by him. . . Another of his pupils, Onkelos, the author of the celebrated Targum, raised to him such a funeral pile of rich materials as had never before been known, except at the burial of a king."—[Conybeare and Howson · "Life and Epistles of St. Paul"; Vol. I.: pp. 61–63.

The rich funeral pile was speedily dispersed into wind-strewed ashes. The son and successor of Gamaliel perished amid the destruction of Jerusalem. The principal hold which the father has had on the memory of the world has been through his early relation as Teacher to that young Paul whom he had to count afterward among the 'apostates,' concerning whom he had prayed that for them there might be "no hope." But he spoke certain words, on one occasion, to which the writings of those whom he despised have given an earthly immortality: on which all the succeeding centuries have made their steady and mighty comment: to which the expanding Christendom of to-day presents its answer: which unbelief may well thoughtfully ponder: and which the humblest Christian disciple may joyfully accept, as he expects the coming ages:—

"Then stood there up one in the council, a Pharisee, named Gamaliel, a doctor of the law, had in reputation among all the people, and commanded to put the apostles forth a little space; and said unto them, Ye men of Israel, take heed to yourselves what ye intend to do as touching these men. For before these days rose up Theudas, boasting himself to be somebody; to whom a number of men, about four hundred, joined themselves: who was slain; and all, as many as obeyed him, were scattered, and brought to nought. After this man rose up Judas of Galilee in the days of the taxing, and drew away much people after him: he also perished; and all, even as many as obeyed him, were dispersed. And now I say unto you, Refrain from these men, and let them alone: for if this counsel or this work be of men, it will come to nought; but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it; lest haply ye be found even to fight against God"!—["The Acts of the Apostles"; V.: 34–39.

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